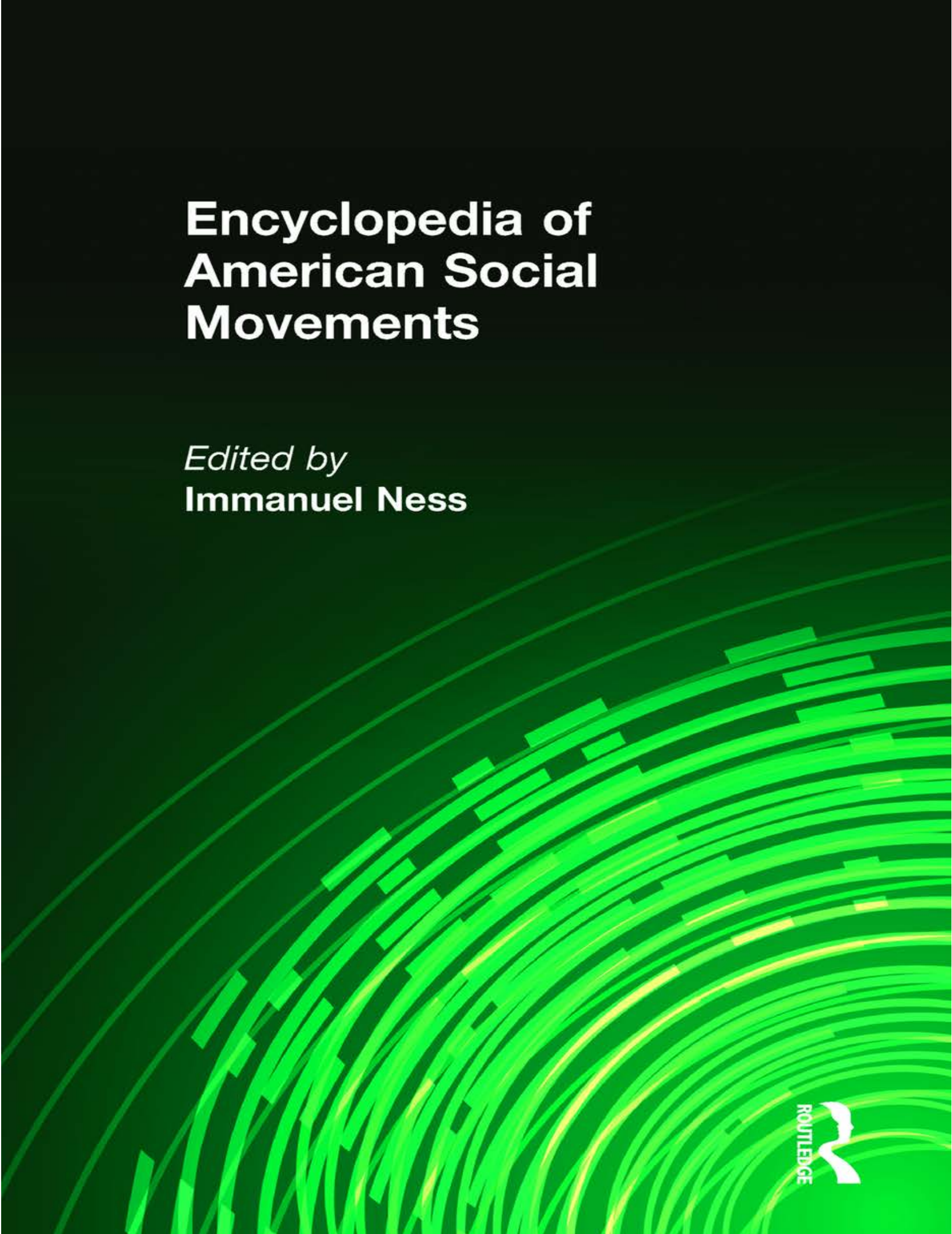
Encyclopedia of American Social Movements

Edited by
Immanuel Ness



ENCYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

VOLUME ONE - FOUR

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EDITED BY

IMMANUEL NESS

FOREWORD BY

STEPHEN ERIC BRONNER AND FRANCES FOX PIVEN

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Foreword

American history textbooks often convey a story of consensus, continuity, and smooth development. This encyclopedia tells the stories of social conflicts that mainstream accounts gloss over, the struggles waged by ordinary people against those who hold power over them. By filling in the blanks in this way, *Encyclopedia of American Social Movements* offers us a great gift, a richer understanding of our social legacy and the various ways people have been able to change and improve their lives.

The pages that follow turn our attention to the movements through which the poor and the exploited, the excluded and disfranchised, mobilized themselves, forged their own standards of justice, articulated new and dissident claims, and demanded responses to their grievances. Measured against the great aspirations that originally inspired the participants, some of these movements have yet to meet their goals of justice, equality, and democracy. Taken as a whole, however, they have had a remarkable impact on the fabric of American life and its institutions. And they offer valuable lessons for our own time.

This is not to say that all social movements are progressive. The frustration, anxiety, and indignation that produce social movements can take conservative, as well as progressive, political forms. Anti-vice movements helped bring about prohibition, introduced censorship laws, and fostered the oppression of women. Right-wing movements fueled our recurrent "red scares" and fought to roll back forward progress in the rights of women and all people of color. It is therefore a mistake to think of social movements as inevitably movements of the Left. With their populist impulses and sentiments, even conservative social movements have expressed resentment of the establishment.

Social movements always have challenged the normal ways of doing business. Utopian communities are obvious examples, and they have sprouted up throughout our nation's history. But the call for the new, the innovative, and the experimental, also appears—sometimes overtly and sometimes implicitly—in movements concerned with far more concrete matters. Suffragists may have concentrated on seeking the vote for women, but, in the process, they also raised questions about the legitimacy of male domination. The environmental movement has offered a critique not merely of irresponsible consumerism, but also of society's shortsightedness. In the same vein, antiwar and pacifist movements have challenged militarist policies, nationalist ideology, and, sometimes, even the state itself.

Social movements ebb and flow in response to changing historical conditions. But this encyclopedia also reveals that these movements often have deep historical roots and usually evidence at least a degree of continuity. The struggle against slavery began with protests undertaken by the Mennonites and the Quakers, was revived by the enthusiasm for radical democracy in the American revolutionary period, and was revived again by the emergence of the nineteenth-century abolitionist movement. Yet again, the struggle against racism was fostered by the birth of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Indebted to its forerunners, the subsequent Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s had an extraordinary impact. Often forgotten are the facts that this movement broke the back of the Ku Klux Klan and that its attack on discrimination changed the face of American civil society. Its style and militancy provided an example for the Women's Movement, the Anti-War Movement, the American Indian Movement, and La Raza. The Civil Rights Movement's commitment to universal rights and its condemnation of race privilege was influenced by anti-colonial struggles elsewhere, but it also inspired others, especially the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa.

The eruption of movement activism is famously difficult to predict. Each new outbreak of protest episodes usually comes as a surprise or in reaction to an event not anticipated by most political commentators and social scientists. Prior to the outbreaks of militant protest in the 1960s, for example, social scientists were talking about the "end of ideology." When the Cold War ended, new talk arose about the "end of history," even while an international movement for global justice was taking shape with the start of the new millennium. An encyclopedia such as this reminds us that freedom is never fully actualized, that new conflicts always simmer beneath the surface of society, and that the consensus underlying the status quo is never quite as strong as establishmentarian ideologists would have us believe.

It is instructive to revisit the old debates over tactics and strategy, violence and non-violence, identity and universalism, which mark the movements in the past and influence contemporary social movements as well. In the end, however, the key questions always have to do with the conditions under which a movement can exert power and the degree to which it can force change. When all is said and done, when all the turns of tactics and strategy are reviewed, what emerges is that the power of a movement depends on its ability to mobilize mass action in defiance of existing norms and to create the threat or reality of institutional instability. The great moments of victory for these movements—whether in response to workers demanding welfare legislation or disfranchised citizens demanding civil rights—all occurred in the wake of such crises of social order.

Social movements seeking to better the conditions of the least fortunate have, again and again, attacked the idea that poverty is a natural condition. A sense of injustice inspires assaults on sweatshops, on low wages, on apartheid, on militarism, and on imperialism. It incites demands of respect for the aged and the disabled. Idealistic goals of social justice, equal human rights, and individual dignity have fueled all of the great social movements, including those with primarily materialist ideologies such as the labor movement. These same values can be found in the current anti-globalization movement with its searing critique of the effects of free market capitalism on non-western societies.

This rich encyclopedia, with its array of histories about the struggles of the exploited and disfranchised, makes clear what is perhaps the real lesson of social movements: Politics is also the mobilization of power from below.

Stephen Eric Bronner and Frances Fox Piven

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Immanuel Ness

Introduction

> If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground, they want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters. This struggle may be a moral one, or it may be a physical one, and it may be both moral and physical, but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did, and it never will.
>
> Frederick Douglass

When Frederick Douglass uttered these words in 1857, he was a leader of the abolitionist movement, one of the greatest social movements of the nineteenth century. By "plowing up the ground" and delivering "thunder and lightning," the abolitionist movement awakened millions of Americans to the horrors of slavery and ultimately contributed to the demise of the institution in this country in 1865. Social movements—from abolition and woman suffrage to the fight for an eight-hour workday and a minimum wage; from efforts to secure civil rights and equal opportunity to campaigns for pure food, clean water, and a safer environment; from attempts to eliminate war, poverty, and sweatshop labor to the struggles for dignity, self-determination, and personal freedom—have profoundly affected every aspect of American society, shaping both the nation's history and its identity for more than two hundred years.

The *Encyclopedia of American Social Movements* is the first major reference work on the subject that seeks to examine these movements in all their complexity, power, and significance. What *is* a social movement? The term has multiple definitions, but perhaps the simplest one is the best: the coming together of large numbers of people to pursue a goal that they believe will improve society. Americans have been gathering in myriad social movements since the eighteenth century, and a comprehensive examination of these movements is long overdue.

By definition, social movements are never static: They are constantly in motion—evolving, developing, and changing, sometimes expanding, sometimes contracting. Every social movement has an aim, a goal it is heading toward. Some aims are specific, such as an end to slavery, whereas others are general, such as moral reform. Sometimes, social movements succeed in securing their goals; other times, they fail to achieve them quickly but still have far-reaching effects on events, altering society in unanticipated ways. The abolitionist movement helped spark the Civil War in 1861; the protest movement during World War I led to the founding of the American Civil Liberties Union in 1920.

Some social movements fail outright and disappear. Others, like the prohibitionist movement, succeed but ultimately find their gains reversed and overturned. Others still, like the Populist movement, disintegrate, but then a new movement picks up parts of its cause and carries on. Many social movements have spawned other social movements—the abolitionist movement helped spawn the women's movement in the nineteenth century, much as the civil rights movement helped spawn the feminist movement in the twentieth century.

Social movements are unpredictable. They take on lives of their own and give birth to new ideas, new organizations, and new modes of thinking. Social movements frequently have complex political overtones, and this encyclopedia seeks to be as inclusive as possible in covering these nuances.

The reason that social movements have flourished in the United States for the past two centuries can be traced in part to the freedoms enshrined in the U.S. Constitution, specifically the First Amendment rights to free speech, free press, peaceful assembly, and petition. Without these four essential rights—to voice ideas, to disseminate them widely and unencumbered, to gather freely in groups, and to present grievances and demands to the government—social movements would never have spread so rapidly nor

achieved such success. By utilizing these fundamental rights, Americans have made them vital and stronger, an irrevocable and unalienable part of American citizenship.

Regardless of their various goals, social movements have proved a key agent in institutionalizing and extending democracy, thus empowering individuals with a peaceful means to change their society. The Constitution provided the blueprint for these actions, but it took people—hundreds, thousands, millions of people, over many decades and generations—to seize them, actualize them, and make them real through social movements. These movements brought together diverse groups of people, the wealthy and the poor, the privileged and the oppressed, men and women, adults and children, and members of every ethnic, racial, and religious group. Through their combined actions, social movements took shape and set in motion the long, arduous process of social change.

Social movements have invented, refined, and utilized many techniques to achieve their ends. All use some form of mass communication, spreading their ideas through speeches, banners, pamphlets, newspapers, books, television, and the Internet. All incite the mass gathering of people, in meetings, marches, rallies, and demonstrations. Many create a movement culture, distinguished by its language, customs, and practices. Many also build solidarity by uniting around a motto or phrase, such as the Knights of Labor's "an injury to one is the concern of all," or a song, such as the civil rights movement's "We Shall Overcome." Some social movements even promote civil disobedience, the practice of breaking a law and going to jail, in order to bring attention to the law's perceived unjustness. Most social movements are driven by moral fervor, the deeply held belief that something in society is wrong and that mass action can highlight the problem so that society can make it right.

The causes, methods, and goals of American social movements have been as varied as its people, and no simple generalization can encompass them all. If any theme unites the diverse and myriad social movements covered in this encyclopedia, however, it is embodied in two of the words Frederick Douglass uttered in the first sentence of his speech: "struggle"—the need to fight, strive, and persevere—and "progress"—the belief that people can forge a better, safer, and more just world. These are the essential elements uniting every social movement.

As the articles in this encyclopedia show, progress does not come easily. Many Americans—from abolitionist editor Elijah P. Lovejoy in 1837 and labor leader Joe Hill in 1915 to civil rights activists James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, Michael Schwerner, Viola Liuzzo, and Martin Luther King, Jr., in the 1960s—lost their lives in the struggle for progress. And progress does not come quickly. The struggle to end slavery took more than a generation; the fight for woman suffrage took more than two generations. Indeed, the goals of many social movements remain unfulfilled.

Douglass also identified a third essential element in the phenomenon of social movements, one that is more difficult to isolate: power. "Power concedes nothing without a demand," he declared. "It never did, and it never will." Thus, this encyclopedia is also a useful tool for the study of power: who wields it, who challenges it, and who gains it. For power is never given, only taken. All social movements move against some powerful force—sometimes the government, sometimes entrenched economic interests, and sometimes tradition, custom, and popular opinion.

Whatever the opposing force, it is people with a belief, a demand, and a cause who have made social movements a mighty agent for strengthening democracy and fomenting change in the United States. By coming together, Americans have "plowed up the ground," unleashed "thunder and lightning," and produced the "awful roar" that has transformed America and made it the nation it is today.

How to Use this Encyclopedia

The encyclopedia is divided into 16 sections, each of which covers one of the major social movements in American history: 1) the antislavery movement; 2) civil rights movement; 3) women's movement; 4) labor movement; 5) Native American movement; 6) rural, social, and political movements; 7) moral reform movements; 8) religious, utopian, and health movements; 9) antiwar/protest movements; 10) radical and poor people's movements; 11) student movements; 12) ethnic and group identity movements; 13) environmental movement; 14) lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender movement; 15) conservative, nativist, and right-wing movements; and 16) global justice movement.

Each section is edited by an expert in the field and includes an introduction; articles on the critical themes, aspects, and events of the social movement or movements; biographical portraits of key leaders and figures; excerpts from primary sources and historical documents; bibliography and references; and illustrations. The articles in each section are arranged by chronology or topic, so that, together, they give a complete portrait of each movement.

It is important to keep in mind that in organizing an encyclopedia on this subject, numerous decisions had to be made regarding definition and placement. After all, many social movements overlapped, and people who participated in one movement often participated in another. Abolitionist Frederick Douglass, for example, was also a prominent supporter of women's rights. His colleague Susan B. Anthony, who became the leader of the women's movement, entered public life by joining the temperance movement. A century later, A. Philip Randolph was a prominent leader in both the labor and civil rights movements.

Many movements themselves clearly crossed boundaries. People who fought for the rights of both African Americans and women—from Sojourner Truth to Mary McLeod Bethune and Fannie Lou Hamer—belonged to the civil rights movement and to the women's movement, and many also belonged to the labor movement, student movement, poor people's movement, and other movements. These multiple movements were often interwoven, influencing and cross-pollinating each other.

Readers should bear in mind that the divisions in this reference work are not clear-cut. Movements do not arise in a vacuum, and they are far too complex to be neatly separated. Decisions had to be made about where to place articles on causes and movements that overlapped. Readers should therefore review both the table of contents and the index to find all the information they are seeking, as many causes and individuals appear in different sections, their dual or multiple roles highlighted and examined in different contexts.

This encyclopedia explores the interrelationships between the different social movements, such as the civil rights, women's, antiwar, student, and labor movements of the 1960s, and analyzes each movement's goals, tactics, membership, and outcomes. By thoroughly covering the aims, themes, and people in every American social movement and the impact they had on politics and society, the articles and material in the *Encyclopedia of American Social Movements* provide a broad and engaging overview of American history.

Antislavery Movement

Section 1 of this encyclopedia chronicles one of the first and most important social movements in American history—the struggle against slavery—from its origins in the colonial era to its demise in 1865 after the Civil War. Edited by Beverly Tomek, the articles in Section 1 demonstrate how the effort to end slavery expanded from embryonic protests in the late seventeenth century to a broadly based social movement in the early and mid-nineteenth century. Several forms of antislavery sentiment ultimately emerged: efforts to end the importation of slaves from Africa to America; efforts to colonize blacks beyond the borders of the United States; efforts to prevent the extension of slavery to states and territories in the West; and efforts to abolish slavery throughout the nation.

From the earliest days of American slavery in the 1600s, African Americans engaged in opposition through confrontation, escape, and rebellion. Such actions reveal the intense hostility to enslavement but do not in themselves constitute a social movement. Organized opposition to slavery among European colonists began in the late seventeenth century as religious appeals by German Mennonites and Pennsylvania Quakers challenged the morality of human bondage. Questions regarding the natural rights of humanity surfaced repeatedly in the Revolutionary era, contributing to the gradual abolition of slavery in the North in the late 1700s and early 1800s.

Taking a cue from the establishment of Sierra Leone by the British, many antislavery advocates urged relocation of black Americans to Africa. In 1822, the colony of Liberia was founded in the hopes of encouraging slaveholders to free their slaves and transport them to Africa. Colonization, as it became known, dominated the antislavery movement in the early 1800s. It had many prominent supporters—James Madison and Henry Clay among them—but was scorned by most blacks, who considered America their rightful home.

The abolitionist movement was revolutionary. Ignited by David Walker, who wrote *Walker's Appeal* in 1829, William Lloyd Garrison, who founded the *Liberator* in 1831, and many others, the abolitionist movement demanded the complete and immediate end of slavery. Black and white abolitionists operated newspapers, held meetings and conventions, petitioned legislatures, and spoke out loudly against the institution at every opportunity. The mainstay of the movement was a tactic known as "moral suasion," by which abolitionists aimed to persuade slaveholders of the evils and immorality of the system and, thus, convince them to free their slaves. Garrison and his followers pioneered this tactic and emphasized its peaceful nature.

In the late 1830s and 1840s, however, a growing number of black and white abolitionists began to question the use of moral suasion alone. Proslavery mobs had begun to assault abolitionists in both the

North and the South. Many abolitionists turned to the political process, forming the Liberty Party in 1839 and the Free Soil Party in 1848. Others advocated armed self-defense, and some, such as Nat Turner and John Brown, turned to violence.

Although the abolitionist movement was never huge in terms of sheer numbers, its impact was enormous. By the 1850s, an "irrepressible conflict," as antislavery senator William Seward put it, was developing between the North and the South, as differences over slavery and its westward spread began ripping the country apart. In 1861, this conflict exploded into the Civil War.

As fighting wore on, abolitionists convinced many fellow northerners to expand the goal of the war from preserving the union to ending slavery. President Abraham Lincoln responded by issuing the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863. Two years later, the Thirteenth Amendment was added to the Constitution, abolishing slavery in the United States. By achieving its goal, the abolitionist movement was the first successful social movement in American history.

Civil Rights Movement

The Supreme Court decision *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1955–56, and the battle over integrating public schools in Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1957—these are often considered the events that sparked the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. Critical as these events were, however, the fight for civil rights and racial justice had been going on for more than a century.

In the mid-1800s, many black abolitionists challenged the prevailing system of racial discrimination, which pervaded the nation, north and south. Schools, professions, and public transportation were often closed to African Americans. Many states prevented blacks from voting and serving on juries, and some communities even banned blacks from settling and living within their boundaries.

Many of these racist policies ended after the Civil War. During Reconstruction, Constitutional amendments and federal laws aimed to ensure legal equality and civil rights for African Americans. As Reconstruction collapsed in the late 1870s and 1880s, however, southern states began passing statutes designed to separate the races and keep blacks subordinate. Known as the "Jim Crow" laws, this segregationist system disfranchised blacks, denied them equal opportunity, and forced them to endure inferior treatment and accommodations. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, black activists challenged Jim Crow, building alliances and institutions that would form the basis of the civil rights movement. Ida Wells-Barnett spearheaded the anti-lynching movement in the 1890s, and W.E.B. Du Bois led the Niagara Movement and helped found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1909. They and their colleagues mounted legal challenges to segregation and led demonstrations to rouse public opinion.

A planned march on Washington, organized by A. Philip Randolph in 1941, led President Franklin Roosevelt to ban discrimination in defense industries. By mid-century, a widespread effort to abolish segregation had emerged, and the civil rights movement took shape. Sit-ins, freedom rides, and protest marches galvanized millions of Americans in the 1960s, culminating in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. These landmark statutes outlawed segregation in virtually every aspect of American public life.

After these notable achievements, the civil rights movement began to splinter. Efforts to eradicate racism and achieve economic equality have continued to prove daunting in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Section 2 of this encyclopedia, edited by Joseph Wilson, examines the complex history of the civil rights movement and its enormous impact on American society.

Women's Movement

Unlike the antislavery and civil rights movements, whose origins cannot be traced to a single event or incident, the women's movement—specifically the woman suffrage movement—effectively began in 1848 at a convention held in Seneca Falls, New York. At the time, women could not vote, married women could not own property, and any money a married woman earned belonged to her husband. Few colleges admitted women, and most professions were closed to them. Women's activism to change this system emerged in the early nineteenth century and became a full-fledged movement after the Seneca Falls Convention issued a Declaration of Principles and Sentiments demanding full emancipation and equality for women.

The "first wave" of the feminist movement in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries embraced a wide array of issues, from dress reform and birth control to the ballot and legal equality. In 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution granted women the right to vote.

After this achievement, the feminist movement

declined as a unified force. Many politically active women turned to specific goals, such as an equal rights amendment to the Constitution, an end to child labor, and protections for female workers. Spurred by the civil rights movement, which aimed to eradicate racism and abolish all laws that discriminated against blacks, the "second wave" of the women's movement emerged in the 1960s, as feminists aimed to eradicate sexism and all laws that discriminated against women. The women's liberation movement, as this second wave of feminism was also called, fought for reproductive rights, a more equal division of childcare and household labor, and equal pay for equal work. Like first wave feminists, second wave feminists embraced social, economic, and political goals, which fundamentally challenged long-held beliefs and traditions.

The "third wave" of the women's movement, which developed in the late twentieth century, has not followed the same trajectory as the first two waves. The third wave is more cultural, less confrontational, and it is less likely to use the political process for change. Contemporary women's activism is still taking shape, aiming to preserve the gains of previous years while pursuing new directions.

Section 3 of this encyclopedia, edited by Michelle Moravec, covers the three waves of the women's movement from the early and mid-nineteenth century to the present.

Labor Movement

Unlike the other three great social movements in American history—the antislavery, civil rights, and women's movements—the labor movement has been more diverse and less unified. Embracing both radical and conservative elements, often at the same time, it has pursued various aims, which have competed for allegiance and supremacy. Despite its many differences, the overriding goals of the American labor movement for the past century and a half have been better wages, safer working conditions, and greater respect and dignity in the workplace.

Workers formed the earliest labor organizations, or combinations, in the colonial period. The first trade unions appeared in the 1790s and early 1800s, organized by shoemakers, printers, and cabinetmakers. Some unions were declared illegal, as they were considered conspiracies in restraint of trade, and such rulings impeded union organizing for many years. Efforts to organize workers continued, however, spurred by the rise of industrialization and the factory system in the early 1800s. Textile workers in New England, consisting initially of young women and later of Irish immigrants, pushed for ten-hour workdays and safer working conditions. The National Trades Union, organized in 1834, was the first effort to nationalize the labor movement. The Panic of 1837 doomed this organization, the first of many times that financial crises would deal setbacks to the labor movement.

In 1866, working-class leaders formed the National Labor Union (NLU) with the overriding goal of securing the eight-hour workday. Although the NLU did not last long, the eight-hour day remained the central unifying goal of the American labor movement for the next half-century. It was in these years, between the Civil War and World War I, that the labor movement came of age, and working-class issues shaped the national agenda. These were also the bloodiest years in American labor history, with disputes between workers and employers often erupting in violence. Many of the conflicts involved soldiers and police, operating at the behest of capital, and these events mobilized workers in numerous venues.

In the 1880s, the Knights of Labor became the largest working-class organization of the century, boasting some 750,000 members at its peak. The same decade saw the birth of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), which was destined to become the most influential voice of American workers. Led by Samuel Gompers, the AFL was an organization composed of trades unions, whose members were skilled workers. These unions fought for what became known as "bread-and-butter" issues—higher wages, shorter hours, and secure jobs. Often restrictive in membership, they did not challenge the basic tenets of capitalism, American business, or society. Other workers did.

Anarchists called for the abolition of all government, while socialists advocated government ownership of all industry. Radical workers united to launch the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) in 1905. The IWW endorsed a revolutionary program, which urged unskilled workers to unite in "one big union" dedicated to destroying the wage system and overthrowing capitalism. It attracted many supporters, particularly among the millions of European immigrants who arrived in the United States in the early part of the twentieth century.

The American labor movement secured some of its greatest victories during the Great Depression of the 1930s, when the capitalist system faced its severest challenge. With the collapse of the stock market, an unemployment rate approaching 25 percent, and an

economy in tatters, the U.S. government enacted many measures long advocated by workers, including public works programs, Social Security legislation, unemployment insurance, a minimum wage, an eight-hour workday, and the right to organize. In the 1930s, workers also formed the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), a militant union composed largely of miners, textile workers, steelworkers, and automobile workers. The CIO witnessed spectacular growth and merged with the AFL in 1955. As a percentage of the workforce, organized labor reached its peak in the 1950s.

During the second half of the twentieth century, the labor movement declined, as American industry itself declined, and many manufacturers closed down factories in union-friendly cities of the North and Northeast. Many companies moved to regions of the country hostile to unions and workers' rights, and others moved operations abroad, often to Third World countries where the cost of labor was far lower and protections for workers far weaker. Passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1993 hastened this process, dealing setbacks to American workers. A heavy influx of immigrants, largely from Latin America and Asia, transformed the American labor movement in the late twentieth century, making it more ethnically and racially diverse than at any other time.

Section 4 of this encyclopedia covers the history of the labor movement, with articles surveying both its broad sweep and social impact, as well as the major incidents, movements, and strikes.

Native American Movement

Section 5, edited by Phil Bellfy, examines the struggle of Native Americans to defend their land and culture since the arrival of the Europeans. The European colonization of North America largely differs from that of Africa and Asia. In the Western Hemisphere, Europeans displaced indigenous peoples who had lived there for thousands of years. This process, which unfolded over several centuries, was marked by violence and massacres, the negotiation and abrogation of treaties, and the removal of native peoples to isolated reservations.

Native Americans fought these actions every step of the way, resisting both forced relocation and the stripping of their cultures. Many of these encounters proved bloody and deadly, from the Trail of Tears in the 1830s to the battles of Little Big Horn and Wounded Knee in the late 1800s.

In the twentieth century, the Native American movement focused on sovereignty, self-determination, and tribal identity, goals that continue to the present day. In the 1970s, the American Indian Movement became the voice of militant Native Americans, demanding greater rights and provoking confrontations with federal authorities. Some of these confrontations also ended in violence. Today, the Native American movement is less overtly political, focusing more on social, cultural, and economic issues.

Rural, Social, and Political Movements

Until the early twentieth century, the United States was an agricultural nation with most Americans living in rural areas. Despite their isolation and scattered settlements, farmers and their rural neighbors ignited some of the most important social movements in American history, movements that often turned political.

The earliest of these began before the American Revolution, when disgruntled farmers organized against colonial legislatures, seeking better representation, lower taxes, and stronger military protection. Some protests became armed uprisings and the regulator movement, as it was called, spread through the colonies from the Carolinas to Pennsylvania. After the Revolution, a similar uprising in Massachusetts in 1786–87, known as Shays' Rebellion, revealed the weakness of the federal government and spurred drafting of the Constitution.

Rural movements, usually local in nature, arose sporadically in the nineteenth century. These included Dorr's Rebellion in Rhode Island and the anti-rent movement in New York. After the Civil War, the exoduster movement drew many adherents among former slaves who, facing hardship and oppression in the South, migrated west to Kansas in the 1870s. The West and the South also provided the backdrop for the Populist movement, perhaps the most influential rural movement in American history. Feeling strangled by railroads and dominated by an increasingly urban power structure, farmers united around a "populist" platform, which advocated government ownership of transportation and communication, cooperative storehouses that could regulate distribution and prices, and direct election of senators. The Populist movement peaked in the 1890s, electing local and national lawmakers, and many of their demands were later adopted by the Progressive movement and enacted into law.

Rural movements in the twentieth and twenty-

first centuries have been less significant, as the number of people living in agricultural areas has dwindled; however, there have been exceptions. The agrarian socialist movement spread a radical economic agenda in the early 1900s and 1910s. In the 1930s, the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union drew together many impoverished blacks and whites to fight for greater job security and better working conditions. More recently, the American Agricultural Movement helped raise awareness of the plight of farmers in the late twentieth century.

Section 6 of this encyclopedia, edited by Kyle Wilkison, surveys the myriad rural social movements from the colonial era to the present. It reveals that much of the impetus for economic and political change has come from farmers and others living in agricultural regions.

Moral Reform Movements

The mid-nineteenth century witnessed so many social movements that it has often been called the age of reform. The most influential of these movements—abolition and women's rights—aimed to expand human freedom. Others aimed to control human behavior by reforming people's morals and restricting their access to substances considered dangerous.

The most far-reaching of these moral reform movements was the temperance movement, which aimed to temper, or moderate, people's consumption of alcohol. The temperance movement evolved into the prohibitionist movement, which fought for a total ban on alcohol. The movement achieved its greatest success in 1919, when the Twentieth Amendment to the Constitution empowered Congress to outlaw the sale of alcohol, which it proceeded to do. Although this amendment was repealed in 1933, many counties and jurisdictions across the country still ban the sale of alcohol, an enduring legacy of the temperance movement of the nineteenth century. The temperance movement also played a role in the founding of Alcoholics Anonymous, an organization that helps individuals overcome addiction to alcohol and which became the blueprint for the self-help movement of the late twentieth century.

Other moral reform movements sought to ban prostitution, vice, and pornography. Still others sought to ban contraception, homosexuality, and drugs. Many such laws were enacted during the Progressive Era in the early twentieth century. The Progressive movement embraced multitudinous goals, from moral reform to labor legislation, from government regulation of industry to direct democracy. Many Progressives also joined the eugenics movement, which, drawing on the new science of genetics and evolution, aimed to selectively breed children from groups deemed racially or ethnically superior.

One central theme unites these diverse moral reform movements: the drive to improve society, whether it is by changing individuals' habits and activities, by banning substances and practices deemed dangerous or wrong, or by regulating reproduction.

Section 7 of this encyclopedia, edited by Liz Highleyman and Benjamin Shepard, describes the variety and complexity of these intersecting movements, showing how some have all but vanished, while others continue to shape American society.

Religious, Utopian, and Health Movements

Religion has played a dual role in the history of American social movements: It has been the basis and goal of various movements, and it has spurred involvement in other movements, from abolition and civil rights to utopian communities and health reform. The First Great Awakening, a widespread religious revival in the 1730s and 1740s, may rank as the first broad social movement in American history. It gave rise to the Methodist Church and spread ideas of individual responsibility and communal participation.

A century later, the Second Great Awakening of the early 1800s inspired Americans to embrace religion and the concept of perfectionism. It became the individual's duty to reform himself or herself and then to reform society. Such an ethos led many to abolition, temperance, and other movements. It also led many to join new religions, such as that of the Mormons, Seventh-Day Adventists, and Pentecostalists.

The quest to build a perfect society inspired the creation of countless utopian, or intentional, communities, which dotted the countryside in the nineteenth century. Similar ideals, coupled with a "back-to-basics" sensibility, drew many to communal societies in the 1960s.

The offshoots of religious movements are varied. The missionary movement sent proselytizers throughout the world, whereas the social gospel movement sought to bring a Christian, socialist spirit to political and social policy. Although the great majority of Americans has long been Christian, many religious movements have embraced other faiths and belief systems, including Native American religions, Santeria, Islam, Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Daoism. Also included in religious movements are *non*reli-

gious movements, such as ethical culture, which aimed to develop a system of morals and behavior based on humanistic rather than spiritual ideas.

Finally, religious movements embrace movements based on so-called alternative belief systems known as "new age." These often are an amalgam of spiritual, holistic, and traditional practices, with elements of both Eastern and Western faiths. Religion also has influenced attitudes toward the body, nutrition, and medicine, sparking various health movements such as vegetarianism, homeopathy, and a return to natural foods.

Section 8 of this encyclopedia, edited by Matthew Sutton, conveys the enormous impact of religious, utopian, and health movements, and how these movements have shaped many facets of American life.

Antiwar/Protest Movements

Unlike most American social movements, which emerged gradually and lasted for years, antiwar movements generally sprung up quickly and were of short duration—no longer than the war being opposed. Antiwar sentiment has arisen during every war the United States has fought, though genuine antiwar movements have been rare. Whether scattered or organized, antiwar activity has had an enormous impact.

Antiwar sentiment was widespread during the American Revolution. As much as one-third of the population were loyalists. Antiwar sentiment arose during the War of 1812, mainly in New England, where some spoke of secession, and it rose again during the Mexican-American War, mostly among abolitionists and antislavery northerners. Antiwar sentiment erupted in both sections of the country during the Civil War, leading to deadly riots in the North and disunity in the South, where many regions refused to secede from the Union.

The protest movement that emerged during World War I was deemed so threatening to national security and the military effort that the federal government clamped down on it swiftly, outlawing vocal opposition to the war and jailing and deporting the movement's leaders. These government actions were among the greatest assaults on free speech in American history.

The largest and most divisive antiwar movement arose in the 1960s in opposition to the Vietnam War. Driven largely by students, the movement swelled in the course of the decade, often intersecting and overlapping with the civil rights movement, and stimulating the growth of other protest movements. The most recent antiwar movement arose in the early twenty-first century, as activists gathered to oppose U.S. intervention in Iraq. Antiwar movements have been driven by those who oppose a specific war as wrong or immoral and by pacifists who oppose all wars.

Section 9 of this encyclopedia, edited by Marian Mollin, shows how antiwar sentiment has shaped each conflict in American history and explains the far-reaching effects of antiwar movements on society at large.

Radical and Poor People's Movements

While poverty has been part of American history from its very beginning, poor people's movements are a product of the industrial era. The goals of poor people's movements have primarily been jobs, dignity, and financial security. Most of these movements have emerged during periods of economic depression.

One of the first was known as Coxey's Army, when unemployed workers descended on Washington, D.C., in 1894, to demand public works programs. During the same period, the settlement house movement aimed to ameliorate the social and living conditions in urban areas where many poor, uneducated immigrants had settled. During the Great Depression of the 1930s, unemployed workers organized a movement to promote public works and prevent poor people from being evicted from their homes. These movements, which often embraced more radical aims that challenged the dominance of capitalism, also motivated the enactment of many New Deal programs that provided jobs and relief to millions of Americans.

A generation later, during the widespread social upheaval of the 1960s, poor people organized with radical goals of transforming the nation's economic system. These radical and poor people's movements spurred creation of numerous antipoverty programs and often intersected with other movements, such as the civil rights movement. In fact, it was during the planning for a poor people's march for reforms in welfare, employment, and housing that Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated in 1968. In the late twentieth century, as homelessness became widespread, poor people organized tent city movements to secure decent housing and shelter.

For more than a century, radical and poor people's movements have spurred both public and private sector intervention in the economy with the goal of mitigating human suffering and resolving the per-

ceived inequities of the nation's capitalist, industrial system.

Student Movements

Like poor people, students have been active in many social movements throughout American history. Not until the 1960s, however, did college students play a commanding role in reforming American society.

Discontent with what they considered widespread conformity, political and economic inequality, and corporate domination, they formed the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) in 1960. Many students and SDS leaders joined the Free Speech Movement at the University of California in Berkeley in 1964 and played vital roles in the civil rights and antiwar movements of the decade. They created a counterculture movement, which challenged many prevailing social mores and values. More radical students joined militant organizations, such as the Weathermen, which urged overthrow of the U.S. government and the capitalist system, and used violence to pursue their aims.

In the 1980s, students galvanized opposition to apartheid in South Africa, setting up shantytowns on college campuses to raise visibility. In the 1990s and early 2000s, students provided much of the energy in the campaigns against globalization and sweatshop labor.

Students emerged as a broad social group in the second half of the twentieth century, when large numbers of Americans began attending college for the first time, and their numbers continue to grow. Although the fervor and issues have fluctuated over time, student movements remain a vibrant source for social change.

Ethnic and Group Identity Movements

The civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s generated many changes in American society and sparked new trends, ideas, and ways of thought. Among these was the "black is beautiful" movement that promoted pride in African-American culture and identity. Such racial and ethnic pride inspired other groups to emphasize and celebrate their past, their culture, and sense of cohesion.

Mexican Americans, other Latin Americans, and Hispanics formed the Chicano movement, while Asian Americans and other groups formed ethnic identity movements of their own. European Americans, whose ancestors came from Ireland, Italy, Poland, and other countries, also formed groups to celebrate their culture and contributions to American society.

Many of these ethnic identity movements adopted political goals that pushed for civil rights and greater economic opportunity. This, in turn, inspired formation of other groups, based not on race or ethnicity but on some specific feature. Older people formed the Gray Panthers and senior citizens' movement. Disabled people formed their own movement, which pushed for greater inclusion, acceptance, and dignity in American society. These ethnic and group identity movements have spawned an "identity politics," which has made personal association with a particular group a central element of individual identity.

Environmental Movement

The origins of the environmental movement can be traced to the nineteenth century, when fishers and hunters regulated their actions to prevent depletion of fish and wildlife. Increasing settlement and encroachment on the land in the latter part of the century led to early, broad-based efforts at preservation of public space. This eventually led to the development of the National Park System, which began with the 1872 establishment of Yellowstone, the first national park.

In the early twentieth century, these efforts expanded to include preservation and conservation of natural resources such as forests, water, and soil. Publication of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* in 1962 generated controversy over the dangers of DDT and other widely used pesticides and helped bring about the modern environmental movement. The movement gathered strength during the 1960s, culminating in such landmark legislation as the Clean Air Act, Clean Waters Restoration Act, and Endangered Species Act, and the establishment of the Environmental Protection Agency in 1970.

As the dangers caused by pollution, toxins, and industrial waste became increasingly evident in the late twentieth century, the environmental movement became institutionalized, as powerful interest groups, manufacturers, and government agencies competed to set environmental policies. The environmental movement branched in new directions, embracing animal rights and appropriate technology, as well as efforts to close nuclear power plants.

Of all the social movements examined in this encyclopedia, the environmental movement, the subject of Section 13, is one that will most likely continue well into the twenty-first century.

Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Movement

The gay rights movement emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, an era when sexual issues became more openly discussed in public forums. For many years, however, homosexuality was less a movement than a subculture.

In the post–World War II era, gay men and lesbians began forming organizations, such as the Mattachine Society and the Daughters of Bilitis, to build solidarity and support, as well as to fight for recognition and an end to discrimination. At the time, gay men and women faced many obstacles, from a lack of general social acceptance to specific laws banning sexual acts. Homosexuality was defined as an illness, and police often raided clubs and establishments where gay people gathered. The gay rights movement also included myriad advocates of sexual freedom, including bisexuals and transgendered people.

In June 1969, police in New York City raided the Stonewall Inn, a bar frequented by gay men and transvestites. Patrons resisted arrest and harassment, and they rioted against the police. This incident galvanized the gay rights movement. In the course of the next decade, gay men and lesbians became increasingly vocal, militant, and visible in pursuit of their aims.

The advent of AIDS in the 1980s further emboldened and solidified the gay rights movement and made homosexuality—and sexuality itself—a major public issue. Groups such as the Gay Men's Health Crisis and the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (or ACT-UP) drew widespread attention to the disease, treated those infected with it, and demanded greater spending, research, and social programs. By the 1990s, the gay rights movement had numerous successes, such as the passing of antidiscrimination ordinances in many states and local jurisdictions and achieving a greater degree of social acceptance.

In 2003, two judicial decisions marked a new phase in the gay rights movement: The U.S. Supreme Court struck down a Texas antisodomy law as unconstitutional, and the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts ruled in favor of gay marriage. Opponents reacted swiftly with efforts to overturn or mitigate these decisions, while gay rights leaders have mobilized to preserve and extend them.

Section 14 of this encyclopedia, edited by William Turner, traces development of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered movement over the past century and examines its impact on American society.

Conservative, Nativist, and Right-Wing Movements

Most social movements in American history have advocated greater individual rights and personal freedoms—as well as greater democracy and inclusiveness in American society—and have looked to a strong national government to help secure them. Several movements, however, do not fit neatly into this category and have sought rather to preserve the status quo or even to restore some features of an idealized past. Such movements have a variety of goals, some seeking to expand certain freedoms, some seeking to restrict them, some seeking a stronger national government, and some seeking a weaker one.

Nativist movements date back to the 1830s, when many white, Protestant Americans felt threatened by the arrival of increasing numbers of immigrants, particularly Catholic newcomers from Ireland. They engaged in violent actions and formed political parties, such as the Know Nothings in the 1850s, dedicated to restricting immigration. Anti-Irish sentiment diminished in the late 1800s, but nativism found new targets among recent immigrants, such as the Chinese, Japanese, and eastern and southern Europeans.

In 1882, the United States banned immigration from China, and, in the early 1900s, it extended this ban to most Asians and eastern and southern Europeans. These bans were repealed in the 1960s, but nativism continues to be a powerful force in the United States.

Some strands of the conservative movement focus on specific policy issues, such as opposition to gun control or support for prayer in public schools. The pro-life movement, which emerged in the 1970s, aims to outlaw abortion. By contrast, supporters of the libertarian movement focus less on specific policy issues than on their central aim of weakening the power of the national government—or any government—in personal matters. They favor maximum individual liberty without government intervention.

Many libertarians and conservatives see the national government as a threat to, rather than a guardian of, their individual rights, and they aim to reduce its size and influence. At the furthest extreme of the political right are groups that view the U.S. government as the enemy and form paramilitary bands, known as militias. An older and similarly extreme group is the Ku Klux Klan, known for its hostility toward African Americans, Catholics, Jews, and foreigners. The Klan emerged after the Civil War and committed numerous acts of terrorism against former

slaves and whites sympathetic to black advancement. The group reached its greatest strength in the 1920s.

The modern conservative movement emerged after World War II in reaction to the expansion of the national government. In the decades since, it has attracted many Christian fundamentalists, whites opposed to federal support for integration, and businesspeople seeking fewer government regulations and lower taxes. A dominant force in the Republican Party, Conservatism played a key role in electing Ronald Reagan president in 1980.

Conservatives tend to favor local, rather than national, control over many social matters and often take a strict stance on issues of personal morality and individual behavior. The current conservative and right wing movement, however, embraces myriad voices, and, with strong grassroots support in many parts of the country, it continues to influence social policy and national politics.

Global Justice Movement

The global justice movement is the most recent American social movement, emerging only in the last decade. As the name suggests, it is global, rather than national, in scope.

Following World War II, wealthier nations created several global organizations, such as the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, to promote economic development and world trade. These organizations wielded influence over international commerce and investments in Third World countries. In the 1990s, Mexico, Canada, and the United States ratified the North American Free Trade Agreement to lower trade barriers between these nations. Critics have charged that such transnational organizations have weakened environmental protections, exploited Third World workers, and reduced American jobs.

The global justice movement has challenged these organizations and demanded greater participation of the poor in setting economic policy and improving working conditions worldwide. They have fought for a "living wage" that would lift incomes of poorer workers, fair trade laws, and elimination of sweatshop labor. The global justice movement burst into national consciousness in 1999, when protesters violently disrupted a meeting of the World Trade Organization in Seattle. Similar protests have occurred in Canada, Switzerland, Italy, and Mexico.

Section 16 of this encyclopedia, edited by Liz Highleyman, traces the origins of this still-emerging movement and its effort to build support, both nationally and globally.

The Dynamics of Social Movements

The *Encyclopedia of American Social Movements* aims to be comprehensive, authoritative, and balanced. Its goal is neither to champion nor glorify the people in these movements but rather to examine their ideas and motives and understand how their united actions shaped American life. As democracy in motion, social movements are the epic story of the nation's past, providing Americans with a forum—a mechanism—to come together, voice grievances, and change society. Indeed, social movements define, in part, what it means to be American.

Every social movement has begun the same way: with the belief that the world can be a better place and that people can make this happen. By uniting in a movement, people's voices become magnified, precipitating the actions that move the nation in a new direction.

Many of the nation's greatest goals and accomplishments have been the result of social movements through which people have challenged the established order in the struggle for progress. "Our lives begin to end," Martin Luther King, Jr., said, "the day we become silent about things that matter." As this encyclopedia shows, Americans break their silence every time they create and join a social movement and become part of the "awful roar" that transforms the world.

1

Antislavery Movement

Introduction

Shortly after the Civil War, long-time abolitionist and Union colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson looked back with pride and optimism at the fight he and his troops had just helped win. For Higginson and other abolitionists, the war's significance lay primarily not in the preservation of the Union but rather in the achievement of black freedom. By the time the war broke out, abolitionists—black and white, male and female—had been struggling for generations to end slavery.

The fight against human bondage in the United States had a long history. European colonists in North America began relying upon enslaved African laborers within the first generation of settling in the New World. Protest against the system erupted almost immediately. German Mennonites and Quakers in Pennsylvania led the way, petitioning against slavery as early as the 1680s. They argued that slavery broke the Golden Rule of Christianity and defeated their purpose for settling in the New World. For these settlers, the colonies offered a chance to create model societies that emphasized freedom of conscience and an opportunity to live in "Godly" simplicity. Slavery defeated both goals. Unfortunately, most of their neighbors did not share their concerns, and slavery became deeply entrenched in the legal and social fabric of the colonies.

More colonists began to question slavery in the decades before the American Revolution. Concerned more with self-preservation than the welfare of the enslaved, this generation of antislavery leaders struggled to halt the importation of new slaves. A 1712 conspiracy in which a group of slaves plotted to burn the town of New York convinced a growing number of whites to oppose human bondage by emphasizing the dangers of retribution. Following the conspiracy, a number of state assemblies tried to impose substantial taxes on slave importation to keep the black population, and thus the threat of retaliation, from growing. The colonies, however, still belonged to England, and the home government overrode such efforts. Slavery was a profitable system that brought great wealth to the empire.

During the Revolutionary Era, this fear of the enslaved combined with a new emphasis on natural rights to lead a growing number of whites to question human bondage. In the original draft of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson criticized the English government for introducing slavery into the colonies. For Jefferson and other aristocratic Virginia planters, the system served as a daily reminder of the contradiction between the freedom they celebrated and the reality of their own greed. They also worried that their bondspersons would eventually strike for their own liberty. Jefferson compared the situation to having a "wolf by the ears," and the Haitian Revolution in August 1791, now known as the only successful slave revolt in history, compounded his fears. Most Northern states, less dependent on slave labor than the Southern states, took steps during and immediately after the Revolution to end slavery, with most providing for gradual emancipation.

Many antislavery leaders of the Revolutionary generation dreamed of solving the problem by returning the slaves to Africa. They saw repatriation as a way to make up to Africa for past wrongs, to "civilize" the inhabitants, and to teach them legitimate trades while also ridding themselves of the dangers of slaveholding. This idea was not new. Britain had created the African colony of Sierra Leone in the 1790s as a "haven" for poor blacks from London, Loyalists from the American Revolution, and "recaptives" saved from the illicit slave trade. Hoping to create a similar colony, a number of influential Americans came together in December of 1816 to form the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States, more commonly known as the American Colonization Society. This group initially enjoyed success in both sections of the country, winning support from Virginia slaveholders as well as re-

ligious and missionary groups from Pennsylvania and other Northern states. Taking their cue from British efforts at Sierra Leone, they founded the African colony of Liberia in 1822. They hoped the formation of such a colony would encourage American slaveholders to free their laborers by providing an outlet for their removal. They also hoped that their colony, like Sierra Leone, would serve as a home for recaptives. At first, a few key black leaders such as Paul Cuffee and James Forten also considered the merits of the plan.

Most African Americans, however, saw colonization as a scheme to strengthen slavery by removing free blacks from the country. They argued that if able free black leaders went to Liberia, American slaves would be deprived of valuable leadership in the freedom struggle at home. By the 1830s, a growing number of whites, led by William Lloyd Garrison, had begun to listen to black protests and joined with them in calling for immediate and uncompensated emancipation. Influenced largely by the evangelical nature of the Second Great Awakening, white leaders like Garrison, Gerrit Smith, Arthur and Lewis Tappan, and Theodore Dwight Weld joined the efforts of black leaders and together created the biracial abolitionist movement. Abolition and antislavery became two distinct movements in the 1830s.

The abolition movement was revolutionary. Abolitionists not only called for immediate freedom for the enslaved, but they also, at least in theory, insisted upon racial equality. While white abolitionists continued to hold their own racial biases, they went beyond the antislavery advocates of previous generations by working directly with African Americans. Black and white abolitionists operated newspapers, held meetings and conventions, petitioned legislatures, and spoke out loudly against the institution at every opportunity. The mainstay of the movement was a belief in a tactic known as *moral suasion*. According to this theory, abolitionists could convince slaveholders of the evils of the system and, thus, encourage them to release the slaves. Garrison and his followers pioneered this tactic and emphasized its peaceful nature.

By the 1840s, however, a growing number of black and white abolitionists began to question the use of moral suasion alone. Pro-slavery mobs had begun to assault abolitionists in both the North and the South. In 1837, abolitionist editor Elijah P. Lovejoy, having been previously attacked by mobs, decided to abandon his antiviolence stance in favor of armed self-defense. Despite his decision to fight back, he was killed while trying to defend his press. This incident, as well as attacks upon other leaders, including Garrison himself, led a number of abolitionists to question nonviolence. At the same time, the passage of a strong fugitive slave law and an outbreak of pro-slavery violence in Kansas convinced others to embrace a more militant stance. It was at this point that those of Higginson's generation joined the struggle.

By the end of the 1850s, agitation on both sides had reached the boiling point, and Northern abolitionists and Southern slaveholders were both calling for disunion. When the Civil War broke out, President Abraham Lincoln professed a commitment to save the Union at all costs, but many abolitionists saw a greater purpose to the fight. Both blacks and whites pushed the president to make abolition a war goal. Blacks were excluded from joining the army during the first years of the war, but slaves began escaping immediately. They served the Union troops as spies, cooks, manual laborers, and nurses. A number of free black leaders approached Lincoln personally, asking him to let them participate in what they saw as the logical culmination of their decades of struggle. As soon as the president issued the Emancipation Proclamation and the Union Army began accepting black recruits, African Americans began enlisting. They exhibited valor in battles such as Milliken's Bend, Port Hudson, and, most notably, Fort Wagner.

Black abolitionists saw the Civil War as an opportunity to prove racial equality by earning freedom rather than having it handed to them. A number of civil rights victories during the war reinforced their optimism that their efforts in battle would bring lasting changes. To begin with, by allowing black men to take up arms for the country, the U.S. government acknowledged black citizenship. The government also passed a number of antidiscrimination measures, repealing an 1825 law barring blacks from carrying the mail, admitting blacks to the visitors' galleries in Congress, and initiating a process that would lead to the end of legal segregation in the North within three decades. Most importantly, the Union victory led to the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution, freeing the slaves and declaring them citizens, respectively. For white and black abolitionists alike, these changes served as evidence that they had won much more than the Civil War. They had reached their decades-long goal of removing the stain of slavery from the nation and had secured freedom for those in bondage.

Beverly Tomek

Antislavery Movement

1700s–1830s

Bound labor played an indispensable role in the development of the Americas. Hoping to extract profit from this vast territory, European leaders and their colonial agents began immediately to force indigenous populations to provide labor in the colonies. When that arrangement failed, the Europeans turned to Africa. These enslaved workers produced wealth for European nations by mining for precious metals in Spain's Central and South American colonies and planting, cultivating, and harvesting cash crops such as sugar, tobacco, and cotton in the English and French colonies of the Caribbean and North America. By using slave labor, European leaders created profitable empires.

By the time of the American Revolution, however, a growing number of people in Europe, as well as in the colonies, began to speak out against slavery. Although the abolition crusade did not emerge as an organized, coherent movement until the 1830s, antislavery sentiment has a much longer history. Examination of the long legacy of antislavery thought in the North American colonies, the effect of the American Revolution on slavery, and the early efforts of organized antislavery reveal that the abolitionists of the Antebellum years were adding to, and improving upon, an existing foundation.

Antislavery in Colonial America

Antislavery efforts in North America began almost immediately. German Mennonites and Quakers in Pennsylvania began protesting human bondage as early as the 1680s. In 1688, a group of Dutch-speaking Quakers from the Germantown settlement presented an antislavery petition that made its way to the Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting. They pointed out that slavery broke the Golden Rule of Christianity, made a mockery of the colony's claim to be a Holy Experiment and a haven for freedom, and created a situation fraught with danger.

The petition employed each of these arguments to persuade fellow Quakers to oppose slavery. It began by invoking God's commandment to "doe to all men like as we will be done to ourselves" and reminding Quakers of the colonial promise of "liberty of conscience." The petitioners then pointed out that slavery hampered their religious mission in America, comparing racial oppression in the colonies to their own spiritual repression in Europe, warning that "this makes an ill report in all those countries of Europe where they [hear that] Quakers . . . here handel men as they handel there . . . cattle." Finally, although many historians have failed to emphasize this point, the petitioners cried out against slavery in a quest for self-preservation. They warned that the slaves, described by their owners as "wicked and stubbern men," could join together, "fight for their freedom," and "handel their masters and mistresses" as they had been "handled" themselves. The petitioners argued that the "poor slaves" had the right to such retaliation, and they feared the consequences for all white colonists, slave owners or not. Their petition was tabled by the Yearly Meeting, and many Quakers continued to own slaves, but it serves as an important record of early protest against slavery. It combined compassion for the slaves with concern for white settlers by arguing that the system robbed blacks of their freedom and put white settlers in danger by encouraging a future race war.

The Germantown effort was followed by attempts to at least halt the importation of more slaves. In 1712, a conspiracy among slaves to burn the town of New York confirmed the petitioners' fears of retaliation and led Pennsylvania's Quaker-dominated assembly to impose a substantial tax of 20 pounds per head on any slave imported into the colony. The New York insurrection involved only twenty slaves, but it resulted in the death of nine whites. Even these small numbers spread terror throughout the North Ameri-

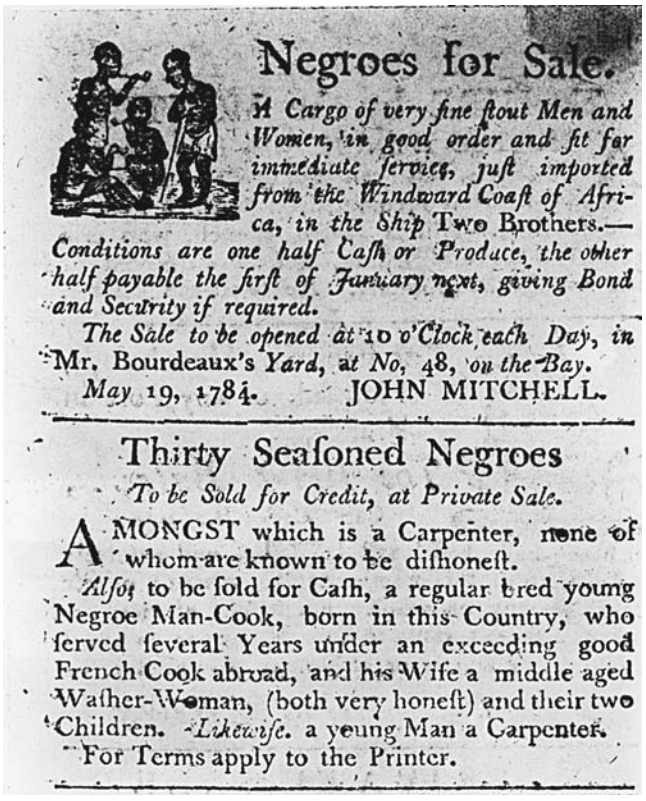
can colonies because any challenge to complete black subjugation posed a threat to the entire system of bound labor and put white lives in jeopardy. The Pennsylvania tax effort failed, however, because the Crown overrode the duty, and the slave trade in this and other colonies continued despite the protest of some Quakers, most notably Ralph Sandiford and Anthony Benezet. Even after the 1739 Stono Rebellion in South Carolina led to the death of approximately twenty whites at the hands of fifty slave rebels, importation of Africans into North America continued.

Northern opposition to slavery began to grow in the decades leading up to the American Revolution. To begin with, the plantation economy, which made cash crops crucial in the Southern states, did not develop in the colonies above Virginia. The mixed economy of the Middle States made small-scale slavery profitable as bound laborers learned a variety of farming and artisanal skills, but large-scale commercial farms dependent upon gang labor remained largely a Southern phenomenon. In addition, most New Englanders came to America in search of self-sufficiency rather than large profits, and slavery did not fit in well with their religious ideals. These settlers, known as Puritans, came to the colonies in hopes of creating what they called a "city upon a hill." This society, they hoped, would serve as an example of perfection to the rest of the world and encourage observers to follow a "Godly" lifestyle of simplicity and morality. Although slavery existed in New England, growing numbers of whites began to regret their complicity. They began to fear that the taint of human oppression would put all colonists in danger of Divine retribution. Many Quakers agreed with the Puritans, and a large number saw the Seven Years' War as God's punishment for extravagant lifestyles and abuse of fellow humans. This crisis in conscience, combined with the fact that slavery remained much more important economically in the South than in the North, encouraged the growth of opposition to the system.

Growth in Antislavery Sentiment

Scholars have long debated the reasons for the growth of antislavery sentiment in the eighteenth century. In his monumental 1944 study, *Capitalism & Slavery*, Eric Williams attributed the growth in antislavery arguments throughout the British Empire to the declining profitability of the system. He argued that the crusade to end the slave trade emerged only after it had "become less profitable and less vital" to the home government. According to Williams, before the American Revolution, "all classes in English society . . . supported the slave trade" and even fought against colonial assemblies' efforts to curtail the growth of the slave population by placing restrictions on importation. He added that English Quakers, unlike those of the northern American colonies, approved of the slave trade as essential to the growth and success of the empire. He used this idea to support his larger argument that profits from the slave trade "provided one of the main streams of that accumulation of capital . . . which financed the Industrial Revolution."

Thus, according to Williams, slavery and the slave trade enjoyed widespread support while they contributed to the economic growth of the empire. The system planted the seeds of its own destruction, however, by fueling the industrial revolution. Once industry began to dominate, fewer were willing to support the plantations because they had outlived their usefulness to the empire. They had fueled the shipping and shipbuilding industries, provided markets for English goods, spurred the growth of English seaport towns, and provided raw materials used by British industry.



Negroes for Sale.

A Cargo of very fine ſtout Men and Women, in good order and fit for immediate ſervice, juſt imported from the Windward Coaſt of Africa, in the Ship Two Brothers.—Conditions are one half Caſh or Produce, the other half payable the firſt of January next, giving Bond and Security if required.

The Sale to be opened at 10 o'Clock each Day, in Mr. Bourdeaux's Yard, at No, 48, on the Bay.

May 19, 1784. JOHN MITCHELL.

Thirty Seaſoned Negroes

To be Sold for Credit, at Private Sale.

AMONGST which is a Carpenter, none of whom are known to be diſhoneſt.

Alſo, to be ſold for Caſh, a regular bred young Negroe Man-Cook, born in this Country, who ſerved ſeveral Years under an exceeding good French Cook abroad, and his Wife a middle aged Waſher-Woman, (both very honeſt) and their two Children. Likewiſe, a young Man a Carpenter.

For Terms apply to the Printer.

Notices advertising slave sales and slave auctions appeared regularly in American newspapers throughout the eighteenth century. *(Library of Congress)*

With American independence, Britain became primarily concerned with processing raw materials and manufacturing finished goods. The most important of these raw materials—cotton—came from the United States. Thus, slavery became largely an American problem. By the time British abolitionists began to attack the system in the British West Indian colonies, according to Williams' argument, it was no longer essential to the empire. Since Williams's time, scholars such as Seymour Drescher and David Brion Davis have challenged these assumptions, yet Williams's explanation remains thought-provoking.

While Williams focused on economic reasons for the growth of antislavery, others have argued that ideology played a larger role. Davis, in his Pulitzer Prize-winning book, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (1966), emphasized the role of religion and Enlightenment thought in fostering the attack on slavery. He agreed with Williams that slavery "played a major role in the early development of the New World and in the growth of commercial capitalism," but he insisted that "slavery had always been more than an economic institution." He argued that bound labor was "a genuine moral problem" and antislavery crusaders saw emancipation as "proof of moral progress in history."

According to Davis, the rise of dissenting sects like the Quakers led to changes in religious ideas, which ultimately affected attitudes toward slavery. Traditional Christianity supported slavery because of the belief in the doctrine of original sin. In this case, the original sin was committed when Noah's son Ham stared at his father's nude body, causing all of his descendants to bear his curse as punishment. As Europeans began to explore Africa and study its people, they began to believe that this "Curse of Ham" had caused the difference in skin color. According to this theory, Africans descended from Ham, and their black skin served as physical evidence of the curse. They extended this idea of original sin and punishment to justify enslaving blacks by arguing that Africans were relegated to the status of servants by God as a result of Ham's sin.

According to Davis, however, some new Christian sects that emerged after the Protestant Reformation began to question traditional doctrines, including that of original sin. In the process, they "undermined the ideology which rationalized the existing social order." Davis added that by mid-century Quaker belief especially began to provide "a cultural setting in which hostility to slavery could become something more than individual dissent," especially in Pennsylvania where Friends played a large role in the colonial government. He described a similar transformation of opinion on slavery in other Protestant denominations, concluding that "it is hardly conceivable that antislavery could have become a powerful international force had it not been preceded by a revolutionary shift in attitudes toward sin, human nature, and progress."

According to Davis, the Enlightenment also contributed to the growth of antislavery by challenging traditional secular authority. Although the Protestants "searched for authentic standards in the revealed word of God," Enlightenment thinkers looked to human nature for answers. Men like John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau argued that human nature in an uncorrupted state was good, or at least malleable, rather than evil. Such reasoning led to a "heightened concern for individual happiness" and led growing numbers of thinkers to question human bondage. Thus, by the eve of the American Revolution, the ideas of the French Enlightenment had laid the groundwork for both white and black freedom movements.

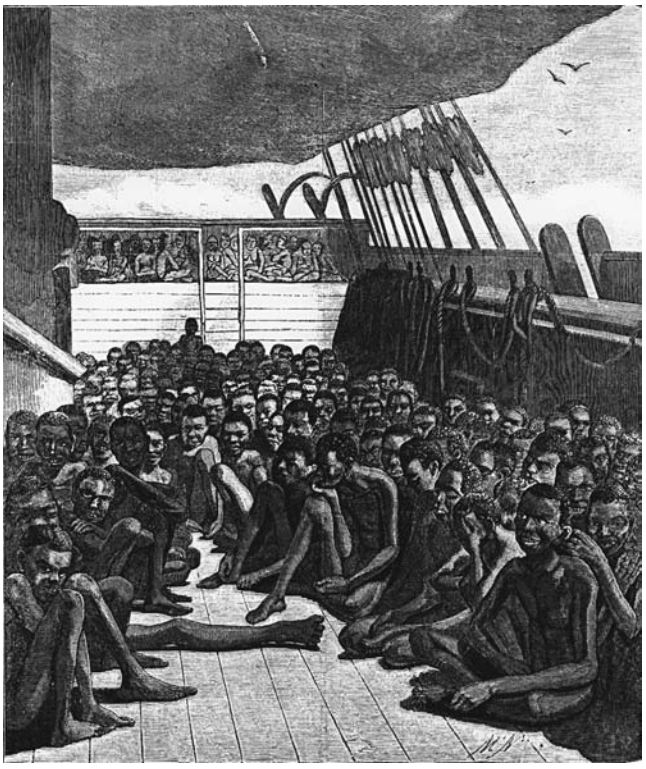
Abolition societies began to form in the colonies before the Revolution. Pennsylvania's Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery was founded in 1775 by Benjamin Franklin, but the turmoil of the war led to its demise. It was reorganized in 1784 as the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully held in Bondage, and for Improving the Condition of the African Race. As president of this society, Franklin pledged to "instruct; to advise; to qualify those who have been restored to freedom . . . To promote in them habits of industry; to furnish them with employments suited to their age, sex, talents, and other circumstances; and to procure their children an education calculated for their future situation in life." For early abolitionists like Franklin, the end of slavery had to be gradual and required training for the freed so that they could become useful members of society.

Most Northern states took steps to end slavery during and immediately after the war. Vermont adopted an antislavery clause in its 1777 state constitution, but it was not one of the original thirteen colonies and was not admitted into the new nation until 1791. Pennsylvania was the first state to adopt legislation against slavery, providing for gradual emancipation with a 1780 abolition act. Most New England states followed suit around the same time, also providing for gradual emancipation. Some states, including Rhode Island and Connecticut, passed statutes promising freedom to future generations. Under most

of these gradual abolition acts, the children of current slaves would become free upon their maturity, usually in their late twenties. States such as Massachusetts and New Hampshire relied upon judicial decisions to provide the same effect.

Most of these measures were products of a combination of economic, religious, and ideological motivations. Williams and Davis each presented valid points as to the importance of economics and ideology in the emergence of the transatlantic antislavery movement. A comprehensive look at the growth of antislavery sentiment, specifically in North America, however, reveals a unique, and sometimes overlooked, factor: fear. Unlike British abolitionists, who lived thousands of miles away from the slaves they hoped to free, Americans were motivated by distrust for the growing number of bound laborers in their midst. The Germantown petition, though arguing that the enslaved had a right to retaliate, hoped to convince fellow Quakers to stop importing slaves in the interest of self-preservation. Although large-scale, well-organized slave rebellions were rare in the North American colonies, white settlers heard reports of frequent rebellion in the English West Indies. Most realized that the key difference was population balance. In the Caribbean, a high rate of absenteeism and the large-scale nature of the plantation workforce left whites greatly outnumbered by blacks. In North America, the only colony with a black majority was South Carolina. As long as whites outnumbered blacks in most colonies, they could hope to be safe from rebellion. However, if more colonies followed South Carolina's lead in importing large numbers of slaves from Africa and the Caribbean, whites throughout North America would face the danger of retaliation. Another fear shared by North Americans from the beginning of colonial settlement was the fear of racial intermixture. In 1691, the Virginia legislature passed a statute that made interracial sexual acts illegal and effectively outlawed interracial marriage, and most other colonial legislatures at least considered similar acts.

Because of such fear, the earliest antislavery initiatives, like the attempt by the Pennsylvania assembly to tax slave imports, were actually aimed at limiting the growth of the black population rather than freeing those currently held in bondage. Founding Father and early abolitionist Franklin best summed up this desire in his 1755 pamphlet, *Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind.* In this essay, Franklin argued against increasing "the Sons of Africa, by Planting them in America, where we have so fair an Opportunity, by excluding all blacks and Tawneys, of increasing the lovely White and Red [races]." Other early abolitionists agreed. Quaker Anthony Benezet argued in his 1767 *Caution and Warning to Great Britain and Her Colonies* that slavery posed a danger to white morals while also exciting "continual apprehension of dangers and frequent alarms, to which the whites are necessarily exposed from so great an increase of a people that, by their bondage and oppression, become natural enemies." In this climate of fear, antislavery advocates hoped, above all, to purge society of the evil system and the menacing presence of an unwanted population. Justice for the men and women in bondage was of secondary concern at best. Even for men of conscience like Benezet, sympathy for the enslaved and fear of the black population could easily go hand in hand.



Slave importers crowded Africans as closely as possible on ships crossing the Atlantic Ocean. Because of the wretched conditions on board, an estimated 10 to 25 percent died on the grueling "Middle Passage" from Africa to America. *(Library of Congress)*

Slavery and the American Revolution

These early antislavery rumblings gained volume during the American Revolution. As American lead-

A PETITION FOR FREEDOM
By African Americans of Massachusetts, 1777

The fight against British colonialism in the Americas calling for liberty, freedom, and equality raised the crucial question of the dehumanized status of enslaved African Americans who were oppressed by the same colonial white population that demanded liberty. The following is a demand made on the Massachusetts General Court in 1777 by African Americans seeking freedom from slavery. The language is in the original.

To the Honorable Counsel and House of Representatives for the State of Massachusetts Bay in General Court assembled, January 13, 1777

The petition of A Great Number of Blackes detained in a State of slavery in the Bowels of a free & Christian Country Humbly shuwith [showeth] that your Petitioners apprehend that thay [they] have in Common with all other men a Natural and Unaliable [inalienable] Right to that freedom which the Grat Parent of the Unavers hath Bestowed equalley on all menkind and which they have Never forfuted by any Compact or agreement whatever—but thay wher Unjustly Dragged by the hand of cruel Power from their Derest friends and sum of them Even torn from the Embraces of their tender Parents—from A popolous Pleasant and plentiful contry and in violation of Laws of Nature and off Nations and in defiance of all the tender feelings of humanity Brough[t] hear Either to Be sold Like Beast of Burthen & Like them Condemnd to Slavery for Life—Among A People Profesing the mild Religion of Jesus A people Not Insensible of the Secrets of Rational Being Nor without spirit to Resent the unjust endeavours of others to Reduce them to a state of Bondage and Subjection your honouer Need not to be informed that A Life of Slavery Like that of your petioners Deprived of Every social privilege of Every thing Requisit to Render Life Tolable [Tolerable] is far worse then Nonexistence.

. . . .

[T]he Good People of these States your petitiononers have Long and 'Patiently waited the Evnt of petition after petition By them presented to the Legislative Body of this state and cannot but with Grief Reflect that their Success hath ben but too similar they Cannot but express their Astonishment that It has Never Bin Considered that Every Principle form which Amarica has Acted in the Cours of their unhappy Dificultes with Great Briton Pleads Stronger than A thousand arguments in favowrs of your petioners they therfor humble Beseech your honours to give this petion [petition] its due weight & consideration & cause an act of the Legislatur to be past Wherby they may be Restored to the Enjoyments of that which is the Naturel Right of all men—and their Children who wher Born in this Land of Liberty may not be heald as Slaves after they arrive at the age of twenty one years so may the Inhabitance of this Stats No longer chargeable with the inconsistancey of acting themselves the part which they condem and oppose in others Be prospered in their present Glorious struggle for Liberty and have those Blessing to them, &c.

Lancaster Hill	Jack Purpont
Peter Bess	Nero Suneto
Brister Slenten	Newport Symner
Prince Hall	Job Lock

Source: Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. 5th Series, III (Boston, 1877), pp. 436–437.

ers began to employ the rhetoric of freedom and equality, they were forced to grapple with the paradox of slavery in their "free" society. Unlike slaveholders of the Antebellum era, those of the colonial and revolutionary periods generally accepted the idea that slavery was harmful to whites and blacks alike, and most Americans, North and South, expressed reservations about human bondage.

Historian Gary Nash cited five reasons that the period of the 1770s and 1780s offered an "opportune time for abolishing slavery." He emphasized the widespread antislavery sentiment, adding that although the lower South still depended largely upon and thus strongly supported slavery, that section was too weak to resist a sustained antislavery effort from the rest of the nation at that time. He added that most thinkers of the time believed in environmentalism, a theory that offered a possible tool in the struggle against racism. Environmentalists argued that the "degradation" of blacks was due to the condition of enslavement rather than racial inferiority. Thus, blacks and whites were naturally equal and held the same capacity for education and improvement. Finally, he maintained that the unsettled western territories of-

fered hope for the antislavery movement in two ways. The land could be used to provide compensation to owners for releasing their human property, and it could also provide a place for resettling the freed. According to Nash, however, greed prevented the founders from seizing the moment. He argued that the North and Upper South, though opposed to slavery in theory, enjoyed too much residual economic benefit from slavery's contribution to a strong national economy.

Nash's argument is certainly valid, but it addresses only one aspect of a double-sided issue. The economic greed he describes was coupled by fear. Thomas Jefferson, as the author of the Declaration of Independence and the famous assertion that "all men are created equal," provides the most famous case study. Like others of his time, he profited from slavery. He also feared both the continuation of the system and the immediate emancipation of the bondspeople, worrying that blacks, free or slave, would destroy the white race either by armed, physical retribution or through genetic mixing.

Fear of Revolts

Jefferson's fear of the biracial climate in America surfaced early in his career, most notably in his rough draft of the Declaration of Independence. In his original draft, he not only blamed the British slave trade for imposing a volatile black population among the colonists, but he also publicly articulated his fear of slave insurrection. He insisted that King George not only "waged cruel war against human nature itself" by bringing slaves to the colonies, but that he had also blocked colonial measures to prevent further importation of slaves. Referring to a proclamation in which Virginia's royal governor, Lord Dunmore, promised freedom to slaves who would join the British forces in putting down the colonists' rebellion, he blamed the British government for "exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which [the King] has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them." Jefferson's fear of the slaves' reaction to Dunmore's proclamation was genuine, and other Virginians had expressed similar worries. Some had begun calling for more troops, and one Virginia leader even wrote to his state's delegates in Congress to request that the federal government hire regular officers to protect residents of the state against their slaves.

Fears of slave revolt did not end after the Revolutionary War. Instead, they increased markedly between 1790 and 1801 in light of foreign and domestic slave rebellion. The fervor of revolution in America spread to Europe, fueling a similar revolt in France, which led to the overthrow of the king. Blacks in the French West Indian colonies took advantage of the chaos of the French Revolution to strike for their own freedom in the early 1790s, and many Americans feared that blacks in the United States would follow their lead. The best known of these rebellions occurred on the island of St. Domingo, in the country now known as Haiti. This revolution ended with Haiti becoming the first independent Caribbean nation and the only republic led by blacks. American blacks were aware of this victory and argued that the Haitian example proved that blacks were capable of governing themselves.

Jefferson, who had expressed concern about the growing black population in the United States, received dispatches of the Haitian revolt and a copy of the 1790 American census report at the same time. The Census of 1790 was alarming to a man who had shown continual concern for the growing number of blacks in America. As early as 1785, he expressed irritation that, despite his inducements for the government to end the slave trade, three states were still importing African laborers. He learned that South Carolina had imported more than 4,000 blacks from Africa that year and that over 1,000 black loyalists who had supported the British during the Revolutionary War had been returned to their masters. Two years later, North and South Carolina and Georgia were continuing to import slaves, and Jefferson voiced his irritation that there were 650,000 blacks in the five Southern states alone and that the prospects of the complete cessation of the slave trade did not look promising. By the time of the 1790 Census, the Virginia black population, both slave and free, was more than half the size of the white population, and states such as North Carolina and Georgia were seeing similar increases. In this atmosphere, the dispatches Jefferson received from Haiti could only have served to heighten his existing fears. In his 1781 *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Jefferson had warned that blacks posed a constant danger to the new republic, arguing that "ten thousand recollections . . . of the injuries they have sustained . . . will divide us into parties, and produce convulsions which will probably never end but in the extermination of the one or the other race." The Haitian events served as a chilling reminder of his own insights.

The U.S. consul to Haiti, Nathaniel Cutting, sent reports that reinforced Jefferson's own fears. Declaring that "their whole plan is marked with bitter re-

sentment for former injuries," he concluded that "here we have a lively instance of the baneful effects of Slavery, and I wish that America might add another laurel to her wreath of Fame, by leading the way to a general emancipation." To strengthen his point, Cutting included vivid accounts of atrocities committed by the insurrectionists. In his letters, he recounted horrifying instances of black violence against whites, telling of cases in which the "remorseless savages" entered hospitals and "inhumanely murder'd" the "unfortunate Invalids," "stripped naked and mangled in a most horrid manner" French soldiers, and "in the most cruel manner murder'd in cool blood great numbers of those whom they had thus render'd defenceless." He added that "their savage barbarity has spared neither age nor sex," and he attributed this level of violence to "the ebullitions of uncultivated spirits which have made a sudden transition from the extreme of ignorance and despotic restraint, to certain mistaken ideas of the Rights of Man." This thought haunted Jefferson throughout the conflict, and he wrote to James Monroe two years later saying, "I become daily more and more convinced that all the West India islands will remain in the hands of the people of color, and a total expulsion of the whites sooner or later take place. It is high time we should foresee the bloody scenes which our children certainly, and possibly ourselves . . . have to wade through, and try to avert them."

In addition to stirring Jefferson's fears of armed black retaliation, Cutting's dispatches also touched upon Jefferson's paranoia of factionalism among the white community. Like other leaders of the Revolutionary era, Jefferson worried that factionalism could destroy the republican experiment, but his fears were compounded by his concern that slavery would eventually prove to be the "knell of the Union." Jefferson had begun to grow concerned about the fate of the Union at least as early as 1791 when he sent George Washington a packet of information recounting tensions between Pennsylvania and Virginia over the question of slavery. Seeing such factional bickering as dangerous to the greater society, Jefferson must have been alarmed by Cutting's assertions that French colonists in Haiti were hurting their own cause because they "had not learn'd to sacrifice private opinion to public utility" and were unable to put up a united front against the rebels. This fear grew for Jefferson and other white Americans as political bickering between the Republicans and Federalists in 1800 encouraged Gabriel, a slave of Virginian Thomas Prosser, to develop his own scheme of liberation. While this conspiracy was betrayed by a nervous member and put down before any whites were harmed, it ended in the execution of twenty-seven slaves.

Early Organized Antislavery Efforts

These events had a profound impact on the American antislavery movement. Jefferson, like others of his time, wanted to end slavery and yet he did not want America to contain a large population of free blacks. The Founders at the 1787 Constitutional Convention shared his concern and feared splitting the young nation by overemphasizing the issue of slavery. They did manage to include a provision in the Constitution that would provide an opportunity to end the foreign slave trade in 1808. But this allowed for twenty more years of importation. This conundrum led almost all early antislavery advocates to support the colonization of blacks to other parts of the world. Some called for the creation of black settlements in the American West, but most hoped to send freed slaves either to the new republic of Haiti or "back" to Africa.

The idea of "returning" blacks to Africa was not new. The British slave trade became an organized commercial enterprise in 1563, but by 1596 Queen Elizabeth, like American leaders two centuries later, began calling for the removal of blacks from the country. Ignoring the fact that her own encouragement of the slave trade caused the growth of the black population, Elizabeth continued to support the trade while making appeals to remove blacks, both free and bound, from England. In 1601, she issued a Royal Proclamation ordering the expulsion of blacks from Britain, insisting that indigent free blacks were consuming relief that should be available to the white poor. This proclamation met little success, but almost two centuries later the government officially concluded that there was "no place so fit and proper [for Africans] as the grain coast of Africa." Accordingly, they helped finance and recruit settlers for an African settlement, which became known as Sierra Leone.

Although the government's motives for supporting repatriation were based on self-interest, a number of British philanthropists supported the scheme for humanitarian reasons. Many saw colonization as a humane means of restoring the freedom and dignity of Africans while also providing an opportunity to civilize and Christianize the entire continent. According to this line of thought, which gained momentum throughout the nineteenth century, blacks who had been trained and educated by Europeans would return to Africa and teach natives the values of Western

civilization and Christianity. British leaders such as Granville Sharp, John Wesley, James Ramsay, Thomas Clarkson, and William Wilberforce laid the foundation for the expansion of this humanitarian sentiment as they argued for the rights of blacks. Specifically, they sought to convince the public that, although slavery may have conditioned the bondsmen to adopt the traits that had become stereotypically assigned as racial characteristics, the slaves were indeed human beings. The logical conclusion to this reasoning was that slavery was morally wrong, and as enlightened members of the British middle class began to embrace these ideas, they created a strong abolition movement. To make up for past transgressions against blacks, many of these philanthropists sought a means not only to free the slaves but to positively affect the continent they had been ruthlessly exploiting for centuries. For many, the logical solution was to send a select number of the most educated and skilled blacks to Africa where they could serve as colonial leaders, creating societies that would in turn influence the remaining indigenous population.

Taking their cue from British efforts in Sierra Leone, a number of influential Americans came together in December of 1816 to form the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States, also referred to as the American Colonization Society (ACS). Although Jefferson himself never joined the ACS, the founders of the Society built upon many of the ideas he had presented throughout his lifetime, particularly in his *Notes on Virginia*. He had described his fears of retribution, racial mixing, and political infighting as he explained the challenges slavery posed to the American experiment in Democracy. Other Virginians had agreed, and Ferdinando Fairfax had even proposed that Congress follow the British lead and acquire a colony in Africa where free blacks could be sent. Many believed that the existence of such a colony would encourage slaveholders to free their slaves by offering an alternative to the dangers of coexistence. Leaders in other states such as Pennsylvania began to embrace the idea of gradual emancipation combined with colonization, and a number of different colonization plans had developed by the time the ACS emerged in 1816.

When the ACS founders met, they brought with them a number of ideas and hopes. Some leaders cited the example of a group of New Englanders, led by Samuel Hopkins and Ezra Stiles, who had proposed a missionary colony in Africa as early as 1773. The New England plan had called for sending a few dozen "well instructed Negroes" to Africa to spread Christianity. Proponents had hoped that this would stop the slave trade at the source and make up for past exploitation of Africa and its people. William Thornton, an English Quaker who came to America after the Revolution, expanded upon this plan by adding a commercial element. He shared some of the philanthropic motivation, but he also saw a possibility for economic gain. He argued that free blacks sent to the colony could achieve wealth as well as independence by trading in legitimate tropical products such as spices, ivory, gold, and dyes.

Important leaders from both sections of the country attended the founding meeting of the ACS in 1816. These men included religious leaders such as the Reverend Robert Finley of New Jersey, traveling missionary Samuel Mills, American Bible Society founder Elias Boudinot, and John E. Caldwell of New York. Important political leaders at the meeting included Supreme Court clerk Elias Boudinot Caldwell, well-known Washington, D.C., lawyer Francis Scott Key, Supreme Court Justice Bushrod Washington, House of Representatives Speaker Henry Clay, Virginia politicians Charles Fenton Mercer and John Randolph Fairfax, and Congressman Daniel Webster also participated. These men shared a fear of a biracial America and hoped to solve the problem by removing blacks. Although Clay, a leading Southern politician, warned the others that too much emphasis upon emancipation would alienate possible Southern support, most of the men at the meeting shared a desire not only to remove free blacks, but also to encourage emancipation by offering a distant outlet for freed slaves. Finley, who many historians agree played a crucial role in creating the society, insisted throughout his life that the group's primary goal, despite the caution of Southerners like Clay, was emancipation.

Finley and other philanthropists insisted that the American racial climate would leave blacks permanently relegated to an inferior status. Many argued that white racism, not black inferiority, would prevent blacks from achieving equality in the United States. They also shared an optimism that slaveholders could be convinced to free their laborers if only they could be assured that they would not have to live in a biracial society. Like British philanthropists, many Americans also believed in the missionary potential of their proposed colony.

Colonization in Africa?

The first annual ACS report illustrated the founders' optimism that colonization offered a valid solution to America's twin problems of slavery and racism. The

author began by celebrating apparent support for the Society among Virginia slaveholders, looking forward to future funds, and expressing "a confident hope that our labors will be rewarded by the willing contributions of a generous and enlightened people." Summarizing the group's goals, he argued that colonization would "be alike propitious to every interest of our domestic society" by encouraging the "slow but gradual abolition of slavery" while also removing from America's political institutions "the only blot which stains them." Finally, the report described the ACS's hope that the U.S. government would eventually endorse, and some day even take over, the colonization effort. Although the government did eventually offer limited support, this final goal was never realized.

Initially, the ACS enjoyed growing support from whites in both sections of the United States and some African Americans as well. Paul Cuffee, a wealthy American sailor of African and Native American ancestry, had already supported the British Sierra Leone venture. He had transported a group of North American settlers to the colony and made plans for future voyages. He became active in the British abolition and repatriation society known as the African Institution, and he corresponded with white British philanthropists such as Thomas Clarkson. He enlisted his friend James Forten, a wealthy African-American sail manufacturer from Philadelphia, in his recruiting efforts in the United States, and both men became agents of the African Institution. They sought to recruit suitable colonists with useful skills. The War of 1812, however, hampered their efforts when wartime restrictions on trade with Britain prohibited voyages from America to Sierra Leone. Even so, Cuffee and Forten remained active in the Institution, and white American philanthropists even began to consult them with their plans for a similar settlement. Samuel J. Mills, a key ACS figure, was among those who sought the black colonizationists' advice.

Cuffee shared white fears of a possible future race war. He warned Mills that only manumission would allow slaveholders to free themselves from fears of servile retribution. He agreed with many whites, however, that most owners would rather take chances by continuing to keep slaves than risk living with large numbers of free blacks. The solution, he argued, was for white American philanthropists to emulate their British counterparts and help found and support a settlement in Africa. Finley, another key ACS founder, sought to capitalize on Cuffee's support and contacted him as he made plans for the founding meeting of the organization.

Society leaders realized that the success of Sierra Leone was due largely to the aid of the British government, so they appealed to the American government for similar assistance. They sent agents to explore Africa, find a location for a settlement, and report back on the feasibility of such a colony. The plan was to use such reports to convince the government, especially President James Monroe, to provide funding for the resettlement efforts. ACS managers decided to emphasize the value of such a colony in suppressing the slave trade. The government had outlawed the traffic a decade before, but smugglers continued to evade the law and illegally import African captives.

Just as British abolitionists had used gory propaganda to advertise their colony as an attack on the trade, ACS managers hoped to use similar tactics to gain federal assistance. Charles F. Mercer used his role in Congress to introduce a bill that made the plight of rescued Africans a federal concern. The bill also gave the president the authority to send a naval squadron to patrol African waters and to establish an agency on the coast of Africa for resettling victims of this illicit slave trade. This bill passed and became known as the Slave Trade Act of 1819. A committee of ACS managers then met with President James Monroe to urge him to interpret the act loosely in order to help them create a colony modeled after Sierra Leone. Opposition from Secretary of State John Quincy Adams prevented Monroe from using the act to purchase territory in the name of the United States government, but the president did agree to help with the transportation of colonists. He also appointed federal agents to go to Africa and prepare a station from which the government would operate in policing against the slave trade.

Black settlers to Liberia included "recaptives," or those rescued from the slave trade, free blacks from the United States, and former American slaves. Most settlers who left America for Liberia before 1827 were free blacks who applied to the Society for passage to the colony. After that time, however, most settlers were recently manumitted slaves. Many of these former slaves were freed on the provision that they would emigrate to the colony. According to recent research, approximately 6,000 slaves were emancipated under the ACS agenda between the colony's founding and the Civil War.

Black Resistance

Because of later abolitionist accounts, many historians have portrayed black resistance to colonization as immediate. In reality, however, black reaction was more complicated. Forten himself allowed his earliest biographers to ignore this initial support for African colonization and credit him with leading a resistance movement beginning in 1817. His most recent biography, however, has revealed in great detail his work with the African Institute and his role as a follower, rather than a leader, of the resistance movement. In reality, free blacks in three cities—the District of Columbia, Philadelphia, and Richmond—protested the ACS founding, expressing fears that colonization would lead to forced deportation. These protests occurred in 1817, and the Philadelphia meeting helped change Forten's mind. However, they did not lead to a sustained anticolonization movement.

Black resistance to colonization became strong in the late 1820s and early 1830s. Records reveal that throughout the early to mid-1820s most emigrants were free blacks. They applied for passage to Liberia hoping to find opportunities they had been denied in the United Sates. According to historian Marie Tyler McGraw, these early colonists saw emigration as a chance for political, religious, and commercial liberty, and they believed that they would be allowed important roles in governing the new colony. As McGraw points out, they hoped Liberia would provide "true citizenship based on virtue or merit." This elusive goal had been "the one thing not possible in the United States for free blacks whose 'energy and self-educating force' would have gained them every civic honor had they been white."

Two men who went to Liberia with such aspirations were Lott Cary and Colin Teague. Both men were influential members of Richmond, Virginia's free black community. Both served as elders in the First Baptist Church, and both volunteered to go to Africa to serve as missionaries. Other free blacks in Richmond waited for these leaders to send word of conditions and prospects in the colony before deciding whether or not they would join them. By the late 1820s, however, Cary was dead and white colonizationists had taken over recruiting efforts in Richmond. At the same time, some of the initial colonists returned to the United States with negative descriptions of conditions in Liberia. After Nat Turner's slave revolt in 1831, whites became increasingly active in the colonization society, and the emphasis shifted from one of a missionary society to one of an emigration agency. In this atmosphere, fewer free blacks were willing to volunteer to participate in the African venture.

Thus, by the late 1820s the initial anticolonization rumblings of 1817 had reached a crescendo. More and more African Americans were beginning to see the ACS as a thinly veiled scheme to remove free blacks in an effort to strengthen slavery. According to this logic, if able free black leaders went to Liberia, American slaves would be deprived of valuable leadership in the freedom struggle at home.

In response to their fears of forced deportation, African Americans strengthened their own antislavery efforts. Since colonial times, blacks had petitioned for freedom. During the Revolutionary era they expanded their efforts and employed the rhetoric of freedom and equality. A number of successful blacks had achieved economic wealth and earned respectable roles in their own churches. They lived exemplary lives in hope of proving black equality, and they felt uniquely qualified to lead the crusade against slavery. The colonization movement threatened their efforts.

Within a decade of the ACS's founding, black leaders began to embark on a crusade of their own. A growing number decided to fight for freedom and equality at home and prove to whites that blacks could contribute to the future success of the young nation. In 1827, John Russwurm and Samuel Cornish launched *Freedom's Journal*, the first newspaper operated by African Americans.

Appearing four years before William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator*, this abolitionist paper began by declaring black independence in the antislavery movement. Russwurm was a colonizationist, but he, like many other black supporters, hoped that the endeavor would allow blacks an opportunity at self-determination. His partner disagreed. Like a growing number of black leaders in the 1820s, Cornish aided in the attack on the ACS, calling for black independence, not in an African colony, but in the United States. Both agreed that African Americans need to speak up for themselves. Citing the "many schemes . . . in action concerning our people" the editors vowed "to plead our own cause" and to lead the way in efforts to uplift the black community. Tired of being portrayed negatively in the white press and characterized as dangerous and degraded, the editors insisted in the opening editorial that "the virtuous part of our people feel themselves sorely aggrieved under the existing state of things" because "our vices and our degradation are ever arrayed against us, but our virtues are passed by unnoticed."

BISHOP RICHARD ALLEN IN *FREEDOM'S JOURNAL* November 2, 1827

Bishop Richard Allen, born into slavery, was founder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Writing in Freedom's Journal, *the first African-American newspaper, Allen argues that the scheme of sending blacks to Liberia is a means to deny them their rightful place in American society.*

I have for several years been striving to reconcile my mind to the colonization of Africans in Liberia, but there have always been, and there still remain great and insurmountable objections against the scheme. We are an unlettered people, brought up in ignorance, not one in a hundred can read or write; not one in a thousand has a liberal education. Is there any fitness for such to be sent into a far country, among Heathens, to convert or civilize them; when they themselves are neither civilized nor christianized? See the great bulk of the poor ignorant Africans in this country; exposed to every temptation before them; all for the want of their morals being refined by education, and proper attendance paid unto them by their owners, or those who had the charge of them. It is said by the southern slaveholders, that the more ignorant they can bring up the Africans, the better slaves they make. It is enough for them to know the words, "go and come." Is there any fitness for such people to be colonized in a far country, to be their own rulers? Can we not discern the project of sending the free people of color away from this country? Is it not for the interest of the slave holder, to select the free people of color out of the different states, and send them to Liberia? Will it not make their slaves uneasy to see free men of color enjoying liberty? It is against the law in some of the southern states, that a person of color should receive an education under a severe penalty. Colonizationists speak of America being first colonized, but is there any comparison between the two? America was colonized by as wise, judicious, and educated men as the world afforded. William Penn did not want for learning, wisdom, or intelligence. If all the people in Europe and America were as ignorant, and in the same situation as our brethren, what would become of the world; where would be the principle or piety that would govern the people? We were stolen from our mother country and brought here. We have tilled the ground and made fortunes for thousands, and still they are not weary of our services. But they who stay to till the ground must be slaves. Is there not land enough in America, or "corn enough in Egypt?" Why would they send us into a far country to die? See the thousands of foreigners emigrating to America every year: and if there be ground sufficient for them to cultivate, and bread for them to eat; why would they wish to send the first tillers of the land away? Africans have made fortunes for thousands, who are yet unwilling to part with their services, but the free must be sent away, and those who remain must be slaves? I have no doubt that there are many good men who do not see as I do and who are for sending us to Liberia, but they have not duly considered the subject—they are not men of color. This land which we have watered with our tears and our blood, is now our mother country and we are well satisfied to stay where wisdom abounds and the gospel is free.

Source: Freedom's Journal, [New York], November 2, 1827.

The editors disagreed over the colonization issue, but the paper's Boston agent harbored definite opinions. David Walker began working with *Freedom's Journal* shortly after its founding and played an important role in encouraging readers to reject colonization and support the quest for immediate abolition. He is most famous for his 1829 *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World*, a pamphlet that portrayed colonization as pro-, rather than antislavery. Other American blacks had already made that claim, but Walker added a new militancy by insisting that African Americans had a right to U.S. citizenship. He also wrote that blacks, slave or free, had a right to defend themselves from white violence.

Before this time, white antislavery advocates had focused on preventing violence by removing blacks, conveniently ignoring the reality that whites in both sections, especially the South, abused blacks by beating them. Most racial mixing, as Jefferson himself was aware, occurred when white men raped and abused black women. Walker, though born free, had seen much of this abuse firsthand, and he had grown tired of hearing about dangerous blacks from a society that chose to ignore dangerous whites. He called upon black men to defend their families and assert their rights as Americans. Appealing to both slaves and free blacks, he frightened whites by showing that abolitionists and slaves could work together to overthrow the system. He also scared whites by describing the incidents in Haiti and predicting that, unless the

DAVID WALKER (1785–1830)

Born in Wilmington, North Carolina, Walker was the son of a free black woman and slave father. According to the laws of his home state, he assumed the free status of his mother. He traveled the South widely and became greatly concerned over the conditions of his fellow blacks, including the mistreatment of his mother and restrictions placed upon his father. He then determined to leave the South and moved to Philadelphia, where he became a devout follower of Richard Allen, the black bishop of the AME church, and then to Boston in 1827. There he taught himself to read and write and opened a second-hand clothing business.

Walker quickly involved himself in local black antislavery activities, most notably the anticolonizationist General Colored Association of Massachusetts. In 1828, in a speech to that organization, he urged free blacks to act collectively to undermine both the institution of slavery in the South and the recovery of fugitive slaves in the North. The following year he issued the first of three editions of his pamphlet, *David Walker's Appeal, in four Articles; Together with a Preamble to the Coloured Citizens of the World, But in Particular, and Very Expressly, to Those of the United States* (often referred to as Walker's *Appeal*)

Some historians date the beginning of the modern abolitionist movement to this publication, which antedated William Lloyd Garrison's abolitionist newspaper by two years. Walker's antislavery pamphlet made its arguments in eloquent, soundly reasoned terms. It urged slaves to rise up against their oppressors, violently if necessary, but urged forgiveness if slaveholders voluntarily repented and let them go. In other words, it called for immediate abolition, an unusual proposition at the time. The pamphlet also contained the major principles of black nationalism: the belief that blacks must eventually reside in their own nation; the assertion that blacks must provide their own leadership and defense; and the conviction that blacks must play a messianic role.

Distributed in the South by sailors sympathetic to abolition, the *Appeal* frightened slaveholders. Some state legislatures not only banned it but made it a crime punishable by death to introduce similar literature. Throughout the South, a price was set on Walker's head. After issuing an even more militant appeal to end slavery, he was found dead near his shop in June 1830. It was rumored and widely believed, though never proven, that he was poisoned. Later scholarship suggests he died of tuberculosis, the same disease that killed his daughter.

James G. Lewis

racial climate changed in America, Providence would assure a similar fate. He promised his readers that God would send "a Hannibal" to "deliver you through him from your deplorable and wretched condition." When this leader arrived, he insisted, it was the duty of all blacks to "give him your support and let him go his length" and "lay no obstacle in [redemption's] way." To Walker, such events were inevitable, but he added that he would like to see whites "repent" before it was too late so that "God may have mercy on them."

By 1830, black leaders like Walker had begun to attract the attention of white antislavery advocates. They succeeded in convincing a number of white colonizationists, most notably Garrison, that blacks and whites could live together in a biracial society. As blacks fought against colonization and leaders such as Garrison joined their crusade, they formed an important partnership. Together these black and white anticolonizationists initiated the abolitionist movement, calling for immediate freedom for the enslaved without compensation for the masters or repatriation of the freed.

Conclusion

Although many, if not most, colonizationists truly opposed human bondage, their movement suffered from a number of crucial errors that the abolitionists managed to overcome. To begin with, they failed to make slavery truly a moral issue. Focusing on the practical need to end slavery without alienating whites in either section, they refused to criticize slave owners. Many have argued that their moderation was laudable. A number of early historians of the movement have pointed out that colonizationists hoped to avert race war and sectional discord. Unfortunately, however, their patience led them to sacrifice the immediate rights of the enslaved. Even those who saw blacks and whites as naturally equal shared a defeatist attitude toward American race relations. They did not challenge the racism around them because they saw it as insurmountable. This led to their most tragic error. They refused to treat blacks as equals in the crusade against slavery. Some blacks initially agreed that American racism would prevent them from achieving equality, and they joined the colonization movement. They became alienated, however, when their hopes for self-determination were crushed in the late 1820s. Even Forten realized that colonization through the American Colonization Society was and would remain a white-initiated effort. This tendency only increased as events like the Nat Turner insurrec-

tion and growing sectional strife increased white fears. Just like Jefferson, the colonizationists of the ACS feared that a biracial America would naturally result in race war, racial mixing, or sectional division. Unlike the abolitionists, they harbored no optimism for racial co-existence. They also held out little hope for interracial cooperation and friendship in the antislavery crusade.

Beverly Tomek

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Antislavery Movement

1830s–1840s

By the 1830s, the antislavery movement had evolved into the abolitionist crusade. Although some African Americans began to consider the idea of emigration to places like Canada or Haiti independent of the American Colonization Society (ACS), most black leaders opted to stay in the United States and fight against slavery. These leaders had convinced many white colonizationists to join in their effort to resist colonization. They insisted that, despite the stated motives of many ACS members, the true goal was the eventual forced removal of all free blacks to Africa in an effort to strengthen slavery in the United States. This prodding by black leaders occurred at an opportune moment. American society was becoming more modern during this time period, undergoing what historians call a "market revolution." At the same time, the Second Great Awakening was creating a new wave of evangelicalism, which encouraged many Americans to seek benevolent reform in a number of areas. Both of these factors supported the growth of what is known as immediate abolition.

The Market Revolution and Modernization of American Society

Important aspects of the market revolution included advances in transportation, communication, and agriculture as well as changing ideas about the family. Before the 1800s, localism prevailed in the United States. The economy had been based largely on self-sufficient farms, local markets, and individually handcrafted products made by independent artisans. By the Civil War, however, this would all change drastically.

A number of key developments aided in the transformation of the country. To begin with, the population grew drastically between 1800 and 1860 from 5.3 to 31 million. Both the natural population growth and high levels of immigration contributed to this demographic expansion. The population began expanding westward beyond the Appalachian Mountains, and the North grew faster than the South. This situation invited conflict over slavery by raising questions over its expansion into the new territories, at the same time that significant numbers of Americans were becoming dependent upon wage labor in the industrializing cities of the North.

Farming remained important, however, especially in the newer territories of the West and Deep South. In the West, improved axes and John Deere's stronger plow allowed for more cultivated acreage. Farmers began to plant wheat in these new areas, especially the Midwestern states like Illinois, and other advancements like Cyrus McCormick's reaper made farming profitable in this area. In the newly settled Deep South states like Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama, Eli Whitney's cotton gin was making slavery more profitable than ever. This invention took the seeds out of the mature cotton and helped make it easier to prepare for market, but it also led to an increased demand for the product. Thus, the need for slaves increased as plantations began to grow along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico.

Transportation and communication advances made it easier to market these products and led to a growing dependency between the different sections of the nation. Improved roads with gravel surfaces, longer and more sophisticated canals such as New York's Erie Canal, the development of steamboats, and the expansion of the railroad played important roles in the market revolution. These innovations helped replace local markets with a national trade network. Samuel Morse's telegraph and the rotary printer, with its resulting "penny press," also brought Americans together by allowing for more efficient communication across greater distances.

Other characteristics of the market revolution in-

cluded the emergence of a more industrial system of manufacturing finished products and a more modern system of banking and finance. The general trend in manufacturing included a decline in handmade and homemade goods. Whereas many goods had been produced in the home individually in the eighteenth century, beginning in the early 1800s more people began to work in factories, allowing for mass production. One of the most important examples was the textile industry. Textile factories became an important part of the New England landscape, using cotton from the South to produce cloth. Another industry that saw substantial growth was the iron industry, which produced materials for the railroads and agricultural implements. Finally, banking and finance moved from small-scale business and bartering to larger enterprises that relied upon cash and credit.

Along with all these changes came a new outlook on labor. During the colonial period, workers enjoyed limited options. They served apprenticeships and learned a trade from a master craftsman. They then worked and lived with that craftsman, serving as journeymen, as they waited until they could open their own shops. They generally remained in one trade throughout their lifetime, despite their level of satisfaction with that trade. With the rise of the capitalistic system, however, workers no longer served as apprentices. Assembly lines replaced skilled craft work, so workers simply sought jobs in whichever industry was hiring. They worked for a wage and could quit and seek different opportunities, limited only by the competition of other workers for the available jobs. This focus on competition and a more "independent" workforce led more people to criticize slavery. They argued that free labor was based on incentive because workers increased their output in hopes of better pay and job security. Accordingly, they insisted, the new system was more efficient and, thus, more profitable. Therefore, slavery was not only immoral, it was economically unsound in the modernizing economy.

Traditional views of the family also changed. As more people began to work out of their homes for wages, a new "cult of domesticity" emerged. Based on an ideology known as "separate spheres," this line of thought justified the changes by arguing that men fulfilled their "natural" roles by entering the competitive job market. According to this reasoning, men were inherently competitive, endowed with business sense because of their rationality, and strong enough to handle the cold, competitive outside world. Women, on the other hand, were inherently sensitive, talented at nurturing both their husbands and their children, naturally moral, and inclined to Christian virtues. Thus, they were uniquely qualified to take care of the home and create a haven in which their husbands could seek comfort and security in an increasingly cold and hostile world.

This new attitude toward the family greatly affected the abolition crusade. Most white middle-class abolitionists emphasized the harmful effects of slavery on the family. They argued that enslaved women were prevented from upholding the feminine virtues of piety and purity when their male owners raped them or encouraged them to provide sexual favors for better treatment of themselves or their families. They insisted, moreover, that enslaved men were denied the opportunity to provide for their families because providing for all slaves remained the domain of the master. Under such conditions, they insisted, gender roles became corrupted and the family was destroyed.

Both black and white abolitionists employed these themes in their speeches and writings, but the new gender ideals posed special problems for black leaders. Victorian middle-class gender ideology emphasized the importance of a nuclear family with a patriarchal leader. The man, as the leader of this unit, labored out of the home to provide sustenance for his dependents, so that the woman could remain inside the domestic realm, providing a haven for him and cultivating the morals of their children. Family and personal honor centered on the man's ability to exert control over himself, his dependents, and his property while protecting his wife and children and overseeing their moral development. According to historian Charles Rosenberg, nineteenth-century men had two basic role models to follow: the Masculine Achiever, which focused on rugged individualism and commercial success, and the Christian Gentleman, which stressed gentleness, moral and communal values, self-sacrifice, and self-restraint. Black men were excluded from most lucrative commercial endeavors, and they had to refute stereotypes that they were inherently violent and brutal. Therefore, many chose to emphasize their roles as Christian Gentlemen. This tactic, however, threatened their masculinity by forcing them to focus on characteristics that were most often used to describe women.

Evangelicalism and the Growth of American Reform

By changing most Americans' outlook on such issues as labor and the family, the modernization of America

encouraged the development of a reform impulse with a broad agenda. Abolition was only one of many efforts to improve society. Most reform advocates were middle-class men and women who felt that all Americans shared in the guilt of slavery. They also shared what historian Ronald Walters has described as "confidence in progress and human will." According to Walters, the growing cities were "especially ripe for moral crusades" and "provided reformers with problems in need of solutions." He added that the political climate of the "Jacksonian Era" also alarmed middle-class moralists by revealing what they perceived to be a decline in honesty and "virtue." Advances in transportation and improvements in communication, especially the proliferation of cheap newspapers, aided the reformers by allowing them a forum for disseminating their solutions. Finally, evangelical Protestantism provided an intellectual framework for the quest to create a perfect society.

Evangelicalism played a large role in antebellum reform. The Second Great Awakening spread evangelical ideas through a series of revivals, reaching out to all who would join the crusade and emphasizing the personal responsibility of all people to help eliminate sin. Most importantly, it emphasized the notion that both the individual and society could reach a state of perfection. According to this logic, each person, no matter how lowly, should seek to live a perfect life so that society in general could follow. Reformers believed that the individual had to want to be part of this general improvement, so they sought to enlighten people rather than force them to behave in a prescribed manner.

These beliefs had a number of implications for the abolition movement. First, evangelicalism empowered all believers by insisting that everyone could seek perfection. A number of studies, most notably Nell Painter's work on former slave Sojourner Truth, have traced the effects of this ideology on black abolitionists. Even though many had been denied education and had endured their masters' efforts at making them feel inferior, evangelical Protestantism gave them the confidence to join public antislavery efforts. Just as importantly, evangelicalism's emphasis on improving the individual through enlightenment led most abolitionists to subscribe to a concept known as "moral suasion."

This tactic became the keystone of the movement as abolitionists struggled to convince slaveholders and proponents of human bondage of their evil ways.

The Growth of Immediatism

William Lloyd Garrison subscribed to the beliefs of evangelical Protestantism, and by 1830 he had begun to listen to African Americans' assessment of the eighteenth-century antislavery movement. He had considered the merits of colonization and even supported the endeavor earlier in his career, but in the 1830s he embarked upon a personal crusade to destroy the society after black acquaintances convinced him that the organization was indeed pro-slavery. A number of other important white colonizationists, including Simeon S. Jocelyn, James G. Birney, and Gerrit Smith, followed suit and joined the new cause. These abolitionists used a number of tactics in their campaign for immediate emancipation. They embarked on lecture tours and relied heavily on the press to convince Americans that the enslaved should be freed immediately without compensation for their masters. They even took their cause to England and formed abolitionist societies to coordinate their activities. Although white leaders never truly overcame their own racial biases, they reached out to free blacks, joining efforts in the struggle against institutionalized racial oppression and human bondage. Blacks continued to play crucial roles in this movement, and women joined the cause as well.

Like other reformers of their time, abolitionists took advantage of improvements in transportation and communication, relying heavily on the lecture circuit and the printing press. Colonizationists employed similar means, and immediatists set out to beat them at their own game. Garrison set the stage for the debate by announcing on New Year's Day 1831 that, unlike the colonizationists, the abolitionists would not seek the support of slaveholders at the expense of black freedom. He emphasized this point by referring to them as "oppressors," "manstealers," and "tyrants." He directed his crusade against both groups and in his 1832 *Thoughts on African Colonization*, he proclaimed all-out "warfare . . . against the American Colonization Society."

Garrison's pamphlet synthesized the arguments that black abolitionists had put forth against the colonization society. In this pamphlet, Garrison used the ACS's monthly journal, *The African Repository*, to illustrate the point that colonization was "a conspiracy to send the free people of color to Africa under a benevolent pretence, but really that the slaves may be held more securely in bondage." He had arrived at this assessment after listening to, and reading articles by, the black leaders he had met during his own early

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

(1805–1879)

William Lloyd Garrison was born in Newburyport, Massachusetts, to a poor but pious family. He supplemented his limited schooling with newspaper work and in 1829 went to Baltimore, Maryland, to work for Benjamin Lundy's antislavery *Genius of Universal Emancipation.* He left there in 1830 and returned to New England pledged to abolitionism. On January 1, 1831, he published the first issue of *The Liberator*, a paper that he continued for thirty-five years (the last number was dated December 29, 1865), until after the Thirteenth Amendment had been adopted. In *The Liberator*, Garrison took an uncompromising stand for the immediate and complete abolition of slavery. Although its circulation was never over 3,000, the paper became famous (notorious, to Southerners) for the frank and quotable language Garrison used to denounce slavery and advocate moral uplift and social change. Garrison advocated neither force nor the ballot to reach this goal and instead relied wholly upon moral persuasion.

That same year he founded the New England Anti-Slavery Society and served as a paid agent for it. In his *Thoughts on African Colonization* (1832), Garrison announced his opposition to the work of the American Colonization Society, which wanted to colonize slaves abroad rather than liberate them and guarantee their rights as free men and women. In 1833, he formed the American Anti-Slavery Society (AAS), of which he was president from 1843 to 1865. The AAS became another vehicle through which he called on Americans to immediately cease their support of slavery and all slaveholders, a position he laid out in its *Declaration of Sentiments*. The organization also demanded that churches, political parties, and even the federal government cut all ties with slavery.

In 1835, Garrison was physically attacked in Boston by a mob composed of seemingly respectable people. The attack won a valuable convert to his cause in Wendell Phillips, who became an abolitionist even more radical than Garrison. Garrison and his followers proclaimed that slavery contradicted the nation's religious and republican values. His statements helped split religious denominations and undermine national political coalitions. Garrison's attacks included clergy who were apathetic to his cause or who were apologists for slavery. Believing there was no higher government than the government of God, he attacked the federal government, called both major parties proslavery, and described the United States Constitution as a "covenant with death and an agreement with hell." He pushed resolutions through the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society and the AAS that made statements to that effect. This type of agitation contributed to the transformation of Northern attitudes in the 1850s from one of mild objection to slavery to widespread anti-Southernism. He burned the Constitution publicly at an abolitionist meeting in Framingham, Massachusetts, on July 4, 1854, and opposed the Civil War until President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation. With the end of the war and passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, Garrison declared his crusade a triumphant one and resigned from the AAS. He then turned to other reform issues, but none of them ever held his attention and passion as had abolitionism.

Garrison's positions were not always popular within the antislavery movement. His crusades for other reforms that he united with abolitionism, notably woman suffrage and prohibition, split the AAS in 1840 into two factions, one wanting to move beyond antislavery and the other wanting to focus only on that subject. Garrison, supportive of the work and efforts of Sarah and Angelina Grimké, insisted on equal participation for women in the antislavery movement. His opponents left and formed the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in 1840 as well as the Liberty Party.

The weight of historical evidence seems to indicate strongly that, although Garrison attracted national attention, his extremism carried little political influence. Instead, he served more as a symbol and prophet of things to come, including passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished slavery, and eventual support of full civil rights for blacks. Furthermore, the effective fight against slavery was carried on by less well-known men who tackled the problem in a realistic manner. Garrison, who antagonized and outraged other abolitionists, was not a good organizer. Even so, his contribution to the cause, though it was not as great as many consider it, was important.

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antislavery work. Although he never completely overcame his own paternalistic racial ideas, he and other whites who left the ACS to work with black abolitionists for freedom in the United States contributed significantly to the fight against slavery by showing that blacks and whites could work together.

Garrison was not the only important abolitionist speaker and writer. The evangelical emphasis on inherent human equality created a climate in which African Americans and women of both races felt empowered enough to speak out. One of the most famous examples is that of Sarah and Angelina Grimké. These sisters were born in the South to a slaveholding family but through their own "moral suasion" had come to the conclusion that human bondage was wrong. They entered the lecture circuit to speak out against slavery, becoming the first widely known female antislavery agents.

When the Grimkés embarked on an unprecedented nine-month speaking tour in 1837, they faced a number of challenges. Most importantly, women were not expected to speak publicly in front of mixed or, in the words of the time, "promiscuous," audiences. According to their biographer, Gerda Lerner, however, their "piety and respectability" served as a "shield against all attacks" from those who opposed their right to play an active role in the movement. Their origins as part of the "refined" class of the South also helped, offering them legitimacy by allowing them to speak with the voice of experience. Their talks were punctuated with a sense of wisdom as they described the ways in which slavery harmed all of American society, not just the forced laborers.

By the end of their tour, in February of 1838, they managed to break another precedent by speaking to the Massachusetts state legislature. Angelina began by explaining that they were there "on behalf of the 20,000 women of Massachusetts whose names are enrolled on [antislavery] petitions which have been submitted to the Legislature." In response to previous criticism that women, excluded from politics, "had nothing to do with" slavery, she justified her mission by arguing that "American women have to do with this subject, not only because it is moral and religious, but because it is *political*, inasmuch as we are citizens of this republic." As a "southerner, exiled from the land of my birth by the sound of the last and the piteous cry of the slave," she appealed to her audience to help "overturn a system of complicated crimes, built upon the broken hearts and prostrate bodies of my countrymen in chains and cemented by the blood, sweat and tears of my sisters in bonds."

Black abolitionists also spoke out vociferously on behalf of their "brothers and sisters in bonds." Their racial ties led them to emphasize a self-help concept that held that free blacks had a duty to live exemplary lives and remove much of the white justification for slavery by proving racial equality. This idea was crucial to their efforts against colonization. Black leaders Abraham D. Shadd, Peter Spencer, and William S. Thomas explained to a Wilmington, Delaware, audience in 1831 that the "degraded" condition of blacks described by colonizationists "cannot be bettered by removing the most exemplary individuals of color from amongst us." They insisted that, under the ACS plans, "the industrious part [of the black community] would emigrate" while "in the same proportion those who would remain would become more degraded, wretched and miserable, and consequently less capable of appreciating the many opportunities which are now offering for the moral and intellectual improvement of our brethren."

Abolitionists—black and white, male and female—sought to reach even broader audiences by presenting their antislavery arguments in the printed form. Pamphlets like Garrison's were a popular tool. Even more important, however, a number of antislavery advocates operated their own newspapers. Benjamin Lundy, a white Quaker who served as Garrison's mentor, edited one of the earliest antislavery papers, the weekly *Genius of Universal Emancipation* in Baltimore in the 1820s. Garrison became co-editor of the paper in 1829, but he began publishing his own weekly, *The Liberator*, in Boston two years later. James Forten, a wealthy black businessman from Philadelphia, provided financial backing, and 60 percent of *The Liberator's* subscribers were African Americans.

Beginning in 1827, black abolitionists offered their own newspapers. John B. Russwurm and Samuel Cornish began their paper, *Freedom's Journal,* that year, and Cornish became editor of another periodical, the *Colored American*, in 1837. In this paper, Cornish insisted on the need for strong black leadership, challenging the idea that Garrison was the leader of the abolition movement. He appreciated white assistance, but he appealed to blacks to lead the way and to "speak out in THUNDER TONES" for freedom for the slaves and equality for all. According to historian C. Peter Ripley, this newspaper "helped to establish the value of a black press" and forced abolitionists to consider more deeply the need for racial equality.

Throughout the 1830s, black and white abolitionists reached out to reading and listening audiences throughout the world as they sought converts to their

APPEAL TO THE CHRISTIAN WOMEN OF THE SOUTH
ANGELINA E. GRIMKÉ 1836

In the pamphlet "Appeal to the Christian Women of the South," Angelina E. Grimké, the daughter of a slaveholding judge in the South, calls on women to help end the system of slavery on the basis of morality and Christian values.

It is because I feel a deep and tender interest in your present and eternal welfare that I am willing thus publicly to address you. Some of you have loved me as a relative, and some have felt bound to me in Christian sympathy, and Gospel fellowship; and even when compelled by a strong sense of duty, to break those outward bonds of union which bound us together as members of the same community, and members of the same religious denomination. . . .

But perhaps you will be ready to query, why appeal to women on this subject? We do not make the laws which perpetuate slavery. No legislative power is vested in us; we can do nothing to overthrow the system, even if we wished to do so. To this I reply, I know you do not make the laws, but I also know that you are the wives and mothers, the sisters and daughters of those who do; and if you really suppose you can do nothing to overthrow slavery, you are greatly mistaken. You can do much in every way: four things I will name. . . .

1. Read then on the subject of slavery. Search the Scriptures daily, whether the things I told you are true. . . . I want you to read in the spirit of inquiry, and the spirit of prayer. Even the enemies of Abolitionists, acknowledge that their doctrines are drawn from it. In the great mob in Boston, last autumn, when the books and papers of the Anti-Slavery Society, were thrown out of the windows of their office, one individual laid hold of the Bible and was about tossing it on the ground, when another reminded him that it was the Bible he had in his hand. " 'tis all one,' " he replied, and out went the sacred volume, along with the rest.
2. Pray over this subject. When you have entered into your closets, and shut to the doors, then pray to your father, who seeth in secret, that he would open your eyes to see whether slavery is sinful, and if it is, that he would enable you to bear a faithful, open and unshrinking testimony against it, and to do whatsoever your hands find to do, leaving the consequences entirely to him, who still says to us whenever we try to reason duty away from the fear of consequences, "What is that to thee, follow thou me."
3. Speak on this subject. It is through the tongue, the pen, and the press, that truth is principally propagated. Speak then to your relatives, your friends, your acquaintances on the subject of slavery; be not afraid if you are conscientiously convinced it is sinful, to say so openly, but calmly, and to let your sentiments be known. If you are served by the slaves of others, try to ameliorate their condition as much as possible; never aggravate their faults, and thus add fuel to the fire of anger already kindled, in a master and mistress's bosom; remember their extreme ignorance, and consider them as your Heavenly Father does the less culpable on this account, even when they do wrong things. Discountenance all cruelty to them, all starvation, all corporal chastisement; these may brutalize and break their spirits, but will never bend them to willing, cheerful obedience. If possible, see that they are comfortably and seasonably fed, whether in the house or the field; it is unreasonable and cruel to expect slaves to wait for their breakfast until eleven o'clock, when they rise at five or six. Do all you can, to induce their owners to clothe them well, and to allow them many little indulgences which would contribute to their comfort. Above all, try to persuade your husband, father, brothers, and sons, that slavery is a crime against God and man, and that it is a great sin to keep human beings in such abject ignorance; to deny them the privilege of learning to read and write. . . .
4. Act on this subject. Some of you own slaves yourselves. If you believe slavery is sinful, set them at liberty, "undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free." If they wish to remain with you, pay them wages, if not let them leave you. Should they remain, teach them, and have them taught the common branches of an English education; they have minds and those minds, ought to be improved. . . .

. . . And why not try it in the Southern States, if it never has occasioned rebellion; if not a drop of blood has ever been shed in consequence of it, though it has been so often tried, why should we suppose it would produce such disastrous consequences now? . . .
There is nothing to fear from immediate Emancipation, but every thing from the consequences of slavery.

Your sympathizing Friend,

Angelina E. Grimké

Source: The Anti-Slavery Examiner. 1:2 (September 1836). New York Anti-Slavery Society. Available at memory.loc.gov/ammem/aapchtml/aapcpres07.html.

GRIMKÉ SISTERS
SARAH MOORE GRIMKÉ (1792–1873) and ANGELINA EMILY GRIMKÉ (1805–1879)

The Grimké sisters were born the sixth and fourteenth of fourteen children to John Faucheraud Grimké, a Cambridge University-educated French Huguenot and prominent member of the South Carolina judiciary, and Mary (Smith) Grimké, who came from one of South Carolina's leading families. Sarah was born on November 26, 1792, and Angelina on February 20, 1805. Raised in Charleston in a major slaveholding family, they witnessed brutal mistreatment of slaves carried out by their family and others with whom they socialized. Sarah first encountered antislavery sentiments and found them agreeable to her own views when she accompanied her father on a trip to Philadelphia in 1819. In 1821, she left her Southern home permanently for Philadelphia and became a member of the Society of Friends (Quakers). Angelina followed her in 1829 and also became a Quaker.

Angelina, the more outgoing of the two sisters, joined the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society in 1835 and decided to speak out publicly. A letter published that year in *The Liberator* helped launch her abolitionist career. She wrote *An Appeal to the Christian Women of the South* in 1836 in which she urged those addressed to use their moral force against slavery. The pamphlet called upon its readers to "*overthrow* [her emphasis] this horrible system of oppression and cruelty, licentiousness and wrong." It created such outrage in the South that Southern postmasters destroyed copies of it and Angelina was warned never to return to Charleston. That same year she and her sister began speaking to small groups of women around New York City. Sarah refuted the biblical basis for slavery in her own pamphlet, *Epistle to the Clergy of the Southern States*, in 1836.

The sisters spent the following two years touring New England and speaking out against slavery and earned the condemnation of the General Association of Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts in July 1837. The sisters' willingness to discuss "things which ought not to be named," such as the abuse of women slaves, elicited their denunciation of women preachers and reformers. This led the sisters to crusade equally for women's rights. There followed Angelina's *Appeal to the Women of the Nominally Free States* (1837) and Sarah's *Letters on the Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Woman* (1838). Their lectures at Odeon Hall, Boston, in the spring of 1838 attracted thousands.

Angelina's three appearances before the Massachusetts legislative committee on antislavery petitions early in 1838 constituted a triumph. That same year she married Theodore Dwight Weld, also an active abolitionist. Ill health after her marriage led her to retire from public life, but she continued to aid Weld in his abolitionist work. Sarah lived with the couple thereafter and helped to raise the couple's children. After collaborating with Angelina's husband on *Slavery As It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses* (1839), the sisters retired from public activity. They assisted in Weld's progressive schools in Belleville and later Perth Amboy, New Jersey, from 1848 to 1862. In 1863, the three moved to Massachusetts, where they remained the rest of their lives. There the sisters died, Sarah on December 23, 1873, and Angelina on October 26, 1879.

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cause. Beginning in 1830, they took their message to England. According to Richard Blackett, historian of the transatlantic abolition movement, the fight against colonization led every major black abolitionist, as well as Garrison, to appeal to the British public for moral and financial support of immediate, uncompensated abolition. Throughout the decade, colonizationists and abolitionists competed for British support. The colonizationists cited British efforts in a similar African colony, Sierra Leone, as precedent for their own work in Liberia, hoping to enlist the aid of British colonizationists. By the 1830s, however, public sentiment had largely shifted in favor of immediate release of those in bondage. Like Garrison, most British abolitionists had been greatly influenced by African-American resistance to repatriation.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY

A number of important organizations grew out of this new phase of antislavery. The New England Anti-Slavery Society was the first and was formed in 1832. The most famous, however, the American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS), was established in Philadelphia in 1833. Garrison helped found this group, but it was controlled primarily by New York abolitionists, especially Lewis Tappan. This group undertook a famous postal campaign in 1835, flooding the post throughout the nation, but especially the South,

with antislavery literature. It also led numerous petition drives. By 1838, through the efforts of diligent abolitionists, especially women like the Grimkés, the group had sent more than 400,000 signatures to Congress.

Under Tappan's leadership, the AASS also began to recruit agents to spread their antislavery message across the country. Many of these agents, the most famous of which was Theodore Dwight Weld, were former ministers, and their speaking ability convinced their listeners to form many antislavery auxiliaries at the town, county, and state levels. This network of abolitionist groups included 1,300 branches with a total of over a quarter of a million members by the end of the decade.

Abolitionists fought a successful battle against colonizationists, but, unfortunately, they began to argue with each other in the latter half of the decade, causing the movement to split. Garrison's increasing radicalism played a large role in the conflict. He began to question many aspects of the evangelical faith, which had served as the cornerstone of the movement. He accused Protestants of encouraging "sectarianism," citing the various denominations that were developing. He also argued that all days, not just Sunday, should be treated as holy, and he embraced Christian anarchism and its belief in "nonresistance," denouncing all forms of force and violence. He also drew criticism from some other abolitionists for embracing the women's rights movement. Finally, he resisted political involvement even when a number of his colleagues were embracing such action.

Although the final split in the AASS occurred when Abby Kelley was elected to a formerly all-male committee, each of these issues played an important role in causing the schism. Abolitionists had begun arguing over religious ideas and the role of women in the movement in 1837 when clerical abolitionists such as Henry B. Stanton, Elizur Wright Jr., and Charles Torrey left the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society after unsuccessfully challenging Garrison on these issues. They then formed their own state society and attended the national AASS annual meeting in 1839. At this meeting Garrison and his supporters earned for women the right to vote in the organization but, as historian Stanley Harrold pointed out, "neither side won a clear victory on the issue of political tactics." A year later, at the 1840 gathering, Kelley's election signaled a victory for the Garrisonians, and Tappan and the other evangelicals left the organization.

Most historians have emphasized the debate over the role of women as the catalyst for the split, but Ronald Walters, a specialist in American reform, stressed a growing political tension as equally crucial. He cited the efforts of a group of New York and Ohio abolitionists such as James G. Birney, Myron Holley, and Stanton to enter the political arena in the late 1830s. Garrison and his followers believed that the politicians, who bent to the public will rather than leading Americans in a quest for a higher morality, were corrupt. Furthermore, as a Christian anarchist, he saw human government as inherently corrupt and sinful, and he had also come to the conclusion that the United States Constitution was proslavery and, thus, the American system was particularly evil. Political abolitionists, however, had concluded that both major parties were tainted and "chained to southern votes," but they were not ready to give up on the system in general. They decided that the best solution was to form their own antislavery party and run their own candidates. In 1840, as the evangelicals left the AASS over the women's rights issue, Birney ran for president under the newly formed Liberty Party.

As the new decade began, the abolitionist movement could look back on a number of important achievements despite their current difficulties. Blacks and whites had begun to work together for the common goal of ending slavery, and increasing numbers were coming to see the need for civil rights and equality for free blacks. Black leaders had met success in their efforts to convince many important white antislavery leaders of the limitations of compensated, gradual emancipation and colonization. Men and women were working together to help society reach the perfection emphasized by evangelical reformers in general. Although the Garrisonians grew increasingly radical, they remained the minority among abolitionists. In the tumultuous decades ahead, most would continue to work together to spread their antislavery message to a growing number of listeners and readers.

Beverly Tomek

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Antislavery Movement

1840s–1850s

Abolitionists spent the 1830s building a movement, but by 1840 its structure was beginning to fall apart. From the beginning, most Americans resented their efforts, accusing them of putting the nation in jeopardy by stirring up both the slaveholders and the slaves. Throughout the 1830s and 1840s, abolitionists faced increasingly violent mobs, and they made fewer converts to the cause than most people today realize. In general, Americans in the antebellum years remained unwilling to challenge slaveholders as long as the system of human bondage did not affect them directly.

By the 1850s, this situation was beginning to change a little, but many who came to oppose slavery during this time did so in the tradition of "antislavery" rather than "abolition." The Compromise of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, and the *Dred Scott* U.S. Supreme Court decision in 1857 all made more and more Northerners feel threatened. Throughout the free states, people began embracing a theory that the Southern "oligarchy" or "slaveocracy" had been ruling the entire nation from the beginning. This "slave power" thesis became very popular as both politicians and abolitionists began to argue that slaveholders must be stopped before they found a way to force their system back into the North as well as the newly settled territories of the West. Thus, slavery became a major political issue during these years.

As antislavery entered the political arena with greater force, the social aspect of the abolitionist movement began to suffer. One group followed Myron Holley, Charles Torrey, Joshua Leavitt, Gerrit Smith, and James G. Birney into the political arena, forming their own third party, the Liberty Party, in 1840. Another group continued to follow William Lloyd Garrison even as he grew increasingly radical by adding women's rights to his overall agenda and calling for larger cultural and political changes. Others followed Lewis Tappan in his efforts to work through the churches to gain support for abolition. Finally, as the American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS) fell apart under such stress, many black abolitionist leaders began to reassert their independence in the movement, continuing to adhere to their own theories of self-help and racial uplift.

Antislavery in the Political Arena

When the AASS split in 1840, one group of abolitionists chose to pursue their goals through the political arena. They argued that the United States Constitution was an antislavery document, and, therefore, the federal government could legally take steps to end slavery in the South. Since they believed that slavery was not sanctioned by the government, some members of this group could justify actively helping slaves escape while they waited for the day in which they could destroy the system through political means. Although their belief in the American political system made them philosophically less radical than the Garrisonians, their use of physical force to aid in self-liberation made their tactics more radical.

The more radical political abolitionists, led by Gerrit Smith of New York, took the most aggressive stance toward the South. According to historian Stanley Harrold, their militance was inspired by the increasing efforts, during the early 1840s, of the enslaved to liberate themselves through escapes and shipboard revolts. Smith demonstrated this new effort to appeal to the slave rather than the master in his 1842 *Address to the Slaves in the United States of America*. In the tradition of black abolitionist David Walker, he called upon the enslaved to avail themselves "of any feasible, peaceable mode" of securing their own freedom. Discouraging them from "recourse to violence and blood-shed for the termination of slavery," he nevertheless encouraged "every slave, who has the reasonable prospect of being able to run away from slavery, to make the experiment." He boasted that,

through abolitionist influence, the rate of successful escapes had reached "a thousand a year," and he assured those hoping to follow this course of action that "under the influence of anti-slavery lessons, nineteen-twentieths" of whites in the border free states had decided to help, rather than return, fugitives.

This emphasis on helping the slaves with direct assistance appealed to many black abolitionists, and Henry Highland Garnet offered a similar appeal to the slaves a year later. Taking his appeal a step further than Smith, he suggested that violence could be necessary and justified in some cases. Garnet's father had led his family to freedom, and the memory of his father's bravery, as well as the influence of Walker's earlier appeal, led him to call upon those still in bondage to "USE EVERY MEANS, BOTH MORAL, INTELLECTUAL, AND PHYSICAL, THAT PROMISES SUCCESS." Like Smith, however, Garnet stopped short of calling for armed revolt; instead he encouraged the enslaved to appeal to their masters' "sense of justice" and to "promise them renewed diligence in the cultivation of the soil, if they will render to you an equivalent for your services."

Radical political abolitionists did more than talk. They actively helped slaves in many ways. They purchased the freedom of a number of slaves, including Frederick Douglass. This tactic drew criticism from the Garrisonians, who insisted that purchasing people for any reason legitimized slavery by acknowledging slaveholders' property rights.

Theoretical issues aside, this tactic remained popular, and abolitionists raised funds in both the United States and England for this purpose. In addition to raising money and helping slaves purchase themselves or their families, this group of abolitionists also helped many sue for their freedom. Perhaps most important, they helped slaves escape and even intervened and tried to rescue some, such as Anthony Burns, a fugitive slave known as Shadrack, and another known as Jerry, from slave catchers. According to Harrold, these tactics made the abolition efforts more public and helped gain sympathy for the cause, spreading "an antislavery morality" throughout many Northern communities.

The rescue of fugitives strengthened the overall movement by encouraging biracial cooperation and making abolitionists appear to Southerners as a unified, formidable opponent. According to Harrold, "the notoriety of a half-dozen dramatic rescues encouraged white Southerners to believe that the North was full of militant abolitionists who favored African-American freedom over the vested interests of slaveholders." It also greatly influenced the future generation of white abolitionists such as Thomas Wentworth Higginson while further alienating nonresistants such as Garrison.

These biracial efforts at direct, physical resistance increased throughout the 1840s and 1850s, and a number of contemporary newspapers began referring to an "Underground Railroad" at the beginning of this time period. This term has gained popularity ever since, but modern students of abolition have shown that the idea of a centralized, unified operation is often exaggerated. In reality, black abolitionists had been helping slaves escape throughout U.S. history. By the 1790s, they had managed to gain the support of some sympathetic whites in the Upper South. During the early 1840s, such efforts intensified, and more abolitionists began to actually go South and lead slaves to freedom. This became an important component of the abolitionist movement, especially as the growth in the domestic slave trade led more masters to sell slaves to the Deep South, thus splitting families.

Black and white radical political abolitionists played key roles in this movement, and they did form a loose network, so the idea of an "underground railroad" has validity. Former slaves such as Harriet Tubman, "The Moses of Her People," Josiah Henson, and John P. Parker all went South to lead slaves northward to freedom. Free blacks, including Philadelphia vigilant association leader William Still, also assisted runaways along their journey. Finally, a number of white abolitionists such as Jacob Bigelow, Smith, and Tappan also aided in escape and rescue efforts.

Although a number of political abolitionists adhered to Smith's belief in radical tactics and participated in such militant efforts, others shared his political goals but took a less antagonistic stance toward the South. This group, led by Salmon P. Chase and Gamaliel Bailey, continued to reach out to the masters rather than the slaves. They remained confident that slaveholders could be made to see the errors of their ways and free their bondspersons out of love for the country and concern for the good of society. In his periodical, the *National Era*, Bailey tried to appeal to Southerners by explaining that the Liberty Party was "not sectional in its creed or spirit."

Unlike the radical political abolitionists, who insisted that the federal government had the legal authority to intervene and abolish slavery in the South, Bailey and Chase held to the states' rights arguments stressed by the earlier antislavery generation. Like the colonizationists of the 1820s and 1830s, they insisted

that their party hoped to appeal to each state to change rather than to force change upon them. To emphasize this point, Bailey promised that "so far as slavery may exist by act of Congress, affect Federal legislation or general politics" the Liberty party "will act against it by federative powers." He added, however, that "where it exists by the law and within the jurisdiction of the State, it leaves its members in that State to resort to State legislative or judicial action for its removal, seconding their efforts by the moral influence of the rest of the organization."

This disagreement over whether to focus on slaveholder or slave led the Liberty Party to split in the late 1840s. By this time, the intellectual climate in the North was becoming increasingly antislavery, though not abolitionist. Put simply, more and more Northerners were growing concerned over the spread of slavery throughout the free territories. In 1848, a number of northern Whigs, some Democrats, and some abolitionists came together to form another third party, the Free Soil Party.

Although the party enjoyed the support of a small number of abolitionists, it was actually "antislavery" in the tradition of the colonizationists. Most supporters of Free Soil were not concerned with the fate of the enslaved. Instead, they hoped to keep African Americans, slave or free, out of the newly settled territories. They acknowledged the right of slaveholders in the South to keep their human property, but they also argued that slaveholders had been corrupted by the system that gave them such complete power over others. They insisted that this "slaveocracy" was seeking to extend its power by forcing its system, and its slaves, upon the rest of the nation. This idea, known as the "slave power" thesis, was not new, but it became more theoretically sophisticated and widespread during the 1850s. It became the primary tool of the Free Soilers during the 1840s and helped the Republicans gain power in the 1850s.

Although abolitionists often used slave power rhetoric in their quest for social reformation of the country, most who employed the thesis in the political arena disliked both the slave and the slaveholder. Thus, both abolitionists and antiblack antislavery leaders could unite in their denunciation of the "slave oligarchy." With the rise of the Free Soil and Republican parties, slavery became an openly sectional political issue as leaders attacked slaveholders for trying to corrupt the entire nation. According to historian Leonard Richards, leaders of these two parties "had a decisive advantage" because their power base was entirely from the North and they "had no need, much less desire, to placate the South." At first glance this development could seem advantageous for abolitionists, but it actually hurt the movement by leading some to settle for an attack on slavery that included a racist, exclusionary element rather than pushing for abolition based on the rights of blacks as human beings. Unfortunately, such emphasis on the need to protect white Northerners from power-hungry slaveholders and their potentially dangerous chattel proved a crucial tool in turning most Northerners against slavery.

The Compromise of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, and the *Dred Scott* decision in 1857 would all play crucial roles by providing most Northerners, abolitionist or not, with evidence that slaveholders were indeed trying to extend their power and their system throughout the entire nation. The Compromise of 1850 included a Fugitive Slave Law that removed the burden of proof from the master and placed it on the slave. It offended many Northern whites, making them feel that the federal government was attempting to use them to enforce its dirty business by requiring citizens in general to assist in apprehending accused escapees. This law enhanced their fears of "slave power" by denying them their freedom of conscience, since it made it illegal not to give assistance to the slave catchers. The Kansas-Nebraska Act added to the growing fear by opening the door for the possibility of slavery in territories that had been previously declared free. Under this act, settlers in these territories would vote on whether or not to allow slavery, despite the fact that previous legislation had prohibited slavery in these territories. Finally, the *Dred Scott* decision protected the rights of slave owners to take their slaves anywhere in the country and denied citizenship even to free blacks in the United States.

Abolition in the Social Arena

At the same time that Smith, Bailey, and their followers were struggling for a place in the political arena, other abolitionists such as Garrison and Tappan kept the social movement alive. Garrrison refused to work through the government or mainstream religious channels, arguing that both had become corrupt beyond repair. As a result, he embraced an ideology sometimes described by scholars as "Christian anarchism." Tappan, on the other hand, argued that the best hope for the movement was to work through the churches. He continued to build upon the evangelical framework of the abolition movement event after the

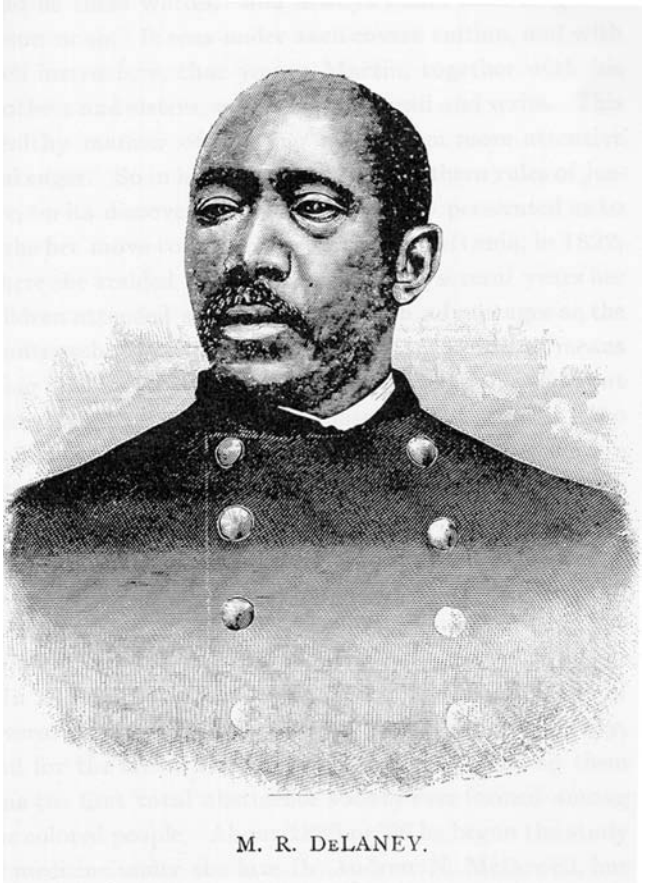
Fugitive Slave Law led him to join the political radicals in the early 1850s.

Although Garrison and his followers maintained control of the AASS after the split in 1840, their radical ideas left them in the minority within the overall abolition movement. To begin with, Garrison alienated many potential followers by attacking the churches. He criticized them for refusing to speak out and unequivocally label slavery as sinful. He embraced "anti-sabbatarianism," which held that Sunday was no holier than the other days of the week, and he adopted the doctrine of "Christian Perfectionism." This ideology insisted that each person should strive for total abstinence from sin, on an individual level, relying upon his or her own inner strength rather than the guidance of organized religion.

Garrison and his followers also attacked the American social order, most notably by pushing for civil rights for African Americans and women. Scholars continue to debate the extent to which any white abolitionist truly embraced racial equality, but historian Paul Goodman argued that radical social abolitionists like Garrison challenged the larger American social structure not just by calling for an end to slavery but also by pushing for "full human equality." According to Goodman, white abolitionists developed sympathy for their black coworkers after listening to their assessment of the social structure and learning to deal with them as equals.

Goodman's thesis provides a heroic view of white abolitionists; however, contemporary accounts by black leaders like Douglass and Martin R. Delany describe a great deal of paternalism. Historian C. Peter Ripley has shown that Garrison and others, while working closely with black leaders, failed to share important offices with them. According to Ripley, blacks worked diligently in the AASS and its auxiliaries and contributed a great deal financially, yet the group's leadership "remained almost exclusively white." He cited as evidence the cases of William Still and William Cooper Nell, two black men who devoted decades to the AASS but never rose above the position of clerk.

Such exclusion is lamentable, but Garrison and his followers should be credited for rising above the prejudices of their time and at least addressing social inequality. By responding to African Americans' quest for freedom and equality, the Garrisonians initiated a course followed by later generations of white abolitionists. They challenged the social order by working with black leaders and arguing not only that the enslaved must be freed but also that, once free, they must be allowed to remain in the United States.



Editor, author, black nationalist, and colonizationist, Martin Delany emerged as one of the most militant abolitionists in the 1840s and 1850s. During the Civil War, he was commissioned as a major in the Union Army, thereby becoming the nation's highest-ranking black field officer. *(Ohio Historical Society)*

In addition to calling for black civil rights, Garrison embraced the crusade for women's rights. He helped secure the election of a woman, Abigail Kelley, to the business committee at the 1840 AASS convention. Unlike many other abolitionists, Garrison believed that women's rights and antislavery were compatible and were, indeed, both necessary to the overall agenda for improving American society. This stance led many women abolitionists into his camp, and Frederick Douglass, one of the most famous black Garrisonians of the 1840s, attended the first women's rights convention at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848.

Garrisonians ignited controversy by attacking organized religion and calling for women's rights, and their political views only increased their alienation

MARTIN ROBISON DELANY (1812–1885)

Delany was born in Charles Town, Virginia (now West Virginia), on May 6, 1812, of a freed black woman and a slave father. His mother moved Delany and his siblings to Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, after it was discovered they could read and write and were teaching other slaves to do so. In 1831, Delany moved to Pittsburgh and studied the classics, Latin, and Greek at Jefferson College. Two years later, he became a physician's assistant as a cupper and leecher. During his time in Pittsburgh, he became involved in the abolition and temperance movements and began to form his idea of a separate black nation in Africa.

Delany founded a black weekly magazine, *Mystery* (1843–1847), which publicized the grievances of blacks in the United States and also championed women's rights, and he helped Frederick Douglass publish his abolitionist newspaper, the *North Star* (1847–1849). While on a speaking tour of Ohio, he was threatened by mobs on several occasions. He was admitted to Harvard Medical School in 1851 but had to leave because of classmates' protests. The following year he published *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States, Politically Considered*. This landmark book alienated virtually all abolitionist leaders by advocating the need for blacks to leave America and start anew with a new nation elsewhere. His book also attacked white abolitionists for discrimination, in not hiring able blacks for their businesses, and for disallowing leadership positions to blacks in their organizations. He followed that book up with his "reply" to Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) called *Blake, or The Huts of America*, about the secret travels through slave communities by an insurrectionist (a portion of which originally appeared serially in the *Anglo-African Magazine* from January to July 1859). Modern scholars consider his portrayal of antebellum black culture as being among the most accurate. Delany moved to Chatham, Canada, in 1856.

Delany traveled to Liberia in Africa in 1859 seeking lands in the Niger Delta region for resettlement. Delany and Robert Campbell signed a treaty with eight chiefs, but it was later dissolved owing to warfare in the region, subversive opposition by white missionaries, and the outbreak of the Civil War in America. During the Civil War, Delany recruited black men for Massachusetts' Fifty-fourth Regiment, as well as in Rhode Island and Connecticut, and in Cleveland and Chicago. After meeting with President Abraham Lincoln, he was commissioned as a major in the U.S. Army, the first black to receive a regular army commission. He crafted a scheme for recruiting a black guerrilla army to arm slaves, but the war ended before he could implement his plan.

After the war, Delany lived in South Carolina while working for the Freedmen's Bureau for three years and was active in politics. He was nominated for lieutenant governor of South Carolina on the Independent Republican ticket in 1874 but lost. From the summer of 1877 until 1880, Delany served as chairman of the finance committee of the Liberia Exodus Joint Stock Steamship Company, which was organized to settle blacks in Africa. He moved to Xenia, Ohio, several years after Reconstruction ended to provide for his family, and he died there on January 24, 1885. Although never as well known as other African-American leaders, Delany's work has been recognized as a precursor to more militant Black Nationalist movements.

James G. Lewis

from the mainstream. Unlike the radical political abolitionists, Garrison argued that the United States Constitution was a pro-slavery document. Accordingly, political action was futile. Garrisonians also continued to adhere to the tactic of "nonresistance," which led them to criticize any form of physical self-defense. Their refusal to move beyond strict adherence to moral suasion and enter the political fight lost them a great deal of black support, most notably that of Frederick Douglass in 1851.

After the AASS split, a third faction, led by Tappan, appealed to a larger number of abolitionists, both white and black. Tappan's group remained flexible, maintaining contacts in the social as well as the political scene. Unlike Garrison, Tappan was willing to consider the arguments of political abolitionists. More important, however, he gained the support of black and white religious leaders by working through, rather than criticizing, organized religion. His group, the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (AFASS), worked to convince church leaders to embrace abolition. At the same time, the AFASS supported abolitionists who chose to leave churches they considered pro-slavery. According to Harrold, this tactic profoundly increased the sectional nature of the abolitionist struggle by encouraging a number of denominations to split over the issue of slavery. For example, when the Methodist Episcopal Church failed

to denounce slavery, the Wesleyan Methodists left to form their own organization in 1842. Other examples include the formation of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society in 1845 and the Free Presbyterians in 1846. According to Harrold, these groups provided crucial grassroots support for the cause during the 1840s, 1850s, and 1860s. Tappan himself also helped create the American Missionary Association in 1846, and Harrold describes that group as "the largest antebellum abolitionist organization and the most active supporter of evangelical opponents of slavery in the South." Thus, Tappan's efforts to work through the churches helped create and sustain much of the movement's growth in the Antebellum years.

Black Abolitionists and the Splitting of the Movement

The changes of the 1840s and 1850s greatly affected the black abolitionist movement. During the 1830s, blacks gained white support in their opposition to the colonization movement and their quest for immediate freedom. Initially, they harbored a great deal of hope for a biracial assault on the institution of slavery. By the 1840s, however, many had become disenchanted with infighting among white leaders and lack of substantial opportunity for black leadership within the movement.

Many black leaders felt that whites were becoming distracted just when the cause was gaining urgency. While the Compromise of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and *Dred Scott* made Northern whites feel threatened, they posed a substantial threat to black freedom. Most black leaders continued to push for self-help and racial uplift, but some began to propose a new type of colonization—a black-initiated, black-led emigration.

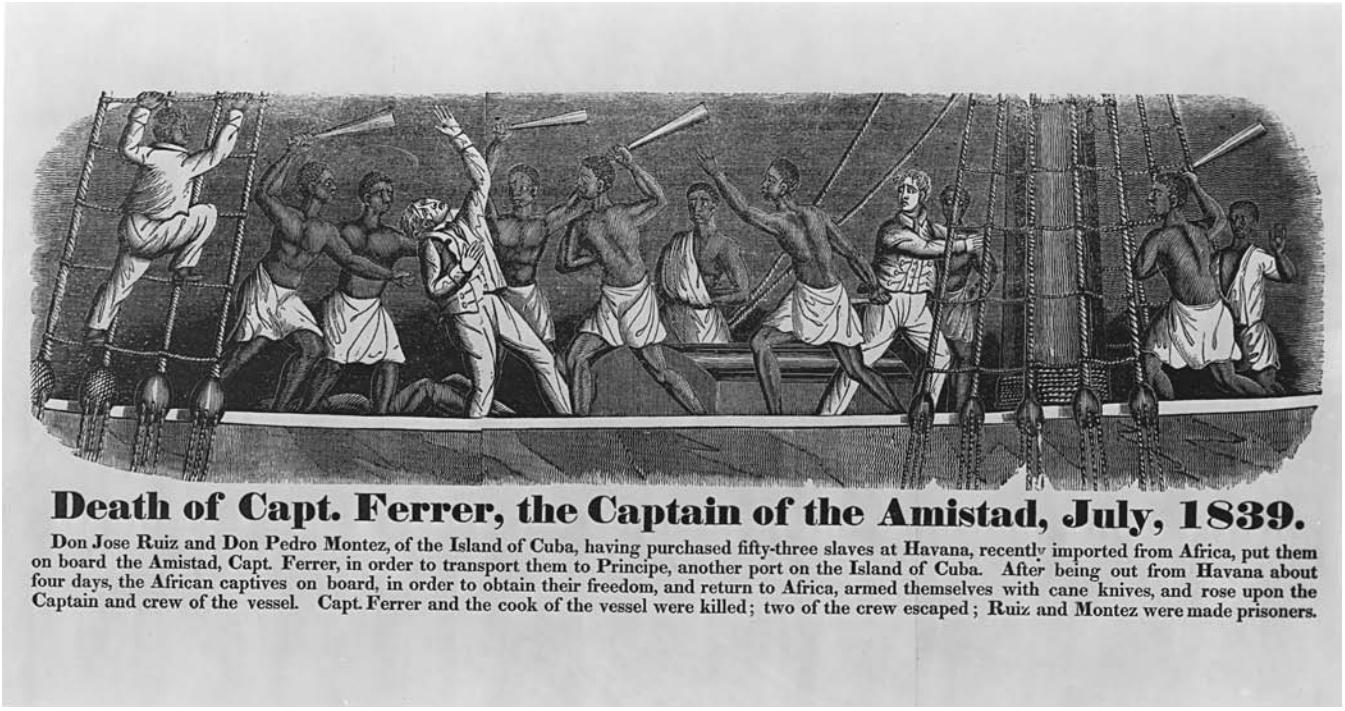
After the AASS split, most black leaders chose to focus on political action. Some, such as Henry Bibb and Samuel Ringgold Ward, joined the Liberty Party. Black clergymen, including Samuel Cornish, Theodore S. Wright, and Henry Highland Garnet, were attracted to Tappan's AFASS. By and large, however, most black leaders began to call for independence from white leaders and their squabbles. According to Ripley, white and black abolitionists had distinct movements by the 1840s, with whites focusing on the abstract and ideological aspects of antislavery and blacks defining both slavery and freedom "in more concrete, experiential terms." According to Ripley, "white abolitionists insisted that antislavery strategies and tactics conform to abstract moral principles," while black leaders "sought practical change, usually more concerned with results than tactics."

Free blacks and slaves shared a common struggle against slavery and oppression, and events of the 1850s highlighted this connection. The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, for example, had a huge impact on the free black community. Replacing the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793, this new act threatened the security of all Northern free blacks by denying them the right to trial by jury and placing the burden on them to prove their innocence. It even created a bounty system that awarded commissioners ten dollars for each case in which a slave was returned to the master, but only five dollars for each case in which the accused escapee was released. Realizing the danger to the union if the law was not respected, most Northerners reluctantly accepted the new law and their role in its execution, making a clear distinction between their right to oppose the spread of slavery and their duty to enforce the law.

Black abolitionist leaders knew what was at stake. Delany warned in his 1852 book, *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States*, that whites would not consider disobeying the law because of the growing fear for the union. He warned his readers that "the existence of the Fugitive Slave Law [is] *necessary* to the continuance of the national compact." Other free blacks also immediately recognized the danger to their liberty. Tying them directly to slaves by emphasizing their ethnic connection, the law required nothing more than a sworn affidavit from a slave owner who wished to claim a black as renegade property.

This law brought about one of the most militant periods in the abolition struggle, as many fugitives, including Anthony Burns, were returned to slavery despite public outcries. As a result, many black leaders began to encourage civil disobedience more than ever before. Delany emphasized that fugitive slaves were not the only ones who should fear for their freedom. He claimed that the law was especially dangerous for Northern free blacks because, unlike Southern free blacks, they usually did not possess documentation of their status.

In this climate, the black movement split as well, as some leaders began to consider emigration. Blacks who turned to emigration sought refuge in a number of places. A few advocated going to Mexico, while others chose to join the transatlantic abolitionist crusade and set sail for Great Britain. Canada, however, was the most popular destination. Despite the various choices for settlement, most of these Antebellum emi-


Death of Capt. Ferrer, the Captain of the Amistad, July, 1839.
Don Jose Ruiz and Don Pedro Montez, of the Island of Cuba, having purchased fifty-three slaves at Havana, recently imported from Africa, put them on board the Amistad, Capt. Ferrer, in order to transport them to Principe, another port on the Island of Cuba. After being out from Havana about four days, the African captives on board, in order to obtain their freedom, and return to Africa, armed themselves with cane knives, and rose upon the Captain and crew of the vessel. Capt. Ferrer and the cook of the vessel were killed; two of the crew escaped; Ruiz and Montez were made prisoners.

After being illegally abducted as slaves from Sierra Leone in 1839, Joseph Cinque and fifty-two fellow captives escape from their chains and rise up in rebellion on the *Amistad*, killing the ship's captain and a crew member. Cinque and the rebels were later arrested and tried for murder, but the court found them not guilty because they had been seized illegally. Cinque and most of the rebels returned to Africa in 1842. *(Library of Congress)*

grationists shared a desire to eventually return to the United States once conditions improved. In most cases, they hoped their settlements would help facilitate progress in American race relations by providing evidence of black self-reliance and achievement. These settlers, much like the Puritans who founded New England, strove to create a "city on a hill" that would showcase black achievement and prove that African Americans were capable of contributing to American society.

Such emigration schemes gained popularity in waves, first after the Kansas-Nebraska Act threatened to allow the extension of slavery into the territories and then after the *Dred Scott* decision denied black citizenship. After the first of these setbacks, Delany decided that the time was right to call a convention to discuss black prospects in America and other countries. Two years later, he left for Canada. When the U.S. Supreme Court ruled the following year that blacks were not American citizens, a renewed interest in Canadian emigration led a number of blacks to follow his lead. William Wells Brown, another black abolitionist and one of the earliest black historians, argued in his book, *The Rising Son* (1873), that by the end of the decade, "the subdued tone of the liberal portion of the press, the humiliating offers of Northern political leaders of compromises, and the numerous cases of fugitive slaves being returned to their masters, sent a thrill of fear to all colored men in the land for their safety, and nearly every train going North found more or less negroes freeing to Canada." But still, most did not give up. Brown added that while *Dred Scott* was a setback, it did not prove that blacks would never be accepted in America. He chose to believe that, though the Supreme Court bowed to the South in this case, the "good men at the North felt ashamed of the Government under which they lived." During this time, black leaders produced their most militant rhetoric as their disenchantment with American racism grew, yet, like Brown, most maintained a degree of optimism that they could change things by proving their own equality, and they never gave up on their quest for American acceptance.

The emigration schemes some embraced, ironically, embodied this hope. Delany's scheme is perhaps the most well known. It is important to note that he did not seek mass emigration of American blacks to any other part of the world at this time. Instead, he infused the Puritan concept of the "city on a hill" with the capitalistic values of his own time, seeking to cre-

ate a black-led colony that would enjoy moral and economic success, proving that the black community had capable leaders and industrious citizens. An extension of his self-help, moral suasion agenda, this colony would prove black equality, generate self-confidence among the larger black community, and beat whites at their own economic game while also spreading Western culture to other parts of the world. This scheme illustrates both the "racial uplift" agenda of the black abolitionist crusade and the missionary atmosphere of the time. Alexander Crummell, another black abolitionist who turned to emigration, focused particularly on the missionary aspect, insisting that colonies in Africa would prove black equality while also propagating Christianity to the "benighted" parts of the world.

Conclusion

The American Civil War opened the door for both black and white abolitionists to pursue their goals with greater fervor. Even the Garrisonians could contribute to the Union effort in hopes of creating a new nation that, unlike the one created by the Constitution, did not sanction human bondage. The spirit of hope embodied in the war led many to forget old wounds, and abolitionists of all factions sought to pressure the government to turn the struggle into a war for black freedom. Garrison had called for the North to dissolve the Union rather than compromise with the South during the past decade. Once the South made the decision to leave, he hoped to influence the results of their endeavor. Even the emigrationists came home to help in the struggle, seeing the war as their chance to earn a place in an improved postwar America. Most had cited black service in past wars as a claim to citizenship and equality, and they extended their self-help philosophy to the battlefield.

Beverly Tomek

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ANTISLAVERY MOVEMENT 1860–1865

If most Americans remember anything about Civil War history, it is that Abraham Lincoln freed the slaves with the Emancipation Proclamation. Traditional Civil War historians agree. Lincoln freed the slaves, first and foremost by labeling slavery a moral evil and calling for an end to bound labor. This position also argues that Lincoln's election in 1860 provoked the South to secede and that his refusal to compromise on the expansion of slavery and on Fort Sumter were also crucial. It also cites Lincoln's creation of a Unionist coalition in the first year of war, his later commitment to emancipation, and his insistence upon unconditional victory. For traditionalists, Abraham Lincoln clearly played the lead role in the drama of the war, and the soldiers of the Union Army served as the supporting actors. As for most slaves, they were simply the lucky beneficiaries of policies passed by the "Great Emancipator" and enforced by his warriors.

Beginning in the 1960s, however, a new group of historians started looking at the role of everyday people in American history. Known as "social historians," many of this generation began to discover that enslaved African Americans played central roles in the Civil War and emancipation. Led by the team of Ira Berlin, Barbara Fields, Steven Miller, Joseph Reidy, and Leslie Rowland, these writers argued that the slaves earned their own freedom. Through their multivolume project, *Free at Last: A Documentary History of Slavery, Freedom, and the Civil War* (1992), these historians traced the efforts of African Americans to claim their own freedom by escaping from their masters during the war, working in Union camps, and, eventually, fighting in the Union Army. Their work supports the idea that Lincoln was a hesitant leader who issued the Emancipation Proclamation only after escaping slaves forced him to deal with the issue of slavery head-on. Thus, the slaves freed themselves by leaving the plantations and forcing the government to create policies that dealt with them as people. According to Berlin, "Whatever he believed about slavery, in 1861 Lincoln did not see the war as an instrument of emancipation. The slaves did. Lincoln's commitment to emancipation changed with time because it had to."

WHO FREED THE SLAVES?

Although proponents of both schools of thought present important arguments, neither has provided a comprehensive answer to the question of who actually freed the slaves. The truth is that both the enslaved population and President Lincoln played key roles. Just as important, however, were the efforts put forth by the free black population of the North in securing the end of slavery. The most important contribution of social history to the story of the Civil War lies in a clearer understanding of the importance of the broader African-American community in what became a quest not only for emancipation but also for civil rights. This quest began with the efforts of black abolitionists, many of whom were escaped slaves themselves. Building on this legacy, free and enslaved African Americans worked together once the war broke out to force a change in war goals from preservation of the union to emancipation of the enslaved. After they convinced Lincoln to issue his Proclamation, both groups continued to contribute to the war effort.

By the time of the Civil War, black Americans had been emancipating themselves for generations. Many of the escapees, most notably Frederick Douglass, became activists by fighting publicly for the abolition of slavery. Until the 1850s, most of them relied on a tactic they called "moral suasion." They tried to convince the public that slavery was an evil institution that hurt black and white Americans. By the 1850s, however, many had begun to worry that America could not be reformed through moral suasion alone. They saw the

Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 and the Dred Scott decision of 1857 as assaults not only on themselves but on American liberty in general, and some abolitionists—both black and white—even began to call for the Northern states to secede from the Union.

The Fugitive Slave Law linked Southern slaves with Northern free blacks by declaring that all African Americans were slaves until proven otherwise. Although the previous fugitive slave law had placed the burden of proof on masters and required them to apprehend their own slaves, the new law placed the burden of proof on the slave and provided masters with federal assistance in recapturing escaped slaves. It also denied the accused the right to trial by jury and required law enforcement officers and citizens in general to assist in apprehending accused escapees. It even created a bounty system in which commissioners were awarded ten dollars for each case in which a slave was returned to the master but only five dollars for each case in which the accused escapee was released. Realizing the danger to the Union if the law was not respected, most Northerners reluctantly accepted the new law and their role in its execution.

Civil Disobedience

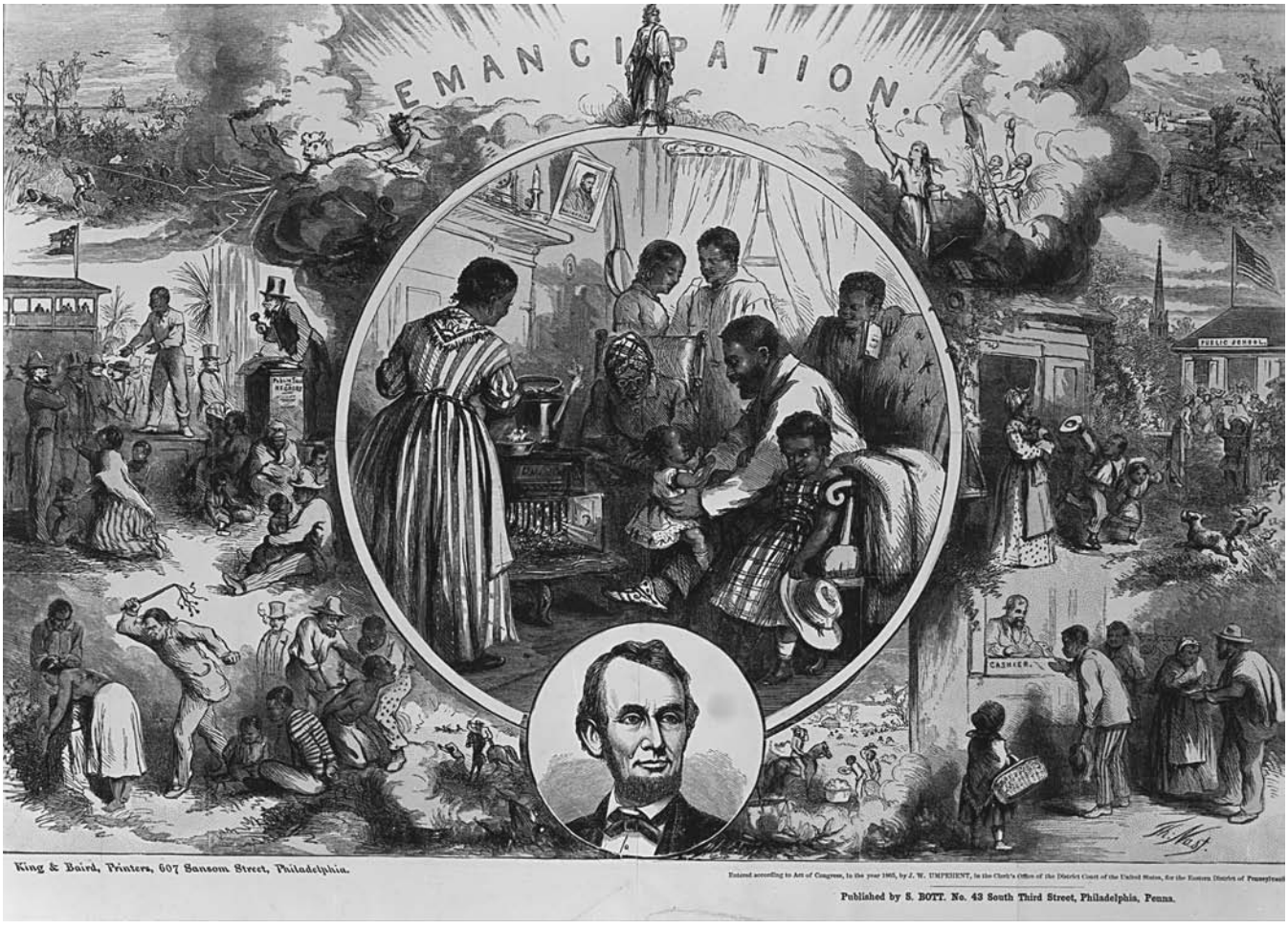
As if being assumed a slave was not bad enough, the *Dred Scott* decision compounded the humiliation. In this decision, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that no black, whether free or enslaved, was an American citizen. In the wake of these two measures, abolitionists began to encourage civil disobedience more than ever before. Martin R. Delany, an important free black leader in the North, emphasized that fugitive slaves were not the only ones who should fear for their freedom. In an 1854 speech to the Cleveland Emigration Convention, he claimed that Northern free blacks faced the greater danger because, unlike Southern free blacks, they did not usually possess documentation of their status. Black abolitionist William Wells Brown argued in his 1867 book, *The Negro in the American Rebellion*, that after the *Dred Scott* decision, "the Constitution . . . became the emblem of the tyrants and the winding sheet of liberty and gave a boldness to the people of the South." Immediately following these oppressive developments, many African Americans considered emigration to various parts of the world, and a large number moved to Canada. However, most realized that even Northern whites were growing tired of Southern aggression as rising numbers began to cry out against what they called the "slave power."

Civil War

When the war first broke out, most Northerners claimed that it would be a war for the Union rather than a war to end slavery, but enslaved and free African Americans saw greater potential. Even those who had begun to call for emigration had only done so because the Fugitive Slave Law had cast into legal code dangerous distinctions based solely on race. Delany, one of the most famous emigrationists of the period, had insisted in his 1852 book, *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States*, that the situation could "never be changed except by legislation," and that it was "the height of folly to expect such express legislation, except by the inevitable force of some irresistible internal political pressure." The Civil War provided just such pressure.

African-American intellectuals had cited black service in past wars as a claim to citizenship and equality, and they immediately saw the opportunity to earn respect by fighting for the Union. Seeing that pressure from blacks could influence the goals and outcome of the war, many began to hope that African Americans could prove their worth by actively fighting to enjoy the privileges of American citizenship. Only blacks could make it a successful war for freedom, Delany argued, because "the rights of no oppressed people [had] ever . . . been obtained by a voluntary act of justice on the part of the oppressors." He added that the war offered blacks a chance to use "muscles, hands, limbs, might and strength" to overthrow the powerful slave owners and force America along in its journey toward enlightenment and progress.

Although the war did not become a war for black freedom until Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863, most blacks realized immediately that agitation over slavery caused secession. Many logically concluded that drastic changes were imminent, and they decided that a Northern victory would mean freedom for all, whereas a Southern victory would cause the death of black liberty throughout the country. Most African-American leaders determined that blacks had a unique opportunity, as well as an obligation, to turn the war for the Union into a war against slavery. Abolitionists had been pushing for a separation of the North and South for nearly twenty years, and now was their chance to seize the reigns from the slave owners. Leaders such as David Walker and Henry Highland Garnet had chided Southern blacks to stand up and fight in ear-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This series of images drawn by illustrator Thomas Nast in 1865 juxtaposes the horrors of slavery with the benefits—and triumph—of emancipation. *(Library of Congress)*

lier, less propitious times, and by the time the Civil War broke out, most black leaders had decided that violence and armed insurrection were the only solution. Now that the time was right, black participation would be crucial in securing freedom for the bondsmen and civil rights for all.

Though initial enthusiasm was dampened by exclusionary policies aimed at keeping them out of the struggle, blacks remained determined to take part. As the events of the war unfolded, most blacks began to put aside the persecution of the past decade, becoming determined to contribute to the war effort in a number of ways. To begin with, they built upon black service in previous wars to push for the government to adopt emancipation as a war goal and extend the right of blacks to participate on the battlefield. Some also offered their skills as laborers, scouts, and spies. Finally, after the war was opened to black participation, they fought for the Union and assisted in efforts to educate the freedmen and prepare them for the future.

Whether or not Abraham Lincoln was the "Great Emancipator" mythologized in history, a number of policies under his administration gave black Americans hope for acceptance in the United States even before emancipation. Delany told his earliest biographer that he immediately saw the potential in the Lincoln administration. He claimed that he saw Lincoln as a clever politician early on, realizing that the war would ultimately resolve the issue of black freedom. For many, the Civil War was nothing less than the culmination of the work begun by Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey, and Nat Turner, and they recognized that blacks could play a unique role in securing their own freedom. In his 1874 book, *The Rising Son*, Brown looked back upon the early war years and described

what he called a "change . . . over the dreams of the people." He cited stricter enforcement of the ban on the African slave trade, the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and diplomatic recognition of the black republics of Haiti and Liberia as causes for the optimism of 1862. Delany agreed and emphasized the important role of blacks in these developments. He wrote to Douglass proclaiming that "the recent recognition of Haiti and Liberia, was due more to the presence of intelligent black representatives from Liberia at Washington than a thousand whites." In a statement that also reflected his attitude about the war, he concluded: "If I have one great political desire more than another it is that the black race manage their own affairs instead of entrusting them to others."

Black Activism

Even before Delany expressed his desire, some had indeed taken the initiative to manage their own affairs, seeking to pressure the government to make emancipation a goal of the war and to allow blacks to serve as soldiers. Alfred M. Green, a black abolitionist from Philadelphia and one of the earliest advocates of black participation in the war, insisted that the conflict was the vehicle by which to complete the Revolution of 1776. In an October 1861 letter to *The Weekly Anglo-African,* he maintained that "the world is rushing like a wild tornado in the direction of universal emancipation." He insisted that blacks must "grasp the sword—grasp this most favorable opportunity of becoming inured to the service that must burst the fetters of the enslaved and enfranchise the nominally free of the North." In light of white resistance to black participation, he added, "let us say to the demagogues of the North, who would prevent us now from proving [our] manhood and foresight in the midst of all these complicated difficulties, that we will be armed . . . and if our fathers were cheated and disfranchised after nobly defending the country, we, their sons, have the manhood to defend the right and the sagacity to detect the wrong."

Through this argument, Green expanded upon a common tradition among black abolitionists to use service in past wars as a justification for freedom as well as citizenship and equality. Aware that a number of slaves had earned their own freedom through service in the Revolution and the War of 1812, black leaders, particularly early historians such as William Cooper Nell and Delany, had tried for the past decade to prove that such service had earned for blacks the same freedoms as whites. Both writing in the early 1850s, Nell and Delany recounted black heroism in these wars, particularly the War of 1812. They both claimed that slaves had given Andrew Jackson the famous idea of hiding behind cotton bales as the enemy approached during the Battle of New Orleans, and they made good use of Jackson's famous speech in which he referred to his black soldiers as "citizens."

In both his *Services of Colored Americans* (1851) and *The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution* (1855), Nell provided not only accounts of black valor but also descriptions of the effects of such heroism on a number of important white statesmen. His goal was not only to prove that blacks had helped earn American freedom but also to raise consciousness of the fact that blacks were being denied their rightful heritage by an ungrateful country. His works end on optimistic notes, however, calling for a "second revolution" in which blacks would "prove valid their claim" to the title of patriots and demonstrate to the world their equality.

Delany's *Condition, Elevation, Emigration* was similar to Nell's work in many respects. He also struggled desperately to prove that blacks deserved citizenship because of their efforts in past wars. He insisted that "*amor patria*, or love of country, is the first requisition and highest attribute of every citizen," and that "he who voluntarily ventures his own safety for that of his country, is a patriot of the purest character." He even paraphrased Jefferson, attributing to him the argument that "the descendants of all who have borne arms in their country's struggle for liberty, should be always entitled to all the rights and privileges [of citizenship]." He concluded, almost prophetically, that in times of danger the country turned to "him who braves the consequences, and fights his country's battles . . . who shoulders his musket, girds on his sword, and faces the enemy on to the charge."

A number of leaders expressed the view that only force would end slavery and that blacks themselves must deliver that force. In his letter to *The Weekly Anglo-African*, Green maintained that service in the war would allow blacks to "enforce the doctrine we have ever taught of self-reliance." He further maintained that God was "opening the way for us to free ourselves" and that "the prejudiced never will respect us until they are forced to do it by deed of our own."

Many slaves had already arrived at similar conclusions and had been participating in the war effort since 1861. Their work began a few weeks after the war broke out, when a group of Virginia slaves seeking asylum behind enemy lines stole a canoe and snuck across Chesapeake Bay. Presenting themselves

to General Benjamin Butler, the Union commander at Virginia, they forced the government to develop a policy for dealing with black refugees. Instead of returning them to their masters, Butler declared them "contraband," or captured enemy property, and put them to work in the camp. Seeing opportunity for freedom, others began to approach Butler's camp, and within two months he had 900 "contraband" workers serving as teamsters, blacksmiths, cooks, and laundresses.

Butler's "contraband" set the precedent for allowing black participation in the war by assisting as laborers in his camp in 1861. At least 150,000 black laborers had assisted in the quartermaster and engineering departments in such capacity by the end of the war, and by 1865, approximately 500,000 slaves joined the effort as either laborers or soldiers. The government was well aware of the value of such assistance. Union soldiers, many of whom entered the war with racist sentiments, began to see the value and skills of the escaped slaves with whom they came into contact. In addition to protecting them from recapture, some even began to argue that black men should be allowed to participate in combat. A Quartermaster General's "Report on Negro Labor" concluded that "if black men could wield a shovel they could shoulder a musket."

This sentiment strengthened as Northern troops entered the deeper areas of the Confederacy and began to rely more upon contraband assistance. By the summer of 1862, much of the Northern public even began to see how essential arming ex-slaves would be to victory, and many, regardless of their views on racial equality or emancipation, began to advocate enlisting black soldiers as an expedient measure.

Evidence shows that the contrabands' efforts at self-help earned them respect from many soldiers. In fact, despite official policy to return escapees, a congressional committee on the conduct of war found that not only did some troops refuse to return slaves, but some even avenged their maltreatment. Testimony of General Daniel E. Sickles revealed a couple of instances in which owners who had regained possession of slaves proceeded to flog them in sight of the officers only to find themselves on the other end of the whip at the mercy of the troops. The situation was particularly distressing to Washington officials because, in many cases, the officers were encouraging the men to defend the slaves. William T. Sherman set an example by refusing to help a West Point classmate retrieve slaves from Union-occupied Memphis, and General John Phelps not only welcomed runaways to his camp, but he even ordered occasional retributive raids on particularly cruel masters. Furthermore, the congressional investigation concluded that lesser officers sometimes allowed soldiers to beat slave owners who entered their camps to claim contraband. This spirit of defiance was contagious and served to reinforce black resistance and independence.

Blacks in the Civil War

Not only did Union officers encourage blacks to escape and work in the camps, but they also began to arm and train blacks for military service before Lincoln's proclamation allowed them to do so. General David Hunter played a key role in this effort. Commander in the South Carolina Sea Islands, he sought Lincoln's permission to enlist escaped slaves for combat duty in April of 1862. When Lincoln failed to respond, Hunter began recruiting on his own authority until he learned that the War Department would not pay the black soldiers or provide them necessary supplies. Because of the lack of support, he disbanded his regiment until the War Department finally authorized his efforts in August. During that same month, Butler incorporated several units of free black soldiers into the Union forces under his command. In addition to these "Native Guard" units, he later began recruiting both free blacks and escaped slaves.

The eagerness of both free blacks and escaped slaves to fight and the Union's need for as many hands as possible converged, and blacks won their first Civil War goal on January 1, 1863, when President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation. This famous document not only declared free all slaves in the Confederate states but also made freedom a war goal and announced the Union's new policy of enlisting African Americans as soldiers and sailors.

Soon after Lincoln opened the door for black participation, Henry McNeal Turner, a long-time black abolitionist who became a recruiter for the Union, challenged black men to enlist. In a February 1863 letter to the *Christian Recorder,* he appealed to black men to prove their equality by joining the war effort. He maintained that "the cry has long been, Give us the opportunity; show us a chance to climb to distinction, and we will show the world by our bravery what the negro can do." He argued that, "as soon as we are invited to stand on such a basis as will develop these interior qualities, for us to deride the idea and scornfully turn away, would be to argue a self-consciousness of incapacity." James Henry Gooding, a New Hampshire native who became a corporal in

the famous Massachusetts Fifty-fourth Regiment, took Turner's challenge a step farther by warning of dire consequences if blacks failed to seize the opportunity at hand. He sent a series of letters to the New Bedford *Mercury* in an effort to gain recruits for his regiment. He pointed out that if slavery was defeated by whites alone, "language cannot depict the indignity, the scorn, and perhaps the violence, that will be heaped upon us; unthought of laws will be enacted, and put in force, to banish us from the land of our birth." In light of that possibility, he insisted, "now is the time to *act*."

In May of 1863, the government further sanctioned black participation in battle by creating a Bureau of Colored Troops within the War Department, and black soldiers immediately began to distinguish themselves in battle. They began to earn acclaim just five days after the bureau was established by participating in an assault on Port Hudson, Louisiana. Two regiments of free blacks and ex-slaves from New Orleans participated in this Union assault on the Confederate stronghold on the Mississippi River. Although the Union failed in this effort, the press began to take notice of black heroism. Ira Berlin, Barbara Fields, and their team of researchers have reprinted a number of glowing reports of black efforts in these and other battles in their multivolume *Free at Last: A Documentary History of Slavery, Freedom, and the Civil War*. Among these reports is one by an officer who admitted to entertaining "some fears as to their pluck." After seeing black troops in battle, however, he reported that the "heroic descendants of Africa [moved] forward . . . under a murderous fire" from enemy guns. His report concluded that "their gallantry entitles them to a special praise." Evidently, other witnesses shared his assessment of black bravery, as he reported to a Louisiana recruiter of black troops that "the sneers of others are being tempered into eulogy." A month later at Millikens Bend, another battle in Louisiana, both ex-slaves and free Southern blacks again demonstrated bravery that shocked many whites. Even a Confederate officer was impressed. In another report reprinted by Berlin's group, he admitted that the black troops had resisted "with considerable obstinacy, while the white or true Yankee portion ran like whipped curs."

Observers reported black bravery in many battles, but none has captured as much attention as the famous assault on South Carolina's Fort Wager in July of 1863. Led by the first black Northern regiment, the now-famous Massachusetts Fifty-fourth, the attack ended in failure and massive loss of life, but the black soldiers proceeded bravely under unrelenting Confederate fire. William H. Carney earned a Congressional Medal of Honor for his bravery in bearing the regimental colors. According to the battle report of Colonel M.S. Littlefield, a witness, Carney "refused to give up his sacred trust until he found an officer of his regiment" to pass the colors to, despite severe wounds in his leg and head.

Less celebrated but just as important to the Union cause were the naval contributions of African Americans during the war. Frederick Douglass reported in *Douglass' Monthly* in 1861, well before the Emancipation Proclamation, that a black sailor gave the Union its first naval victory. According to Douglass, a Confederate privateer had captured a schooner, the *S.J. Waring*, off the coast of New York and captured black crew members to be sold into slavery in Charleston. William Tillman, the steward, decided that he would not allow himself to be sold, and he convinced a fellow prisoner to help recapture the ship. Though neither Tillman nor his companions had experience in navigation, they managed to take the ship when it was within fifty miles of Charleston, turn it around, and reach New York. This feat earned praise from the New York *Tribune*, which thanked Tillman for the "first vindication of [the nation's] honor at sea."

A number of black sailors, free and enslaved, achieved similar victories. Robert Smalls, the most famous slave to contribute to the war, managed to commandeer a Confederate gunboat, the *Planter*, and surrender it to Union forces. The twenty-three-year-old pilot recounted to an 1864 audience in Philadelphia that he and his crew of fellow slaves waited for the captain to leave the ship on the night of May 13, 1862, picked up their families and friends, and "proceeded down Charleston River slowly." Smalls told his listeners that, upon reaching Fort Sumter, he "gave the signal which was answered from the fort, thereby giving permission to pass," and then "made speed for the blockading fleet." Once beyond the range of Sumter's guns, he hoisted a white flag and turned the vessel over to a Union captain. Both black and white newspapers celebrated Smalls's feat and reported his promotion as captain of the vessel in 1866.

Seeing that black valor on land and sea forced a number of white soldiers, commanders, and members of the general public to rethink their attitudes, many blacks became confident that, despite the failures of past wars, they could help end prejudice by proving themselves on the battlefields. By the war's end, 70 percent of all Northern black males of military age joined this crusade by enlisting in the Union Army.

Proportionate to the population, black enlistment in the North was three times that of white enlistment. Black men provided nearly 10 percent of Union fighters, and Northern and Southern blacks participated in 449 engagements, 39 of which were major battles. Approximately 37,300 blacks died while serving, and 21 earned Congressional Medals of Honor. These men had earned citizenship for all African Americans by forcing the government to disregard and even denounce the *Dred Scott* decision.

Repeal of Racist Laws

In addition to acknowledging black citizenship, the government passed a number of antidiscrimination measures during the war. In 1862, the Senate repealed an 1825 law barring blacks from carrying the mail, and Congress ruled that blacks could no longer be excluded as witnesses in the courts of the District of Columbia. Following this lead, some states also began to allow blacks to testify in court. Also during the war, Congress admitted blacks to its visitors galleries for the first time, the Smithsonian finally began to welcome blacks to public lectures, organizers of the president's public reception on New Year's Day allowed blacks to attend, and black troops were included in the Inauguration Day parade. Finally, black contributions to the war effort caused many whites to develop more positive attitudes that led to lasting changes in education and public transportation, and legal segregation ended in most parts of the North within three decades of the war's end.

The connection between these advances and black heroism in the war was obvious. Writing during Reconstruction, Brown, a pioneer in black history and a leader in the freedom struggle, looked back at the war years with optimism and pride in the fact that black heroism had "raised the colored men in the estimation of the nation." Insisting that because slavery had caused "all the prejudice against the negro," he had maintained in *Rising Son* that racism would end since slavery had been abolished. He also cited black bravery as crucial not only to ending slavery but also to dispelling racist sentiment.

Discrimination

The idea that the end of slavery could mean the end of racism had been common throughout the black abolition struggle, and it served as one of the strongest inducements for Northern blacks to participate in the war effort. In fact, while slaves escaped and fought for their own liberty early on, most Northern blacks did not officially join the effort until after the Emancipation Proclamation had been issued. Whereas most Southern blacks, as former slaves, fought with the motivation of freedom, Northern blacks joined the struggle to prove their equality and earn the rights of American citizenship. H. Ford Douglas, one of the youngest black abolitionist leaders before the war, seized the opportunity to supplement rhetoric with action. In a February 1863 letter to *Douglass' Monthly*, he expressed hopes that America would "pay back to the negro in spiritual culture [and] in opportunities for self-improvement, what they have take[n] from him." According to a contemporary observer, the crusade was successful, since even the pro-slavery press had begun to praise the black soldiers.

Although contemporary observers and Reconstruction-era black historians focused on positive changes in public attitude, the soldiers themselves faced a great deal of discrimination and injustice. To begin with, the sight of a black in the Union uniform offended extremist racists, and in some instances mobs attacked black soldiers. In addition, Confederates treated black prisoners as insurrectionists rather than prisoners of war, brutally murdering them or selling them back into slavery. Although Southern maltreatment was expected, black soldiers were often shocked to find discrimination within the Union Army as they were sent to the front lines of battle, given inadequate pay, and prevented from rising to the rank of commissioned officers.

A number of instances of racism and discrimination, however, were followed by renewed hope, and most blacks chose to stress the good and forgive the bad. For most cases of harassment of black soldiers, optimists could emphasize the dismayed reaction and intervention of white onlookers. Prejudiced actions of officers also were often met with criticism by their superiors or government officials. Confederate threats of murder and enslavement were answered with similar promises of retaliation by the United States government and Union officers. Finally, many blacks were encouraged by the support of their commanders, particularly in the struggle for equal pay.

Although the pay issue was eventually rectified, the quest for black officers was left largely unanswered. At issue was the fact that black soldiers wanted leaders of their own color to further their self-help agenda, but most whites resented the idea of having to salute or take orders from blacks. Although they could not become line officers, blacks could earn commissions as chaplains and surgeons, but such positions did not involve battlefield command.

Resistance to Discrimination

Those who entertained aspirations for these few leadership roles realized that the shortest avenue was through recruiting efforts. Not only had many white men earned high rank after starting out as recruiters, but many chaplains had received commissions because they had served successfully in that capacity. Frederick Douglass, John Mercer Langston, Charles Lenox Remond, Henry Highland Garnet, Rock, Brown, and Delany were among the abolitionists who recruited for the Union cause. While recruiting in the South, Rock spoke to the soldiers of the Fifth United States Colored Heavy Artillery Regiment. He stressed the connection between blacks of both regions, employing the rhetoric of self-help. He told his audience that "God gives men their liberty who can and dare defend them," and that God was on their side. He spoke down to the recruits, however, informing them that after the war they would "enjoy the rights and privileges of freemen," but that their Northern "families . . . shall expect you to educate and prepare yourselves and your families to become useful and respected members of society." Despite his elitist outlook, he was about to help recruit 147,000 soldiers.

Although a cultural chasm existed between Northern recruiters and Southern blacks, most recruiters did feel a genuine concern for their enlistees. Brown and Rock both resigned their position as recruiters over the equal pay issue. Though disgusted over the inequality, Rock refused to give up. He addressed the National Convention of Colored Men in Syracuse, New York, asking them to stand by the black soldiers and their families and cheer them on for the good of the United States' future. He was rewarded for his optimism in February of 1865 as he was sworn in to practice law before the Supreme Court.

Rock was not the only recruiter eventually rewarded for his efforts. Delany was eventually commissioned as the first black field officer in the U.S. Army on February 27, 1865. This position came after years of recruiting and a failed attempt to join the army as a surgeon. The first black to be awarded a recruiting contract by any state, Delany had been one of the most successful black recruiters, and his handbills and posters reflected his philosophy of racial uplift and self-help. He emphasized his racial affinity with his recruits and emphasized that it was "the duty of every colored man to vindicate his manhood by becoming a soldier, and with his own stout arm to battle for the emancipation of his race." With his commission, the acceptance of John Rock as a Supreme Court lawyer, and the opportunity for Henry Highland Garnet to preach at the capitol, Delany felt that the government had finally recognized the talents of black men of his class. In a report on a March 1865 speech delivered at New York's Shiloh Church, *The Weekly Anglo-African* quoted Delany's argument that although past governments had "progressed toward barbarism, and . . . were monuments of the barbarity of the times," President Lincoln and Secretary of War Edwin Stanton were leading a government that was progressing "toward truth, justice, liberty, Union and greatness." In Delany's assessment, "much progress had been made toward each." He believed that his hopes of black participation in the government were well within reach, since the country had "reached the innovation of elevating colored men to the grade of officers of the United States army."

Delany had earned his commission after approaching Lincoln with a plan to encourage self-liberation of slaves under black leadership. According to his plan, Delany would travel throughout the South, liberating slaves and organizing them in a large-scale uprising. This uprising, however, would be against the Confederate States instead of the United States. Concerned that the rebels would force the slaves to take up arms in defense of their own bondage, Delany proposed a plan in which he would follow the Underground Railroad south, spreading news of emancipation and gathering the newly freed to fight for their liberty rather than against it.

Delany's plan was the embodiment of black self-liberation. In presenting his plans to President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton, he emphasized his ethnicity as well as the fact that he was offering his assistance rather than asking a favor. Francis Rollins's 1883 biography, the *Life and Public Services of Martin R. Delany*, recounts Delany's claim that he had determined that "to wait upon the president at such a time to obtain anything from him could only be realized by having something, [a] plan, to offer the government." According to Delany, he had decided that to ask "Mr. President, what have you to give me?" would elicit the response "Sir, what have you to offer me?" and he was equipped with the answer. Pragmatically, he told Lincoln that he was aware of the barriers to appointing black officers. His solution was "an army of blacks, commanded entirely by black officers . . . to penetrate through the heart of the South, and make conquests, with the banner of Emancipation unfurled, proclaiming freedom as they go, sustaining and protecting it by arming the emancipated [and] taking

them as fresh troops." He told Lincoln that his black-led liberation army would "give confidence to the slaves, and retain them to the Union, stop foreign intervention, and speedily bring the war to a close." Although he emphasized what his plan would do for the country when presenting it to Lincoln, he was most concerned with what it would do for African Americans. He believed that blacks needed black leadership, and he felt that he was uniquely qualified to provide it.

Although the war ended before Delany could implement his plan, others had used similar means to contribute to Union efforts. Northern abolitionists such as Harriet Tubman, as well as more recently liberated slaves, served as scouts, spies, and liberators by heading back south. Tubman, who for years had led slaves northward along the Underground Railroad, reversed directions and traveled southward to spread the news of emancipation. Her raids not only freed slaves and weakened rebel forces by taking away valuable laborers, but also aided the Union cause because many of the able-bodied among her contraband were willing to fight on the battlefield. Sent south at the beginning of the war by the governor of Massachusetts, she delivered slaves to freedom and recruited the men as soldiers; she also worked as a spy and a nurse. She was quite valuable in each of these roles because her life as a slave and her work in the Underground Railroad had made her familiar with the Southern landscape, and she was accustomed to tending to the needs of others.

The Blacks' Role in the South

Most other blacks who served the Union as scouts and spies had recently escaped, and they used intimate knowledge of their home terrain to help the cause. Confederates blamed the escapees for successful Union raids. Union Major-General O. M. Mitchell agreed. He admitted to Secretary of War Edwin Stanton in a May 4, 1862, report that much of "the most valuable and reliable information of the enemy's movements . . . that we have been able to get we have derived from Negroes who have come into our lines." Some of the most valuable spies and scouts had once served Confederate leaders. Garland H. White, former slave of Senator Robert Toombs, offered his services as a guide for Sherman's army in Georgia. He offered his assistance in a July 29, 1864, letter to Secretary of State William H. Seward. Calling for a campaign through his area of the state, he described his intimate knowledge of the plantations, railroads, rivers, and general terrain. He even cited his acquaintance with an area that contained a prison that held "several thousands of our Union soldiers."

White was one of two chaplains known to have been born a slave, but as the slave of a former U.S. senator, he had extensive contact with Northern culture. He had even met a variety of government officials, including Seward, before running away from Toombs in 1859 or 1860. After escaping, he went to Canada and became an African Methodist-Episcopal pastor. As soon as the war broke out, he offered his services and began recruiting, and in October 1864 he was awarded with a commission as chaplain. Through this route he, like other chaplains, also became an educator of the freedmen. Believing that education would be crucial in preparing freedmen for full citizenship, most chaplains encouraged their listeners to seek literacy to earn white respect. They held strong beliefs that education would serve as the means of racial elevation.

Chaplains were not the only proponents of education. James Monroe Trotter, a black who gained the lieutenancy by the end of the war, argued that many noncommissioned officers and private soldiers also helped educate their fellow soldiers as well as Southern black civilians. Many of these officers and soldiers were from the North and had encountered Southern blacks for the first time in their army camps. Despite regional cultural differences, however, blacks from both areas agreed on one point: education was a must.

Education and Economic Advance

Most Northerners believed that racial uplift hinged on the ability of all blacks to prove their equality through education and economic achievement. Accordingly, they decided that it was their duty to assist in the betterment of the entire race by helping educate the newly liberated in an effort to fight racial prejudice. Though bound by race, many Northern black soldiers were as culturally distant from the freedmen as were Northern whites. Gooding's account of his army life shows the same condescending attitude and belief in stereotypes as abolitionist Thomas Wentworth Higginson's despite the fact that he was black and Higginson was white. Echoing Delany's arguments in the *North Star* that liberal education without practical training would be useless, one black sergeant-major explained in a July 1865 letter to *The Weekly Anglo-African* that while he was "happy" to know of strides taken for elevation in more academic fields, he was worried that "these qualifications alone will not enable us to perform all the duties of independent and good citizens." A barber from Pittsburgh, this soldier

insisted that "our education needs to be practical, such as will profit us and our families. . . . Let no one harbor a thought that, because he is not permitted to occupy the most prominent position in society, there is nothing left worthy of his attention." Explaining that farmers and mechanics were just as important as statesmen, lawyers, and doctors, he went on to celebrate the self-made man and encourage frugality and hard work. He concluded that economic equality would be even more important to racial uplift than civil rights: "While we have to look to others for equality before the law, we must depend entirely on our own hands and heads for equality in financial resources."

The desire of the ex-slaves for education, however, extended beyond the practical avenues outlined by some elitist Northerners. Like Northerners, many Southern blacks subscribed to the idea that ignorance was the cause of their oppression and that education was the solution. Their educational goals, however, were more wide-ranging than a simple need to learn work skills. After all, they had learned practical skills through their manual labor as slaves. Now they wanted to read and write and learn skills that would prepare them for leadership. Many attributed the government's refusal to commission black officers to the inferior education blacks had received.

Joseph T. Wilson, a veteran of both the Second Louisiana Native Guards and the Massachusetts Fifty-fourth, produced the most comprehensive history of black participation in the war, and he described in detail the quest of most blacks for education. He argued in his 1887 book, *The Black Phalanx: African-American Soldiers in the War of Independence, The War of 1812, and the Civil War*, that "each soldier felt that but for his illiteracy he might be a sergeant, company clerk, or quartermaster, and not a few, that if educated, they might be lieutenants and captains." He further maintained that "this was not an unnatural conclusion for a brave soldier to arrive at, when men no braver than himself were being promoted for bravery." He also suggested that black soldiers saw most white Union soldiers as superior to white Confederate soldiers because they were more educated, and they sought to emulate them as a result.

Whether or not they equated education with promotion in the service, black soldiers were eager to learn as much as possible. Wilson reported that, sensing that education "somehow made them better men," the soldiers paid teachers' salaries out of their own earnings and contributed money to help build schools. They crowded school rooms and used their free time to study and drill each other, and they eagerly called for education for themselves and their families to continue after the war.

Not all Northern blacks who contributed to the education of the freedmen were affiliated with the military. For many antebellum black abolitionist leaders, the war provided a great opportunity to further their self-help agenda and expand their missionary work to Southern blacks. Crusaders like Robert Hamilton saw the Emancipation Proclamation as a call to action. According to his editorial in the January 17, 1863, edition of *The Weekly Anglo-African*, "the process of transforming three million of slaves into citizens requires the aid of intelligent colored men and women." Though he recognized a cultural difference, he insisted "we are, and can be, nearer to them than any other class of persons; we can enter into their feelings and attract their sympathies better than any others can. We can more patiently help and teach, and more jealously defend them, than any others can." Seeing the hand of fate in the situation, he further argued that "we are manifestly destined for this work of mercy. It is for this trial God has given us the partial freedom, and such education, and the irrepressible desire for equality which consumes our souls."

Women from both regions played an important role in these efforts. Susie King Taylor, who had been educated while she was a slave, escaped and joined a regiment of ex-slaves in the Sea Islands as a cook, nurse, and teacher. Satirra Douglas, wife of H. Ford Douglas, traveled to Kansas under the auspices of the Women's Loyal League of Chicago to work in a freedmen's school, and Charlotte Forten built upon her work in the abolition struggle by also teaching blacks in the Sea Islands. In a dispatch to the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1864, she described children who were eager to learn and parents who were making sacrifices so that their children could attend school. Among her pupils were a grandmother and a mother who came and brought her baby. Happy to participate in the uplift of her "long-abused race," she saw herself as working toward the long-term goal of "promoting a higher, holier, and happier life on the Sea Islands." Though enthusiastic about her work, like other Northerners she described her students with an amused detachment. Stating the obvious, she explained that "there is [not] a man, woman, or even a child that is old enough to be sensible, that would submit to being made a slave again," and she expressed amusement at their man-

ners and speech patterns. She did, however, praise their musical talent.

Although the doctrine of racial uplift shared by Northern black abolitionists prevented a true appreciation of Southern culture on its own merits, wartime missionaries and educators did leave an important legacy. In his early history of black contributions to the war, Wilson explained that many of these pupils pursued their education in the postwar years. According to Wilson, "since the war I have now heard of more than one who have taken up the profession of preaching and law making, whose first letter was learned in camp; and not a few who have entered college." Although much of the reform from the war years and Reconstruction was later abandoned or forced backwards, "the seeds of educational advance planted during the war years were never completely uprooted."

As the war came to a close, things were looking up. The leaders of what had been a crusade for the abolition of slavery a decade before could concentrate all their energies on civil rights. Even better, they were leading a movement that appeared to have a promising future. The accomplishments of Garnet, Rock, and Delany served as encouragement that blacks would be accepted as equals in the church, the government, and the military. Strides had been made in Northern and Southern education, desegregation had begun in the public facilities in some Northern cities, and blacks were being chosen as jurors and even elected to office. Furthermore, government and military leaders were aware of the important role blacks had played in the war. With military and government leaders praising black efforts for the Union, blacks from both regions shared the optimism that America had awakened. As Brown explained in *Rising Son*, "one by one, distinguishing lines have been erased, and now the black man is deemed worthy to participate in all the privileges of an American citizen."

The gains of the Civil War resulted from a joint effort of abolitionists, military leaders, President Lincoln, and the enslaved. Black abolitionists and slaves fought because they believed that the fate of their entire race was at stake. Lincoln's willingness to shift the goals of the war was crucial, but it did not arise solely out of an intrinsic need to do what was right. A number of black abolitionists, including Douglass and Delany, had approached him to discuss the need for emancipation. More important, the enslaved of the South decided that the time for freedom had arrived. Ultimately, their mass exodus from the plantations and arrival in Union camps forced military leaders and the president to develop fair policies. White conscience changed only after black efforts left no alternative.

Beverly Tomek

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Abolition: Humanitarian and Revolutionary Ideas

The principle of abolitionism promotes the immediate, unconditional, and universal abolition of the institution of slavery. The crusade to end slavery and secure racial justice in American society was part of a broader movement within the Americas that sought to rid the British, Dutch, French, Portuguese, and Spanish empires of their unfree labor systems. This cultural transformation in North America took place from approximately 1750 to 1890. In the United States, the abolitionist movement included individuals of varying ethnicities, genders, and socioeconomic positions. Abolitionism became one of the great reform movements in the nation's history whose popular growth may be traced in part to the philosophical principles governing the American Revolution.

The precise origins of this extraordinary movement are difficult to locate. According to some of the earliest studies of abolitionism, those who espoused an immediatist position on the institution of slavery were an autonomous and aberrant group of pious radicals who imposed their religious convictions and ideological principles on the broader society. While not denying the independent spirit and convictions governing abolitionists, scholars since then have sought to evaluate these Northern reformers within the wider cultural changes that took place in the antebellum period. That is, later scholars asked not only what forces of intellectual and social change gave rise to abolitionism, but also what changes took place that allowed their slow and perhaps begrudging acceptance among great numbers of Americans. Scholars have postulated several theories to answer these questions.

Some have suggested that by the turn of the nineteenth century a new form of humanitarianism had found expression in America. Both Enlightenment rationalism and the religious piety spawned by the Great Awakenings profoundly shaped this perspective. Describing the cultural forces at play by the turn of the century, historian Henry May's *The Enlightenment in America* (1976) notes:

> In the first years of the century important and obvious innovation was taking place mostly in two spheres, politics and religion, and in these what was new was method and organization rather than theory. Beyond these all-important realms, and also in the center of both, the real movement was taking place in the elusive realm of feeling. What was expressed in crude assertions Europeans found so hard to take was an ardent and emotional insistence on social equality. Egalitarian feelings, in America, often ran far ahead of fact, but yet in the long run affected many kinds of reality.

The resulting adjustment in individual perceptions brought the institution of slavery under considerable scrutiny. To varying degrees, in both North and South, slavery was seen as an antiquated and often morally repugnant practice of the Old World.

Another theory posits that the formation of economic free markets in the emerging capitalism and the industrial order of the West created a sphere of casual perception within the everyday affairs among the bourgeoisie class. This thesis suggests capitalist and market expansion broadened social perception among Americans and Europeans concerning the productivity of market goods and, in turn, promoted a sense of moral responsibility. The newly born relationship, albeit subtle and casually perceived by Westerners, goaded many to a point where passive sympathy for antislavery arguments no longer seemed to be an adequate response to the dehumanizing effects of slavery. The application of the Golden Rule to new arenas became part of an ethical dialogue concerning various social practices, including the long-standing practice of slavery in the Western Hemisphere. The result was the emergence of antislavery reform, which was but

one manifestation of a new humanitarian sentiment that shaped the nineteenth century. Still, some scholars dismiss the idea that free markets had an overwhelming effect on changing public morality. Instead, they argue that the emergence of a new humanitarian sensibility was only minimally nourished by capitalists, who only sparingly advocated immediate abolition in both the North and South.

Although questions remain concerning the degree of influence the free market had on the development of a new humanitarian perspective, there is general agreement that the emergence of a new industrial order, coupled with the egalitarian principles engendered by the American Revolution, and the development of evangelical sensibilities provided Americans with an alternative lens through which they could discern previously accepted social norms. For many colonists, the assertion that their independence from England was justified on the grounds of humanity's inalienable right to the pursuit of liberty now more than ever conflicted with the fledgling nation's willingness to enslave approximately 500,000 African Americans, or nearly one-sixth of the total population of the colonies.

Sectarian Convictions and Organizing Antislavery Reform

The earliest distinct sector of American society that consistently questioned the legitimacy of slavery and demanded its abolition was the Society of Friends, particularly those living in the port city of Philadelphia. As descendants of the Protestant Reformation, these Pennsylvania Quakers proclaimed the universality of God's love and the equality of all humanity as recipients of divine love. The Friends also believed that physical coercion was an evil; it was this belief that led them to become outspoken critics of the institution of slavery. Such criticism largely fell upon deaf ears until the mid- to late eighteenth century when evangelical revivals, with their emphasis on personal accountability regarding sin, coupled with the ideological conviction of inalienable rights, helped find receptive audiences for the Quakers' abolitionist message. Hoping to channel these concerns into social action, the Philadelphia Quakers created the first antislavery society in the world in 1775. Despite these encouraging developments in the North, the antislavery message found only sporadic support in the South as the nation's slave population nearly doubled by the close of the eighteenth century. Over the next thirty years the nation's slave population would again double, securing its position in American society.

Running parallel to this sectarian cause were other national efforts of reform. One idea that sought to end slavery through voluntary manumission and the subsequent expulsion of slaves to Africa was colonization. The initial popularity of the American Colonization Society, founded in 1817 by Robert Finley, a Presbyterian minister from New Jersey, was largely due to its loose organizational structure, which enabled its promoters to appeal to local constituencies while circumventing the problem of a national coherent agenda concerning race. Colonization won support among Northerners and Southerners alike and received the backing of several would-be abolitionists. The development of new humanitarian sensibilities amidst the national democratic experiment led some proponents to naively believe that slaveholders would no longer participate in overt acts of physical barbarity toward the slaves and that in due time the institution of slavery would end following its proscribed course evident in the North. Advances in antislavery reform served to solidify these beliefs, including Congress's prohibition of the slave trade in 1808, the debates of the Virginia legislature concerning colonization in 1816, state bans on the importation of slaves, and a spike in the number of private manumissions in the upper South. So promising were the plans for colonizing that Henry Clay, the leader of the National Republican Party, incorporated the concept of colonization into his party's platform. These halcyon days of colonization, however, were short lived with the growth of "King Cotton" and the continued expansion of slavery in the West.

The Missouri debates mark a significant, yet subtle, change in the colonization movement. For the first time in colonization's brief history, distinct regional concerns began to surface that deeply influenced the spoken objectives of colonization along regional lines. By the first half of the 1830s, colonization's musings about "justice" and "self-preservation" shifted from a national to a distinctly Southern orientation. Soon internal and external forces would significantly cripple the power of the movement.

Shortly following the Virginia legislature's debates over slavery in 1832, William Lloyd Garrison published his *Thoughts on African Colonization,* leveling a scathing critique at the presuppositions governing arguments for colonization. Garrison's pamphlet suggested that the principle of melioration through the removal of blacks was "a libel upon humanity and justice—a libel upon republicanism—a libel upon the

Declaration of Independence—a libel upon Christianity." Garrison's words were without compromise. No longer, he exclaimed, could the institution of slavery be dismissed as the remnant of a foreign oppressor (the claim of James Monroe); the imposition of international trade (the assertion of William Thorton); or an "insurmountable barrier" of humanity—(the reflection of Thomas Jefferson). Garrison's critique gave shape to the argument of those advocating immediate abolition by its resolute belief that contemporary Americans were responsible for the continuation of slavery. More important, Garrison made the novel assertion that the semireligious principles of the Declaration of Independence guaranteed instant, uncompensated emancipation without repatriation. The following year the American Anti-Slavery Society was founded by former colonization advocates Arthur and Lewis Tappan, Garrison, and Gerrit Smith. Now for a new generation of reformers, immediate abolition and black equality were the only logical measure that would truly redeem the nation, a position that dramatically shaped the careers of these men.

The Tappans were wealthy merchants and social reformers from a strong Calvinist family, Lewis perhaps best remembered for his role in organizing the defense of Joseph Cinque in the Amistad trial. The brothers helped to fund numerous antislavery journals and publications but eventually parted ways with the American Anti-Slavery Society over their disapproval of the women serving as officers for the organization. Smith, on the other hand, chose a more radical approach to reform. A philanthropist and social reformer from Utica, New York, Smith was converted to abolitionism in 1835 after hearing a speech by Garrison. He served in Congress and notably ran as a presidential candidate in 1848. Failed attempts to secure immediate abolition eventually led Smith to financially back John Brown's raid at Harpers Ferry, becoming one of the famed "Secret Six." The society and its largely Quaker constituency renounced the use of "all carnal weapons" to accomplish these directives instead of encouraging the abolition of slavery through "the potency of truth" and the "power of love."

Nascent Abolitionism, Garrisonians, and Public Resistance

Abolition's greatest articulator and celebrity in the United States emerged during the 1830s in the person of William Lloyd Garrison. In many ways the North was primed to receive Garrison's message. A generation of young Northerners had grown up with limited or no personal experience of slavery. For a new generation of Americans, the physical discipline and cruelty of slavery came as a cultural shock, and many welcomed the abolitionist message.

In 1828, Garrison was converted to abolitionism by Benjamin Lundy, a Quaker. Shortly after taking up the antislavery cause, Garrison, a Baptist of deep conviction, was sued for libel by the owner of a ship that transported slaves. The converted abolitionist declared the ship owner a highway robber and murderer, for which Garrison received a six-month sentence in prison. Upon his release from prison, Garrison undertook a speaking tour in the Northeast linking immediatism with the call for black equality. Upon the completion of his tour, Garrison pursued other venues for spreading his message. Receiving financial support from James Forten, a wealthy African-American abolitionist from Philadelphia, Garrison, a trained printer from Newburyport, Massachusetts, began to publish a weekly antislavery newspaper in Boston on January 1, 1831. Over the next thirty-four years, *The Liberator* served as a repository for Garrison's ideas, attracting an audience among African Americans and social reformers in the North. Its earliest publications reflected the influence of Finneyite perfectionism, an evangelical revival current that allowed writers to ground their antislavery argument in moral absolutes. Such ideas would saturate the pages of *The Liberator* and were widely evident in contributions by men such as Henry Wright and James Boyle. Yet it was Garrison's cantankerous personality and inflammatory rhetoric that captured public attention and quickly gained him a national reputation. The weekly soon became an essential medium for the movement, enabling abolitionist ideology to spread like wildfire throughout the nation. While the abolitionist message spread quickly, the public attention the movement was drawing outstripped the movement's actual numbers.

But the reform movement's appeal to a kind of evangelical perfectionism enabled it to find a receptive audience among certain sectors within the nation's religious life. A little more than a year following the founding of Garrison's weekly, the New England Anti-Slavery Society was organized at the African Baptist Church in Boston. Organized by Garrison, the group pledged itself to nonviolent means to procure the freedom of African Americans. Other groups followed shortly thereafter. In the fall of 1833, Lewis Tappan organized the New York Anti-Slavery Society, which grounded its working principle in the theolog-

ical conviction that Christianity "forbid[s] the doing of evil that good may come." Despite evidence of growing support for abolitionism within New England religious circles, particularly among Congregationalists, the majority of co-religionists continued to express hope in colonization schemes. With increasing virulence Garrison attacked supporters of colonization, further alienating evangelicals by asserting that supporters of colonization were racists and equivocal on the Gospel message.

It was in this volatile atmosphere that the United States government sought to quell the potentially explosive message of abolitionism. Fearful of disrupting the delicate party alliance between the North and South, President Andrew Jackson in 1835 endorsed the suppression of abolitionist literature being sent to the South. In addition to this attempt to deflect abolitionist criticism of the South, Southern members of the House of Representatives supported by significant numbers of Northern representatives successfully passed a "gag rule" that automatically tabled several antislavery petitions that appeared from 1836 to 1844.

Outside New England, however, Garrison's message of immediatism and nonviolence was finding a receptive audience in places such as upstate New York, Pennsylvania, and the Old Northwest. The success and spread of immediatism outside New England was due in large part to the American Anti-Slavery Society. Founded in 1833, the society's executive office was located in New York City, which became a hub of antislavery activity. The New York office employed traveling speakers, distributed literature, coordinated petition drives, and published the widely read weekly *Emancipator.* By 1837, 145 local societies had formed in Massachusetts, while neighboring New York saw nearly double that number of local organizations. Ohioans also saw strong support for abolitionism within their borders, with more than 200 active societies. The following year, the American Anti-Slavery Society consisted of 1,350 local affiliates with approximately a quarter of a million members.

As antislavery groups spread across the North, their resolute message and moral absolutism made them the targets of verbal threats and personal assaults. Particularly alarming to many Northerners and Southerners was the praise many abolitionists bestowed upon a pantheon of African-American liberators, including Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner, and Joseph Cinque. The bestowal of such praise, however, was not without consequences. Crowds of pro-slavery men were easily incited to violent action against abolitionists to protect "their freedoms" against a group of zealous reformers whose principal objective seemed to be the destruction of a lawful and ordered society. Further fanning the flames was the widespread assertion that abolitionists were encouraging interracial marriage and other practices that cut across society's color caste. Political cartoonist Edward W. Clay's work "Practical Amalgamation" reflected these fears by depicting Garrisonian abolitionists as self-gratifying opportunists whose reforms of civil equality would ultimately lead to miscegenation.

It was not long before the leaders of the movement became the targets of angry reprisals. A New York mob ransacked Tappan's house in 1834. The severity of these attacks steadily increased. The following year in Boston, Garrison barely escaped lynching by an angry crowd. Elijah P. Lovejoy, an editor and Presbyterian minister, was not so fortunate. In November 1837, an angry crowd gathered outside the Godfrey & Gilman warehouse in Alton, Illinois, vowing to destroy his antislavery newspaper operations. When Lovejoy climbed to the roof to try and put out the fire set by the mob, he was fatally shot.

Public reaction to Lovejoy's death was swift and emphatic. On December 8, 1837, nearly 5,000 Bostonians packed Faneuil Hall to demonstrate against Lovejoy's murder. U.S. Attorney General James T. Austin surprised the crowd gathered by denouncing Lovejoy for frightening slaveholders with his abolitionist message and suggesting that those who had murdered him had done so as a form of self-protection. The eloquent abolitionist and attorney Wendell Phillips responded to Austin on behalf of abolitionists, drawing an analogy between Lovejoy and those who died in the Boston Massacre. These were the men, Phillips decreed, who were the true patriots and martyrs of liberty. Phillips's words carried the day and helped to galvanize Northern sentiment in the months that followed.

Lovejoy's murder shocked the conscience of many moderate Americans who had previously been unmoved by the sporadic violence witnessed in 1834 and 1835. It also bespoke the violence that lay just beneath the surface of the movement as it developed. Countless numbers of the nation's citizens, alarmed by the death of a Protestant cleric at the hands of pro-slavery advocates, went on the defensive against the South. But within the abolitionist movement Lovejoy's death signaled a change in temperament. Now more than ever before, proponents of abolitionism saw the need to abandon Garrisonian principles of nonviolence in order to adopt methods and approaches that would directly confront the powers that

be in the South. The following year, Quaker and longtime Garrison supporter John Greenleaf Whittier's publication *Ballads and Anti-Slavery Poems* reflected the evolving character of the movement with poems such as "Stanzas for the Times" and "The Moral Warfare." With new agitators for abolition airing their claims in the aftermath of Lovejoy's death, the 1840s witnessed a shift in focus of the abolitionist debate.

"Righteous Violence" and the Splintering of Antislavery Reform

By 1840, abolitionism had become a formidable social force in the North, but abolitionists were not of one mind concerning the trajectory of reform. Massachusetts had emerged as the most radical antislavery state in the Union and was the home of many prominent non-Garrisonian abolitionists, including Henry Wilson and Charles Sumner, two of the strongest antislavery senators in Congress. Partly fueled by the popularity of evangelical revivalism, which closely tied human sin to acts of individual and social reform, the cause of abolitionism also found receptive audiences in areas of Ohio and upstate New York. Geographical expanse led to a greater diversity of abolitionist sentiment, which, in turn, raised questions concerning the timing and method of securing antislavery reform.

Lovejoy's murder brought to the surface divisions that had been brewing between Garrisonians, abolitionists, and evangelical reformers for several years. Deep divisions between evangelicals and Garrisonians had occurred the previous year following a literary polemic carried out between Garrison and the prominent divine Lyman Beecher. That year Beecher had persuaded associations of Congregational clerics in Connecticut and Massachusetts to exclude from their pulpits speakers with "erroneous and questionable views" concerning scriptural interpretation. Then in 1836 he addressed the Presbyterian General Assembly, dissuading members from holding any discussion concerning slavery. Garrison interpreted these efforts as a sign of the spiritual lifelessness of all Northern churches. By midsummer, he responded to these tactics by publishing three separate articles in *The Liberator* attacking Beecher. Garrison suggested that Beecher was all too ready to denounce Sabbath-breaking while overlooking Southern slaveholders' disregard for not only the Fourth Commandment, but the entirety of Mosaic Law. The following year, well-respected clerical abolitionists within the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, including Henry B. Stanton, Elizur Wright Jr., and Charles T. Torrey, challenged Garrison on his assertions of religious orthodoxy.

Throughout the decade, Garrison and his followers grew increasingly radical in their calls for reform. Unlike other abolitionist constituencies, Garrisonians admitted both women and African Americans into their membership while becoming increasingly antagonistic toward most denominations, which they believed had sullied the Gospel message in order to preserve their social status and organizational structures. True to this spirit, Garrison condemned all human governments as resting on immoral forces, and in 1843, he denounced the U.S. Constitution as a proslavery document. He went so far as to call upon Northerners to dissolve the Union to terminate its sinful support of the slave South. These antislavery reformers also adhered to their namesake's principle of nonviolence, arguing that it was the only means to bring about social change.

Although many of these positions were unpopular, support for Garrison remained strong and was evident when he and several hundred supporters gathered at Marlboro Chapel on September 20, 1838, to lend their support to the formation of the New England Non-Resistant Society. Garrison heralded the day's events as the opening of a new epoch in human history in which the existing civil order would one day be overthrown by spiritually regenerate subjects peacefully working for the social good. Like the rhetoric he so frequently championed, Garrison's reform efforts challenged prevailing standards of public morality by offering an alternative vision to accepted social norms. These views found pockets of staunch support in areas such as New York City, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Ohio but overall alienated both evangelical reformers working for the cause of immediate abolition and those who advocated political, even violent, overthrow of the South's "slaveocracy." Ever-increasing numbers of reformers were not persuaded by Garrison's willingness to sacrifice social and political expediency for what many considered his obtuse moral absolutism.

These philosophical differences were compounded by frequent episodes of violence against abolitionists, limited opposition by Northerners to slavery, and the immediate failures of the 1835 postal campaign; an effort headed by Garrisonian abolitionists who flooded the nation's mails with vociferous tracts calling for the immediate end of slavery. In the hopes of avoiding a national debate, external pressures helped to splinter the antislavery movement into several factions, raising doubts about the abilities

and leadership of the founding generation of antislavery agitators. Greater numbers of abolitionists began to question the expediency of rejecting political engagement as was advocated by an earlier generation of abolitionists. With the election of Abigail Kelley Foster, a nonresistant feminist, to the executive business committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, Lewis Tappan led evangelicals out of the organization to the rival American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in 1840, leaving the original organization greatly diminished in both its constituency and powers of persuasion among religious groups.

In its most extreme expression, evangelicalism prodded individuals into sanctifying every aspect of daily life, making them sensitive not only to their own sins and those of society, but also, acutely so, to the hypocrisy found among many churches when it had come to African Americans. For many, slavery was incompatible with the will of God and the national calling; more than this, they believed that if this practice continued, God would exact retribution upon the nation. Such a consistent and thorough articulation of antislavery reform and Christian belief was best exemplified in individuals like Arthur and Lewis Tappan, Theodore Dwight Weld, and James G. Birney. With the breakup of the American Anti-Slavery Society, Lewis Tappan, a wealthy New York City businessman and evangelical reformer, led the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. From 1840 to 1855, this organization focused its efforts on reforming churches to take up the cause of abolition. These efforts proved to be successful as Wesleyan Methodists formally severed ties with the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1842, Free Presbyterians formed in 1846, and the American Baptist Free Mission Society was founded a year earlier. These organizations provided thousands of churchgoing activists a forum for exercising their religious convictions while alienating other abolitionists by their belief that ultimate success lay "mainly on the blessings of the Almighty."

Although abolitionists found some of their most vocal supporters among various Protestant denominations in the North, they also found some of their greatest detractors in these same circles. Many in the pew and behind the pulpit felt threatened by these antislavery reformers who demanded allegiance to abstract principles like the social equality of blacks and whites while vehemently denouncing the literal authority of the Bible that appeared to affirm the practice of slavery. For many churchgoers, eradicating the unpleasant practices associated with the institution of slavery, not the institution in and of itself, was the target of their reform concerns. A paternalism couched in racist assumptions allowed many of the nation's faithful to worry about efforts to Christianize slaves rather than systemic reforms that would secure their freedom. So common was this tack that in 1849 Frederick Douglass felt compelled to counsel his sympathetic largely white audience, "There are many Madison Washingtons and Nathaniel Turners in the South who would assert their rights to liberty, if you would take your feet from their necks, and your sympathy and aid from their oppressors."

Equally alarming for some was the debate among immediatists during the decade concerning acceptable forms of violence to secure immediatism. With greater frequency abolitionists agitated for reform at any cost, even to the point of disunion. In 1843, at the National Negro convention in Buffalo, New York, Presbyterian minister Henry Highland Garnet addressed the crowd, admonishing slaves in the South to "resist" and "torment the God-cursed slaveholders." That same year church leaders condemned Garrison, who burned a copy of the Constitution charging it as a proslavery tract that had led the nation into "a covenant with death, and an agreement with Hell." Even Joshua Leavitt, one-time editor of the *New York Evangelist* and leader of the fledgling Liberty Party, maintained that slaves had a "God-given" manhood to lead revolts against their oppressors. Other radical political abolitionists, Gerrit Smith and Garnet, would evoke a similar refrain.

As the nation's politics became more embroiled in debates over the issue of slavery, many denominational leaders in the North became increasingly weary of such rhetorical jousts and guarded about the forums in which abolitionists could air their message. Editors of the nation's religious weeklies were hostile to the message of immediatism, leading to the development of abolitionist weeklies. Periodicals such as the *Antislavery Bugle* served as an essential organizational tool for antislavery groups, particularly in rural areas of the Western Reserve of Ohio. Garrisonians soon realized that abolitionist literature, such as *The Liberator,* could not puncture the mass of indifference encompassing the nation's churches. As an alternative to the medium of the religious weeklies, abolitionists carried their message to the masses by developing a system of traveling agents to address audiences directly.

By the end of the decade, abolitionism had undergone several major developments. With the creation of new and ideologically diverse societies within the movement, abolitionism was able to attract a more

diverse constituency. Those who later championed their own reform efforts, such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton and women's rights, or Frederick Douglass with the calls for civil rights, found a home in the abolitionist movement of the 1840s. The movement had also grown to accommodate those with differing religious convictions concerning issues of government and strong-arm reform. But perhaps most important was the movement's increasing participation in the political process, which forever changed the landscape of American politics in the nineteenth century.

The Liberty Party: Party Politics of the 1840s and 1850s

Outraged over the censure of abolitionist petitions before Congress, dissident Whigs and Democrats from the North began to agitate the body politic to entertain questions concerning abolitionism. These calls for direct political engagement grew louder as slave unrest in the South increased in the 1830s. The political response took shape in the formation of two groups, the Liberty Party and the Free Soil Party. This development also illustrated the concessions made by an earlier generation of abolitionists like Garrison who, while refusing to cast a vote himself for political parties or candidates, urged younger abolitionists and Americans in general to endorse antislavery ballots. Leading the way for political activity were abolitionists such as Alvan Stewart and Myron Holley of western New York. By 1840, these men had grown disillusioned with abolitionist arguments concerning moral persuasion, which inspired them to officially organize a political party among abolitionists. In April of that year, the newly formed Liberty Party nominated James G. Birney, a former slaveholder, for president. The party platform included a call to end the domestic slave trade, a restriction of slavery in the territories, and the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and all territories where the federal government had jurisdiction. Additional support for Birney came from Massachusetts politicians Joshua Leavitt and Henry B. Chase.

Birney garnered only 7,056 votes out of a total 2,411,187 popular votes. Following the presidential election of 1840, the party gained the support of Ohio abolitionist Salmon P. Chase. Soon, the leadership of the party changed hands as Smith, William Goodell, and Douglass became the party's leading spokesmen. The party's central mouthpiece, *Principia,* was edited in New York City and helped to shape the party's constituency in Massachusetts, New York, and Ohio.

During the presidential election of 1844, the Liberty Party once again nominated Birney as its candidate to run against the Democratic candidate James K. Polk and the Whig nominee Henry Clay. This time Birney received 65,608 votes out of a total 2,871,906 popular votes. While the party's efforts captured only 16,000 votes in the state of New York, Birney's candidacy captured enough of the popular vote in the state to thwart the Whig Party's efforts, ultimately allowing the Democrats to carry New York and win the election. Polk's pro-slavery policies, which included the annexation of Texas, resulting in the Mexican War, seemed to confirm earlier claims by the leaders of the Liberty Party that a Slave Power Conspiracy had usurped republican principles.

With these developments it appeared that Northern institutions were ultimately threatened by the South's "peculiar institution." Liberty Party abolitionists from New York and Massachusetts rejected Garrisonian nonresistance and the assertion that the Constitution was a pro-slavery document. Furthermore, under the leadership of Garnet and Douglass, the party supported direct intervention against slavery in the border South and suggested that the Constitution made slavery illegal throughout the United States.

Ohio constituents of the party were more moderate in their calls for political change. Unlike their Eastern counterparts, Western leaders distinguished between abolitionism as a moral position and the Liberty Party as a conventional political party. This element of the party differed from Easterners by maintaining that the proper objective of the party was to denationalize slavery by abolishing it in those areas of Congress's jurisdiction. By 1846, the Liberty Party was adrift. With the Wilmot Proviso's call to contain, not abolish, slavery, party members split over taking a harder abolitionist position or appealing to a broader coalition. The party became leaderless, bringing about its demise shortly thereafter.

In its place emerged the Free Soil Party, which was formed under the direction of "Barnburner" Democrats from New York (a radical faction of the party that developed the free labor arguments under the direction of John Van Buren, son of Martin Van Buren, whose commitment to social and monetary reforms was likened to a farmer's burning his barn to rid it of rats), radical antislavery Whigs, and Liberty Party supporters. Though having no former ties to its political predecessor, this group included old Liberty Party stalwarts who eventually followed Stanton, Leavitt, and Wright into the Free Soil Party in 1848.

The two factions of Free Soilers met with Liberty Party representatives in Buffalo in 1848 and forwarded Martin Van Buren as their presidential candidate. In the February 2, 1849, edition of *The Liberator,* Phillips reportedly made the following comment on the leadership of the abolitionist movement: "look upon the Free Soil movement as the unavoidable result of our principles and agitation." Others were not so pleased with recent political developments. At the close of the decade, George Whipple wrote to Smith, suggesting that to vote Free Soil was "to sin against God and incur his displeasure."

Shifting political alliances had led many Western abolitionists to submerge their abolitionist identity into weaker antislavery principles. Many abolitionists would become key members of the Republican Party in later years. The formation of the Liberty Party and its envelopment by Free Soilers forever changed the landscape of the antislavery movement in America. For the first time an antislavery candidate and platform had attracted the support of thousands of Northerners, helping to sunder the wings of the North's major parties. But this development alienated many abolitionists who were dismayed by the Free Soil Party's refusal to include equal social and political rights for African Americans in their platform. By the close of the decade, Lewis Tappan and many of his followers rebuffed these developments, arguing that concerns for party politics had detracted from the moral and religious aspects of the cause.

Abolitionism and Gender in the 1840s and 1850s

No less important to the development and character of abolitionism in American society in the 1840s and 1850s was the issue of gender in the movement. Like those issues concerning nonviolence, abolitionism and denominationalism, and the appropriation of party politics in order to secure reforms, conceptions of gender were ever present in the dialogue of nineteenth-century abolitionists. Among certain sectors of abolitionism, women in the movement played a prominent role in shaping the direction of reform. In structural and theoretical terms, it has been suggested that immediate abolitionism during the 1830s and early 1840s served as a precursor to and testing for the women's rights movement, which was formalized at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. Among sectors of Garrisonians in the late 1830s, many women enjoyed full participation in the movement, including political action, acts of moral suasion, and the liberation of slaves. So compelling was the working relationship of female abolitionists to their male counterparts that some, with varying levels of consistency, began to conceptualize and embrace new feminized constructions of masculinity. Although the practices of abolitionists often dramatically failed to mirror the rhetoric of abolitionists, the movement's grappling with these issues on various fronts gave women a platform on which to frame issues and develop their abilities as social reformers.

Prior to the 1840s and 1850s, male and female abolitionists largely maintained separate spheres in carrying out their reform efforts. Indicative of gender constructions of the day that firmly distinguished between the working spheres of men and women, female abolitionists carried out efforts for immediatism through their own emancipation networks. As the paragons of Christian piety, women were actively involved in social reform efforts that sought to secure Protestant America's "Benevolent Empire." Immediate abolition, however, was one activity that fell outside the permissible boundaries of social reform because it threatened to overturn both racial and gender assumptions structuring the social order. Women who engaged in such activities were viewed as particularly threatening and were often ridiculed by both pro-slavery forces and those weary of loosening patriarchal controls. Despite these formidable obstacles and the increasing threat of violence being perpetrated against those espousing abolitionism, some individuals—such as Elizabeth Chandler, a Quaker from Delaware, Maria W. Stewart, an African American from Boston, and Lucretia Mott, a Quaker preacher from Philadelphia—rose to the cause.

Elizabeth Chandler's earliest and primary contribution to the abolitionist movement was as a contributing columnist to Benjamin Lundy's *Genius of Universal Emancipation.* As her reputation grew, Chandler organized female antislavery groups in both Philadelphia and Michigan, appealing to prevailing assumptions about a woman's superior moral disposition and potential abilities for moral suasion. Stewart, a contemporary of Chandler, had a brief but notable career as an advocate for her race. In 1833 and at the young age of twenty-six, Stewart stood before a Masonic lodge of African Americans urging them to actively engage in the antislavery cause. The young African American's comments boldly addressed the moral indifference some Northern blacks had demonstrated toward Southern blacks and the institution of slavery. But more poignantly the speech, delivered

SOJOURNER TRUTH (c. 1797–1883)

Sojourner Truth was born in Ulster County, New York, the daughter of slaves of a wealthy Dutch owner, and was originally called Isabella. Her first language was Dutch. She was sold several times and was forced into a marriage with a fellow slave. Between 1810 and 1827, she bore at least five children to him, at least three of whom were sold to other slaveholders. Just before New York State abolished slavery in 1827, she ran away and found refuge with Isaac Van Wagener, a Quaker, who took her in and whose name she took. With the help of Quaker friends, she waged a court battle in which she recovered her small son, who had been sold illegally into slavery in the South. In about 1829, she went to New York City with her two youngest children, supporting herself through domestic employment for the next several years.

In 1843, she left New York City and was introduced to abolitionism at a utopian community in Northampton, Massachusetts, and thereafter spoke in behalf of the movement throughout the state. She also took the name Sojourner Truth, which she used from then on. Obeying a supernatural call to "travel up and down the land," she embraced evangelical religion and began her career of street-corner preaching, insisting her listeners accept the biblical message of God's goodness and turn away from sins, including slavery. Though illiterate, she demonstrated a wide knowledge of the Bible. Six feet tall and wearing a white turban and gray dress that accentuated her skin color, she made a striking figure at antislavery and women's rights meetings. Her witty, direct sayings delivered in a Dutch accent only increased interest in her, bringing her greater popularity.

In 1850, Truth traveled throughout the Midwest. The following year, at a women's rights convention in Akron, Ohio, she gave her famous speech, "Ain't I a Woman," challenging the notion that men were superior to women. Encouraged by other women leaders, notably Lucretia Mott, she continued to appear before suffrage gatherings for the rest of her life.

In the 1850s, Truth settled in Battle Creek, Michigan. At the beginning of the American Civil War, she gathered supplies for black volunteer regiments in Michigan, and in 1864 she went to Washington, D.C., where she helped integrate streetcars and was received at the White House by President Abraham Lincoln. That same year, she accepted an appointment with the National Freedmen's Relief Association counseling former slaves, particularly in matters of resettlement. After the war, she supported herself by selling copies of her book, *Narrative of Sojourner Truth* (1850), which she had dictated to Olive Gilbert. She continued working for women's suffrage and initiated a petition drive to obtain land for former slaves. As late as the 1870s she encouraged the migration of freedmen to Kansas and Missouri. In 1875, she retired to her home in Battle Creek, where she died on November 26, 1883.

James G. Lewis

by a woman, confronted the prevailing gender assumptions concerning public leadership in Northern society. Alarmed by such rhetoric, the black community in Boston drove Stewart out of town, thereby ending her brief career as a public speaker for antislavery.

One of the more formidable figures to emerge within female abolitionist circles during these early years was Lucretia Mott. Known as the "Black Man's Goddess," Mott entered the antislavery movement by way of her Quakerism, which initially led her to boycott all slave-made products and goods. Meeting William Lloyd Garrison in 1830, Mott took up Garrison's call for nonviolent reform and immediatism. She was one of four women present at the inaugural meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society the following year. Nearly a decade later, in May 1841, Garrison appointed Mott to serve on the executive committee of the society. In addition to these duties, Mott continued to campaign for antislavery reform before the public, basing her argument on the theological conviction that humans were fashioned in the image of God and should be accorded such value regardless of the color of their skin. She preached this message for over three decades in the District of Columbia and areas of Maryland and Virginia. Her continuous work for antislavery reform gained Mott much notoriety, particularly among black abolitionists who admired her zeal for the cause. Despite these alliances, Mott remained true to her nonviolent principles, and she parted with other abolitionists like Frederick Douglass who openly supported John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry in 1859.

Female abolitionists figured prominently in the movement by the 1840s. Critical to the rise of the feminist voice within the movement was Garrison's and other abolitionists' espousal of nonresistance and its implicit indictment of physical force, which leading

female voices in the movement directly associated with women's "domestic slavery" and society's patriarchy. Two of the movement's earliest feminist voices were those of Angelina and Sarah Grimké, who in 1837 went on a speaking tour sponsored by Garrison. Central to the Grimkés' message was their renouncement of their slaveholding origins in South Carolina and their conversion to Quaker principles in Philadelphia.

Some women such as the Grimkés assumed leadership roles within the movement, but their criticism of patriarchy often fell upon deaf ears. Moreover, factions within the abolitionist movement resisted women's overtures to promote the cause of women under the larger canopy of abolitionism. Such sentiment was evident at the 1840 World Anti-Slavery Convention in London when Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton were banished to the women's balcony during the meetings. As a sign of protest, Garrison joined the two stalwarts of the feminist cause in the balcony rather than the male delegates on the floor of the hall.

In neighboring Philadelphia, antislavery reform was structured along gender lines. Organized in the same year as the American Anti-Slavery Society, the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society was headed by Mott, Mary Grew, and Sarah Pugh. Still another state organization growing out of the Garrison movement was the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society headed by James and Lucretia Mott and J. Miller McKim. In neighboring New York State, several fledgling Garrisonian groups emerged. These groups of abolitionists often differed on points of procedure or emphasis but were united in their efforts on the main objectives of the abolitionist crusade.

As women assumed greater prominence in the abolitionist movement, their roles in the reform movement diversified. One area of work open to them was the Underground Railroad, first established in 1838 by white students attending Mission Institute in Quincy, Illinois. Shortly thereafter, two other networks were quickly up and running, bringing escaped slaves from the West to Canada. Though not well known in her day, Harriet Tubman is perhaps the best remembered agent of the network. After escaping slavery in 1849, she became an active agent in the Underground Railroad in the 1850s, helping to liberate more than 300 slaves from Maryland. Tubman's commitment to the cause of liberation was beyond question: she returned to the land of her bondage as many as nineteen times. Tubman followed in the steps of others such as Thomas Smallwood who participated in the liberation of Southern slaves in 1842–1843. Torrey was eventually arrested for these efforts and was given a six-year prison term in the Maryland Penitentiary, where he died in 1846.

In this painting by Michigan artist R.D. Bayley, President Abraham Lincoln shows abolitionist Sojourner Truth the Bible given him by the African-American community of Baltimore in 1864. *(Library of Congress)*

Tubman's fame as an African-American abolitionist was surpassed only by that of Sojourner Truth. A former illiterate slave, Truth began her career auspiciously as a member of a religious sect, the Kingdom of Matthias, which was led by the self-styled prophet Robert Matthews. On the day of Pentecost in 1843, Truth felt called by the Holy Spirit to preach, exhorting others to embrace the Gospel message. Taking the name "Sojourner Truth," she made her way from New York City to Northampton, Massachusetts, where she met social reformers, including antislavery activists such as Frederick Douglass. Quickly embraced within these circles, Truth made a career

SPEECH BY SOJOURNER TRUTH
WOMEN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION, 1851

The following is a speech by Sojourner Truth presented at the Women's Rights Convention, 1851, in Akron, Ohio, as recalled by Frances Gage. Born Isabella Baumfree to slave parents in a Dutch-speaking settlement in Ulster, New York, Truth became a leading African-American advocate for abolition and women's rights.

"Wall, chilern, whar dar is so much racket dar must be somethin' out o' kilter. I tink dat 'twixt de niggers of de Souf and de womin at de Nork, all talkin' 'bout rights, de white men will be in a fix pretty soon. But what's all dis here talkin' 'bout?

"Dat man ober dar say dat womin needs to be helped into carriages, and lifted ober ditches, and to hab de best place everywhar. Nobody eber helps me into carriages, or ober mud-puddles, or gibs me any best place!" And raising herself to her full height, and her voice to a pitch like rolling thunders, she asked "And a'n't I a woman? Look at me! Look at me! Look at my arm! (and she bared her right arm to the shoulder, showing her tremendous muscular power). I have ploughed, and planted, and gathered into barns, and no man could head me! And a'n't I a woman? I could work as much and eat as much as a man—when I could get it—and bear de lash a well! And a'n't I a woman? I have borne thirteen chilern, and seen 'em mos' all sold off to slavery, and when I cried out with my mother's grief, none but Jesus heard me! And a'n't I a woman?

"Den dey talks 'bout dis ting in de head; what dis dey call it?" ("Intellect," whispered some one near.) "Dat's it, honey. What's dat got to do wid womin's rights or nigger's rights? If my cup won't hold but a pint, and yourn holds a quart, wouldn't ye be mean not to let me have my little half-measure full?" And she pointed her significant finger, and sent a keen glance at the minister who had made the argument. The cheering was long and loud.

"Den dat little man in black dar, he say women can't have as much rights as men, 'cause Christ wan't a woman! Whar did your Christ come from?" Rolling thunder couldn't have stilled that crowd, as did those deep, wonderful tones, as she stood there with outstretched arms and eyes of fire. Raising her voice still louder, she repeated, "Whar did your Christ come from? From God and a woman! Man had nothin' to do wid Him." Oh, what a rebuke that was to that little man.

Turning again to another objector, she took up the defense of Mother Eve. I can not follow her through it all. It was pointed, and witty, and solemn; eliciting at almost every sentence deafening applause; and she ended by asserting: "If de fust woman God ever made was strong enough to turn de world upside down all alone, dese women togedder (and she glanced her eye over the platform) ought to be able to turn it back, and get it right side up again! And now dey is asking to do it, de men better let 'em." Long-continued cheering greeted this. "Bleeged to ye for hearin' on me, and now old Sojourner han't got nothin' more to say."

Amid roars of applause, she returned to her corner, leaving more than one of us with streaming eyes, and hearts beating with gratitude. She had taken us up in her strong arms and carried us safely over the slough of difficulty turning the whole tide in our favor. I have never in my life seen anything like the magical influence that subdued the mobbish spirit of the day, and turned the sneers and jeers of an excited crowd into notes of respect and admiration. Hundreds rushed up to shake hands with her, and congratulate the glorious old mother, and bid her God-speed on her mission of "testifyin' agin concerning the wickedness of this 'ere people."

Source: Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Matilda Joslyn Gage, and Susan B. Anthony, *History of Woman Suffrage,* vol. 1 (New York: Fowler and Wells, 1881).

preaching and addressing large audiences concerning her enslavement. Her popularity increased with the publication of her autobiography, *Narrative of Sojourner Truth,* in 1850. At the women's rights convention in Akron, Ohio, in 1851, Truth's public image as an abolitionist and advocate of women's rights was secured in a legendary speech. During the Civil War, she aided in the enlistment of African-American troops, administered to the wounded, and continued to advocate for equal rights at the highest levels of the United States government.

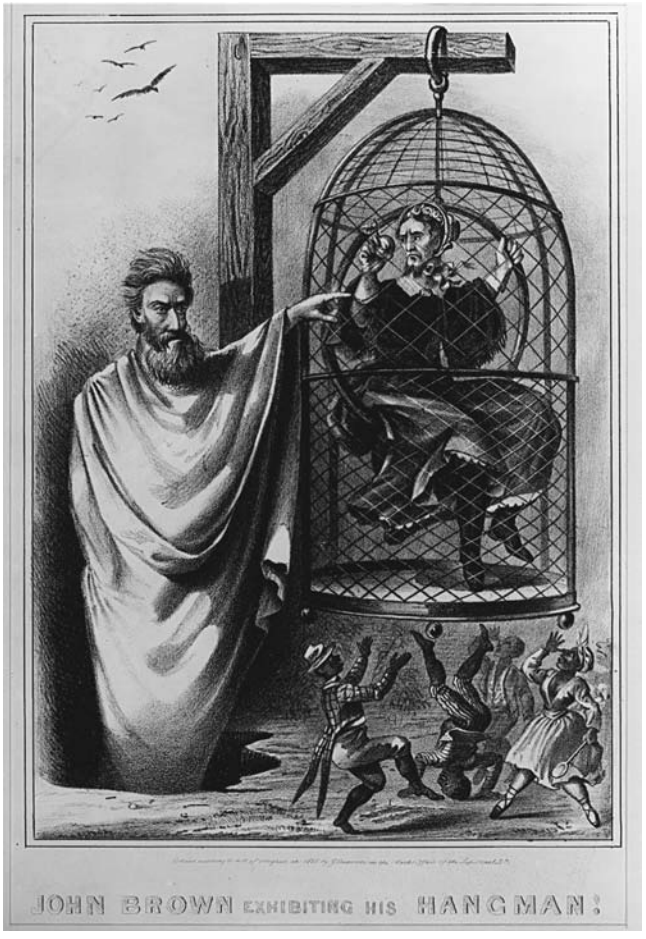
The tireless work of women such as Mott, Truth, and Tubman challenged both the prevailing gender assumptions of the day and paternalism governing race relations. Although some members of the Garrisonian camp were skeptical about these efforts and their limited effects, other abolitionists were inspired by the heroic efforts taking place in the Border States.

Like no other effort by abolitionist women, the Underground Railroad exacerbated deeply held fears among Southern whites concerning the ties between Northern abolitionists and slaves.

Sectionalism, Violence, and Political Opposition in the 1850s

Other significant developments in the 1840s would shape abolitionism in the decade that followed. One of these developments was the growing division between black and white abolitionists over the measures necessary to end slavery. At the Buffalo Convention of Free People of Color in 1843, Henry Highland Garnet contradicted the Garrisonian doctrine of passive resistance by calling for slave revolts. Such open advocation of violence alienated many white evangelicals who sought antislavery reform. Two years later, Frederick Douglass galvanized abolitionist sentiment among African Americans, helping to nurture leaders within the black community with the publication of his autobiography, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass,* which detailed his life as a slave in Maryland. Douglass's compelling autobiography was such a success that it propelled him into the limelight, giving the former slave unprecedented public appeal for an African American. By 1847, Douglass had broken his ties with white abolitionists and had launched his paper *The North Star,* in Rochester, New York. Stung by these developments, Garrison vilified Douglass before both abolitionists and the press. Increasingly, black abolitionists were developing independent leadership through participation in the Northern lecture circuit and the publication of slave narratives like Douglass's. This internal divisiveness, however, was but one reflection of the volatile atmosphere immersing abolitionists during the 1850s.

Violence, or the support of violence as a means to bring about slavery's end, shaped the 1850s. In May 1854, the Kansas-Nebraska Act repealed the Missouri Compromise of 1820, opening up the Nebraska country to settlement on the basis of popular sovereignty and undoing the sectional truce of 1850. Political realignments of territories concerning popular sovereignty helped to usher in the fight for "Bleeding Kansas," an era of American politics in which questions over territorial expansion were irreducible from the national debate over slavery. In April 1854, the New England Emigrant Aid Society was formed to colonize Free Soilers in Kansas, arousing pro-slavery opposition. In 1856, pro-slavery border ruffians from Missouri attacked the town of Lawrence, Kansas. On



In this imaginary scene, the martyred John Brown returns from the grave to hang Confederate president Jefferson Davis. In reality, Davis was imprisoned for two years after the Civil War, indicted—but never tried—for treason, and released in 1867. *(Library of Congress)*

May 24, 1856, John Brown staged a massacre at Pottawatomie Creek. In 1857, tensions erupted over the *Dred Scott* decision offered by the U.S. Supreme Court, which declared the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional on the grounds that Congress had no right to enact a law depriving persons of property in the territories of the United States. In this climate of rising violence, some abolitionists became more militant in their message and means of carrying out their reforms.

Abolitionists openly defied the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 on several occasions. In February 1851, only one month after the law had gone into effect, a black mob stormed a Boston courtroom to rescue a fugitive slave known as Shadrack. White and black abolitionists in the area applauded these efforts, and later that same year two similar attempts were made

THOMAS HAMILTON ON THE JOHN BROWN TRIAL AND THE NAT TURNER REBELLION, 1859

Thomas Hamilton, the publisher of The Weekly Anglo-African, *an influential black newspaper in New York, writes on the relationship between the John Brown trial and execution and the Nat Turner rebellion.*

There are two reasons why we present our readers with the "Confessions of Nat Turner." First, to place upon record this most remarkable episode in the history of human slavery, which proves to the philosophic observer that in the midst of this most perfectly contrived and apparently secure system of slavery, humanity will out, and engender from its bosom, forces that will contend against oppression, however unsuccessfully; and secondly, that the two methods of Nat Turner and of John Brown may be compared. The one is the mode in which the slave seeks freedom for his fellow, and the other mode in which the white man seeks to free the slave. There are many points of similarity between these two men: they were both idealists; both governed by their views of the teachings of the Bible; both had harbored for years the purpose to which they gave up their lives; both felt themselves *obeyed* as by some divine, or at least, spiritual impulse; the one seeking in the air, the earth, and the heavens for signs which came at last; and the other, obeying impulses which he believes to have been fore-ordained from the eternal past; both cool, calm, and heroic in prison and in the prospect of inevitable death; both confess with child-like frankness and simplicity the object they had in view—the pure and simple emancipations of their fellow men, both win from the judges who sentenced them, expressions of deep sympathy—and here the parallel ceases. Nat Turner's terrible logic could only see the enfranchisement of one race, compassed by the extirpation of the other; and he followed his glory syllogism with rude exactitude. John Brown, believing that the freedom of the enthralled could only be effecting by placing them on an equality with the enslavers, and unable in the very effort at emancipation to tyrannize himself, is moved with compassion for tyrants, as well as slave, and seeks to extirpate this formidable cancer, without spilling one drop of Christian blood.

These two narratives present a fearful choice to the slaveholders, nay, to this great nation—which of the two modes of emancipation shall take place? The method of Nat Turner, or the method of John Brown?

Emancipation must take place, and soon. There can be no long delay in the choice of methods. If Joe Brown's be not soon adopted by the free North, then Nat Turner's will be by the enslaved South.

Had the order of events been reversed—had Nat Turner been in John Brown's place at the head of these twenty-one men, governed by his inexorable logic and cool daring, the soil of Virginia and Maryland and the far South would by this time be drenched in blood and the wild and sanguinary course of these men, no earthly power could stay.

The course which the South is now frantically pursuing will engender in its bosom and nurse into maturity a hundred Nat Turners, whom Virginia is infinitely less able to resist in 1860, than she was in 1831.

So, people of the South, people of the North! Men and brethren, Men and brethren, choose ye which method of emancipation you prefer—Nat Turner's, or John Brown's?

Source: The Weekly Anglo-African, [New York], December 31, 1859.

in Christiana, Pennsylvania, and Syracuse, New York. Both efforts to free fugitive slaves were met with stiff resistance, and in Pennsylvania, three African Americans and one slaveholder were dead in the aftermath of these efforts. Similar episodes took place later in the decade once again in Boston and also in Oberlin, Ohio.

Abolitionists employed yet other means to loosen the grip of slavery on the South. In Kentucky and Virginia efforts to establish free-labor colonies were made in 1854. Delia Webster, a former member of the Underground Railroad and a native of Vermont, traveled to northern Kentucky to establish one such colony. Webster encountered stiff resistance by locals, which limited her progress. After four years, she enlisted the help of Lewis Tappan. In 1855, John G. Fee, an evangelical and abolitionist from Kentucky, started a similar colony in nearby Berea. With the support of the American Missionary Association, founded by Tappan, George Whipple, and Simon Jocelyn in 1846, Fee's efforts met with some success. An ostensibly nonsectarian group, the association helped to organize antislavery churches in the western United States and founded Berea College that same year. Eli Thayer

and John C. Underwood undertook similar efforts in Virginia. In the late 1850s, these men organized a free-labor colony at Ceredo, in the northwestern portion of the state.

Although these efforts evoked the disdain of many Southerners, no event captured the attention of the nation more or raised greater fear in the hearts of Southerners than John Brown's raid at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, on October 16, 1859. Three years earlier Brown and his five sons had moved to Kansas, eventually joining the Pottawatomie Rifles in the Free Soil defense of Kansas. On May 24 and 25, 1856, the "Pottawatomie massacre" took place in which five pro-slavery men were killed with broadswords by Brown's men. In just two weeks following the event, the play *Osawatomie Brown* appeared on Broadway. This event helped to trigger guerrilla warfare throughout Kansas, which lasted throughout the fall. In the months that followed, Brown and his sons established the Kansas Regulars, taking up a career fighting in both Kansas and Missouri.

With his popularity on the rise, Brown returned East in October 1856, to secure funds for his military exploits out West. He briefly returned to Kansas two years later, where he launched an invasion into Missouri, killing a slave owner and freeing eleven slaves. Despite having a $200 bounty placed on his head, Brown returned East to continue his speaking tour. He delivered speeches in Ohio, New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut while meeting with politicians such as Representative Joshua Giddings of Ohio and Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts. During this time Brown met with the "Secret Six," who helped to subsidize Brown's campaign into Virginia, Gerrit Smith being one of the leading financiers.

That summer Brown visited his home in North Elba, New York, for the last time. After saying goodbye to his wife and family, Brown and his two sons, Oliver and Owen, reached Harpers Ferry in July 1859. They rented a farm in Maryland expecting large numbers of abolitionists to join their army. By mid-September, only eighteen recruits had arrived. Disappointed but not deterred, Brown and his men took up their self-declared abolitionist cause on Sunday, October 16. Two days later, the siege in Virginia was over. For his crime, Brown was hanged on December 2, 1859. In the month between his sentencing and execution, Brown engaged in a correspondence campaign, creating his martyrdom in the minds of some and securing the threat of violent abolitionism among others.

Conclusion

Scholars have suggested that it was in the years following the election of Abraham Lincoln that abolitionism reached its zenith of power. This understanding is based on several significant developments that took place during the Secession Crisis and the Civil War. First, as Americans took to arms, Northern perceptions of abolitionism were transformed nearly overnight. Antislavery spokespersons were no longer perceived as fanatical leaders of a fringe and much despised movement, but were now viewed as respected critics of contemporary society. Next, those with abolitionist sentiment were able to merge with Free Soil Republicans who, prior to 1861, were committed to the geographical limitation and not the immediate extermination of slavery. Finally, Garrison's longstanding antislavery weekly, *The Liberator,* ceased publication in 1865 once the Northern forces had achieved victory and the Southern slaves had been emancipated.

Some scholars, however, have criticized this analysis on two crucial fronts. First, it does not take into account the rapid demise of the abolitionist cause for the equal rights of African Americans following the Civil War. Second, it places too great a weight on the United States government's conversion to abolitionism as truly a long-term commitment to African-American equality rather than a calculated move of military and political expediency. Despite these different perspectives, scholars acknowledge the achievements of the abolitionists themselves, particularly the social reforms abolitionists achieved in the 1840s and 1850s, which included the repeal of several Northern laws discriminating against blacks. In addition, the abolitionist movement of the 1840s and 1850s incorporated a wide spectrum of American society utilizing traditionally discriminated people—women and African Americans—as principal actors in their reform efforts. In this sense, abolitionism was an extremely radical social movement that profoundly shaped not only antebellum America, but also generations of Americans beyond.

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Moderate, Radical, and Militant Abolition

Although the terms *antislavery* and *abolition* are often used interchangeably, in reality they represent two vastly different movements. Antislavery efforts began during the colonial era, especially in the Quaker stronghold of Pennsylvania. The abolition movement developed much later, in the 1830s, only after black and white reformers came together in a full-scale attack upon human bondage.

Although various groups had argued for emancipation of the enslaved since before the American Revolution, earlier programs differed greatly from the program proposed by nineteenth-century abolitionists. To begin with, emancipationist proposals had called for gradual freedom that, supporters argued, would allow for time in which blacks could be "prepared" for independence. Abolitionists, in contrast, argued that slaves should be freed immediately. Also, emancipationists argued that the government should compensate slave owners for releasing their bondspeople. Immediatists, however, insisted that such proposals condoned slavery and tainted the government with the guilt of slave ownership. Finally, many emancipationists subscribed to the theory that, once freed, blacks must be relocated and settled in their own colonies, either in South or Central America, the unsettled territories in the American West, or Africa.

Garrison and the Black Community

Abolitionists disagreed. Though a few early African-American leaders such as Paul Cuffee and James Forten briefly flirted with the idea of repatriation, they quickly learned that the black masses were not interested in "returning" to a distant, unfamiliar continent. After learning this lesson, black leaders began to take the message to whites like William Lloyd Garrison, and together they turned the movement for gradual, conditional emancipation into one of immediate, unconditional freedom. A biracial crusade from the beginning, this new abolition movement drew upon the broader reform impulse of the antebellum years. It relied on evangelical Christianity, the idea of history as progress, and self-help in the black community to prove racial equality and earn freedom and citizenship for African Americans.

Garrison played a crucial role in transforming the antislavery movement into a crusade for immediate abolition. His working relationship with the free black community provided a major catalyst for this transformation. Like most white abolitionists, he began his antislavery career as a supporter of the American Colonization Society. By 1831, however, he was ready to accuse that group of "Persecution," "Falsehood," "Cowardice," and "Infidelity." Citing the American Colonization Society (ACS) periodical, *The African Repository,* speeches by slaveholding ACS supporters, and editorials from African-American newspapers, Garrison set out to prove that the society's work actually strengthened slavery by removing free blacks and that African Americans opposed colonization. In his 1832 book, *Thoughts on African Colonization,* he declared war on the society. Admitting that he had once supported colonization, he explained that his examination of the society's reports and journal had revealed "a conspiracy to send the free people of color to Africa under a benevolent pretence, but really that the slaves may be held more securely in bondage." He then expressed confidence that "the great mass of [ACS] supporters at the north did not realise its dangerous tendency," and that careful reasoning would convince the benevolent to abandon the colonization movement and join his crusade.

Throughout the 1830s, a number of white reform leaders did just that. After joining Garrison's crusade, white leaders began to reach out to the masses in an effort to broaden the movement. They met with success in the North. By the end of the decade, approximately 140,000 Northerners had joined nearly 1,350 different immediatist groups.

AFRICAN-AMERICAN STUDENTS IN OHIO, 1834

The following are written statements of unnamed young students in Ohio opposing the institution of slavery.

We are going next summer to buy a farm and to work part of the day and to study the other part if we live to see it. . . . [We hope to] come home part of the day to see our mothers and sisters and cousins . . . and see our kind folks and to be good boys and when we get [to be men] to get the poor slaves from bondage.

_____, aged seven years

I now inform you in these few lines, that what we are studying for is to try to get the yoke of slavery broke and the chains parted asunder and slave holding [to] cease for ever. O that God would change the hearts of our fellow men.

_____, aged twelve years

This is to inform you that I have two cousins in slavery who are entitled to their freedom. They have done everything that the will requires and now they won't let them go. They talk of selling them down the river. If this was your case what would you do? Please give me your advice.

_____, aged ten years

Students with friends and family members in slavery in the South.

Source: "Report of the Condition of the Free Colored People of Ohio." Proceedings of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Convention Held at Putnam on the Twenty-Second, Twenty-Third, and Twenty-Fourth of April 1835.

Although they all fought for the same general goal, abolitionists disagreed on a number of issues. At first, most immediatists joined the American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS), which was founded in 1833. The overall goals of the society were simple: immediate and uncompensated emancipation of all slaves and the rights of citizenship for all African Americans. They relied upon a concept known as moral suasion. According to this nonviolent method, abolitionists would appeal to Americans' sense of justice and humanity through the principles of Christianity and the natural rights arguments of the American Revolution. They used petition campaigns and public speaking tours to convince whites of the evils of bondage.

Failure to gain support in the South, the tepid nature of Northern support, and violence against abolitionists throughout the country, however, caused antislavery leaders to split into a number of factions between 1837 and 1840. At base was a disagreement over tactics and short-term goals. This tension centered around the movement's relationship with the national government and established churches, the need for an independent political party, and the role of women and women's rights. Because the long-term goal—immediate freedom for the enslaved—was a radical demand, many historians and contemporaries labeled the entire movement as radical. In reality, however, abolitionists and the theories they developed fit into a broad spectrum ranging from moderate to radical to militant.

Moderate abolitionists included orthodox Christian and political groups that sought to work within existing institutions to further their agenda. Louis Tappan led a group of orthodox evangelical Christians that hoped to use the political arena to further their cause. Based primarily in New York, these abolitionists created the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (AFASS). They believed in the importance of the American government and hoped to use their religious venue to remove the corruption of slavery. They tried to work through the major Christian denominations, but they were willing to leave churches that refused to adopt an antislavery stance. Members of this group created such churches as the Wesleyan Methodists, the American Baptist Free Mission Society, and the Free Presbyterians in the 1840s. Tappan also helped create the American Missionary Association in 1846. This group supported antislavery evangelical activity in the South. Although they acknowledged the important role women played in moral suasion, they maintained traditional gender attitudes.

Other leaders, such as Joshua Leavitt of Boston and Gamaliel Bailey and Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, hoped to work primarily within the American political structure. They recognized that Southern states had the right to maintain slavery within their borders, but they hoped to use moral suasion to convince Southerners to abandon the institution. Meanwhile, they hoped to convince the federal government to end slavery in the national domain. This focus on the containment of slavery led them to join the Free Soil Party in 1848.

Radical Abolitionists

Radical abolitionists went a step further. By the early 1840s, they became disenchanted with milder forms of political protests, and they grew increasingly disgusted by the domestic slave trade's tendency to separate African-American families. Also, they admired the direct action of slaves who took the initiative of "stealing themselves," and they began to see it as their duty to assist.

Political radicals such as Beriah Green and Gerrit Smith of New York argued that such direct action was not in violation of the law because slavery itself was an illegal institution. They maintained that the Constitution was being misinterpreted as pro-slavery when it was actually an antislavery document. Despite their admiration for escaped slaves, however, most refused to condone full-scale violence. They also labored under a patriarchal assumption that blacks needed their leadership, an attitude that kept them from treating black abolitionists as equal partners in the antislavery crusade.

Gerrit Smith's 1842 *Address to the Slaves in the United States of America* demonstrates political abolitionist sentiment. In this address, Smith argued that abolitionists had a right to "go into the south, and use . . . intelligence to promote the escape of ignorant and imbruted slaves from their prison-house." He also discouraged full-scale violence, instead prompting the enslaved to endure their condition for the time being because "recourse to violence and blood-shed for the termination of slavery, is very likely . . . to result in the confirmation and protraction of the evil." His aversion to violence was based on expediency rather than "on the high ground of absolute morality." Encouraging slaves to escape whenever a feasible, peaceful opportunity presented itself, he celebrated the growing rate of self-manumission, claiming that "there are now a thousand a year; a rate more than five times as great as that before the anti-slavery effort." He also pledged Northern support for escapees, explaining that "under the influence of anti-slavery lessons, nineteen-twentieths" of white Northerners had been convinced not to return fugitives.

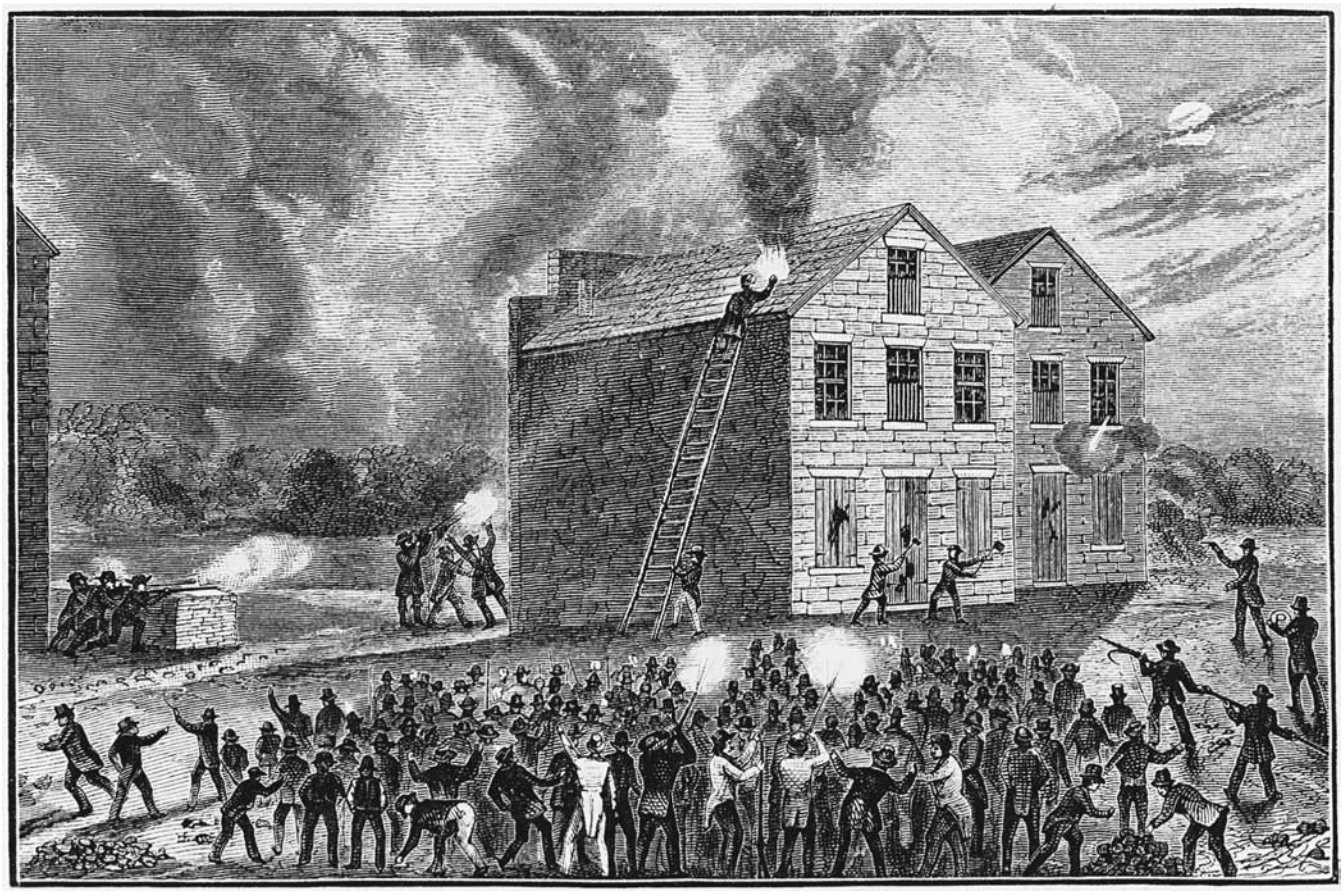
Radical political abolitionists like Smith also rallied for the creation of an antislavery third party. They insisted that the Constitution, as an antislavery document, made slavery illegal throughout the country and gave either Congress or the Supreme Court the power to abolish slavery in the South. During the late 1830s, they began to abandon existing political parties in favor of their own Liberty Party, and they nominated James G. Birney for president in 1840 and 1844. Their tactic of fighting slavery within a political context appealed to some black abolitionists, most notably Henry Highland Garnet and Frederick Douglass. Interparty strife led most Liberty Party members to defect and join moderate political abolitionist Whigs and Democrats in forming the Free Soil Party in 1848.

The most famous radical abolitionists, however, eschewed all involvement with churches or political parties, new or old. Led by Garrison, this group believed that the American system had become so corrupt that full-scale cultural and political restructuring was necessary. They followed the perfectionist doctrine of utopian socialist John Humphrey Noyes in rejecting all violence, refusing to employ physical means even in self-defense. Also known as Christian anarchism, or nonresistance, Noyes's system rejected all forms of physical coercion and insisted that human governments, by nature, rested upon force. Abolitionists who joined Garrison in following perfectionist doctrine insisted, moreover, that the United States Constitution was a pro-slavery document. Thus, they called upon the North to dissolve the Union and remove itself from the corruption of the South. They also chided the churches for refusing to condemn slavery as sinful. Finally, they insisted on equal rights for women and allowed them to vote and serve as delegates. Their election of Abigail Kelley to the AASS business committee precipitated the final split between antislavery factions in 1840. Despite such opposition, women were able to work through Garrisonian organizations to play important roles in the overall movement. Though the minority, Garrisonians maintained control of the AASS after 1840, and although they remained theoretically radical, they were less likely than the political group to assist in slave escapes and Underground Railroad activities.

Even the most radical immediatists initially called for nonviolence in the antislavery crusade. For Garrison and his group it was a matter of moral choice, but for most others the issue was one of expediency. Violent rhetoric, they argued, would cause a backlash in the South, especially since most Southerners already lived in fear of slave revolts. The Garrisonians also pointed out that violent tactics ran counter to the law, and they saw no benefit in associating the movement with lawlessness.

Abolition and Violence

Between the 1830s and the beginning of the Civil War, a number of circumstances led to the growth of a more militant strain of abolition. To begin with, the



On the night of November 7, 1837, a mob attacks the office of abolitionist printer Elijah P. Lovejoy in Alton, Illinois. In one of many instances of anti-abolitionist violence in the mid-nineteenth century, the mob murdered Lovejoy and destroyed his printing press. No one was ever punished for the crime, but the murder electrified abolitionists throughout the nation. *(Brown Brothers)*

political radicals had admired direct action on the part of the enslaved from early on, and growing numbers of white abolitionists began to understand that the nonviolent ideal was often impractical. Revolts such as Nat Turner's and that of the *Amistad* captives taught them that blacks were willing and able to fight back when the opportunity presented itself. They also came increasingly to see slavery as a race war in itself, and many began to understand that, just as their own ancestors had fought for independence from British "tyranny," the slaves struggled to secure their own liberty. In addition, a number of white abolitionists learned firsthand the need for active self-defense.

The most tragic example of their self-defense efforts is that of Elijah P. Lovejoy, a white abolitionist newspaper editor from Illinois. He had been attacked by anti-abolitionist mobs before, but when he and his press came under attack in 1837, he fought back by opening fire on the mob. After having two presses destroyed previously and having been chased from his mother-in-law's home, he vowed to defend his family. A month before the final attack, he wrote that his wife suffered from constant fear and exhaustion. Contrary to his own nonviolent inclinations, he had resorted to keeping loaded arms available should another attack occur. He admitted to having four loaded muskets in addition to pistols and ammunition ready. He felt "inexpressible reluctance to resort to this method of defence," but "dear-bought experience" had taught him not to rely on the law or public sentiment for protection. Even in the face of mortal danger, Lovejoy had resisted armed defense until he felt he had no other recourse. A month after he wrote to justify his conversion to self-defense, his stalkers got the final word, destroying his press and taking his life.

The passage of a stronger fugitive slave law and pro-slavery violence in Kansas converted others to the militant cause. The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 threat-

ened the freedom of all African Americans, especially in the North where generations had been born into freedom and no longer carried free papers. Sympathy for the plight of their fellow crusaders led white abolitionists to join in active resistance to this law, and the joint efforts of black and white abolitionists in rescuing those arrested provide the best examples of interracial cooperation in the freedom struggle. A young generation of white abolitionists, including Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who would become the leader of a black regiment during the Civil War, entered the movement during the struggle over the Fugitive Slave Law and became particularly willing to employ violence when necessary.

Others embraced defensive violence after experiencing or reading about the bloody conflict in Kansas between the pro-slavery and antislavery settlers. Northern free-soil supporters made up the majority in this new territory, but pro-slavery "border ruffians" from Missouri and territorial officials fought to add Kansas to the list of slave states. Abolitionists such as Charles B. Stearns, John Henry Kagi, and John Brown traveled to Kansas to witness the struggle firsthand, and Kagi and Brown both joined the battle by killing pro-slavery men. Stearns left for Kansas a Garrisonian nonresistant, but his experiences led him to conclude that "pro-slavery Missourians are demons from the bottomless pit and may be shot with impunity." By the late 1850s, even the most nonviolent abolitionists had concluded that the Compromise of 1850 and the deadly agitation in Kansas served as evidence of a "Slave Power" conspiracy. This theory held that Southerners were aggressively seeking to extend their economic system throughout all new territories in a quest to maintain political control of the nation and guarantee the protection of slavery. As a result, many abolitionists began to call for slave revolt, and John Brown pledged his life to the cause of direct action.

Many historians emphasize the biracial nature of this violent phase of the abolition struggle, supporting the idea that black abolitionists were more militant from the beginning. More recent studies have shown a much closer parallel between black and white efforts throughout all phases of the movement. Although many blacks gained freedom through the militant tactic of self-emancipation, the Northern free black abolitionist community, which developed and matured during the first half of the nineteenth century, embraced the typical American reform values shared by its white contemporaries. The assumption of black militance stems largely from the appeals of David Walker and Henry Highland Garnet. Both writers called upon the enslaved to rise up; Walker's *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World* (1829) scared Southerners so badly that they struggled to keep it out of the hands of the slaves.

Although Walker is often cited as an early example of black militance, his *Appeal* served also as an appeal to whites to acknowledge black humanity. Like other black reformers of his day, Walker embraced the dominant American culture, especially the Victorian family and gender roles. What he wanted most was for blacks to prove to whites that they were equal and thus deserved equal opportunities in the United States. Prophetically, he began by arguing that God, not the enslaved, would seek revenge on the oppressors by dividing their ranks and setting them against each other. He added, however, that it was the duty of the enslaved to help "fight under our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, in the glorious and heavenly cause of freedom." He then employed the same rhetoric of Victorian morality that white abolitionists used to graphically describe the tragic nature of family life under slavery.

Although Walker expressed admiration for the Haitian Revolution, he was aware of the pro-slavery horror stories of blacks slaughtering babies, raping women, and murdering men. Thus, he called upon his black readers not to rise up and kill whites but to prove equality by fighting against their own ignorance as a means of actively refuting racist arguments. He argued that force in defense of self or family was justified, but he insisted that whites were naturally more violent than blacks. Finally, he prevailed upon educated and enlightened black men to lead the rest of the race out of degradation through the dissemination of education and religion and "prove to the Americans and the rest of the world, that we are MEN, and not *brutes*."

Near the end of his address, Walker introduced the argument that, regardless of how black men felt about violence toward whites, whites feared retribution. He argued that if black men would shed their "servile spirit" and "death-like apathy," they could stand up for themselves and prove their equality. He did not encourage violence, instead arguing that vengeance belonged "to the Lord" and even offering hope that God would forgive the oppressors if they would repent and aid in black enlightenment. "Treat us like men," he concluded, "and there is no danger but we will all live in peace and happiness together."

Henry Highland Garnet presented similar arguments a decade later in his 1843 "Address to the Slaves." An ally of Gerrit Smith and the son of an

escaped slave, Garnet called upon the enslaved to act for their freedom, insisting that "if hereditary bondsmen would be free, they must themselves strike the blow." After arguing that voluntary submission was sinful and disgraceful, he told slaves not to rise up and kill their masters but to "appeal to their sense of justice, and . . . Promise them renewed diligence in the cultivation of the soil, if they will render to you an equivalent for your services." He then advised slaves to "torment the God-cursed slaveholders, [so] that they will be glad to let you go free," but he warned them that "we do not advise you to attempt a revolution with the sword, because it would be INEXPEDIENT." Like his white allies, he had become convinced that self-defense was justified, but, like Smith, he realized that violence would lead to retribution and hurt the antislavery cause in the long run.

Despite the occasional militant rhetoric of leaders like Walker and Garnet, almost all black leaders preferred the nonviolent tactic of moral suasion. To this doctrine they added the concepts of self-help and racial uplift, as they developed their own peaceful crusade. Most, including Walker, shared white abolitionists' belief in evangelical religion and contemporary gender prescriptions. Black leaders embraced the masculine reform ideal of the "Christian Gentleman," arguing for restraint. They handled militant ideas with caution because of two stereotypes they were forced to struggle against. They needed to show that black men were capable of standing up for themselves and their loved ones to counter the Sambo image of docility and childlike innocence. At the same time, they had to stress reluctance to violence and willingness to forgive as they refuted the pro-slavery argument that most black men were violent brutes like Nat Turner.

Abolition, Morality, and Self-Elevation

Even as they fought against these images, black leaders themselves were unsure of the extent to which fellow blacks, particularly the enslaved, would employ violence even when needed. Like the white abolitionists they worked with, they adhered to a doctrine of racial difference that countered the pro-slavery rhetoric of black brutality and savagery by attributing the feminine qualities of submission, generosity, and peacefulness to black men. The result was an idea that black men were naturally inclined toward the Christian action of forgiving oppressors rather than seeking vengeance. This idea was an important tool in the abolitionist crusade to prove that, if freed, blacks would not revert to savagery. Many, like Walker, argued that whites were more likely to resort to violence than were blacks, but most remained concerned that violence would some day be necessary, and they hoped that blacks would be able to fight for their own freedom if they had to. They drew upon a legacy of black participation in the American Revolution and the War of 1812 to argue that violence in defense of home and country was justified, regardless of race.

Although active defense of home and family became a reality for many free blacks throughout the 1850s, most never really abandoned moral suasion and self-elevation as chief tactics. The concept of self-elevation had three main components: moral uplift, educational attainment, and economic self-sufficiency. White reform leaders of the day encouraged the white masses to strive for success in each of these areas, just as black leaders preached the tenets to the black masses. The crucial difference was that more was at stake for the black community. Self-elevation, black leaders hoped, not only would force whites to accept racial equality, but would also eventually lead to the abolition of slavery by defeating pro-slavery arguments that the system itself was a civilizing force.

Self-elevation was deeply ingrained in the philosophies of black leaders, and self-help arguments strongly punctuate their writings. Lewis Woodson, a respected black leader in Pittsburgh during the 1830s, told fellow black reformers that "CONDITION and not *color,* is the chief cause of the prejudice, under which we suffer," and he spent his life convincing others that uplift was crucial to the black community. He insisted that blacks must achieve elevation without the help of whites.

One of Woodson's most famous admirers, Martin R. Delany, took his message to a younger generation of black abolitionists. He called for self-elevation throughout his novel *Blake*; *or the Huts of America* (1859). His political and historical work, *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States* (1852), and many of his writings in the *North Star,* a newspaper he edited with Frederick Douglass, stressed the importance of self-help and black leadership by celebrating "uplifted" blacks. Like most other leaders of his time, including Garrison, Delany firmly believed that blacks had to be prepared morally, intellectually, and economically to be productive members of society.

Moral uplift required a number of reform measures. Leaders especially emphasized frugality and

temperance. Maria W. Stewart, a pioneer in the women's rights movement as well as an influential Northern free black abolitionist lecturer of the 1830s, implored young black men to "flee from the gambling board and the dance hall." She further advised them to save their hard-earned money for more useful purposes such as "mental and moral improvement." Samuel Cornish, a black pioneer in the field of American journalism, agreed. He insisted that if blacks could establish a "character" and "become more religious and moral, more industrious and prudent, than other classes of the community, it will be impossible to keep us down." On the other hand, he warned that "should we prove unworthy [of] our few privileges, we shall furnish our enemies the strongest arguments, with which to oppose the emancipation of the slave, and to hinder the elevation of the free." He held free blacks responsible for the enslaved, concluding that the salvation of the slave depended upon the conduct of free blacks, and he urged all to live by the moral reform principles of "temperance, hard work, education, and piety."

As products of the American reform movement, many black leaders emphasized several of its principles, particularly temperance. Delany was proud of his own restraint, and he urged others to "let your habits be strictly temperate, and for human nature's sake, abstain from the erroneous idea that some sort of malt or spirituous drink is necessary." He emphasized his disapproval of "ardent liquid" in *Blake,* characterizing one of the white slave traders as drunk and reckless, while his main character, a black man, was sober and levelheaded at all times.

William Whipper, another Northern free black leader, also strongly supported the temperance movement, claiming that intemperance was as evil as slavery. He insisted that "the slave may escape from the rule and presence of his master, by flying to a land of freedom; but the subject of intemperance finds that *his* master is almost omnipresent." He went on to argue that one of the "earliest achievements" of intemperance was "to secure the 'slave trade' by inducing the native Africans to sell their brethren while under its influence." He concluded that temperate blacks could redeem past wrongs by working to uplift Africans as well as fellow African Americans. Jacob C. White, a member of Philadelphia's black elite, also argued that temperance was important in the redemption of the black community. He urged young men to spend their money "for the purpose of elevating our people and promoting the cause of education among them" rather than on rum. He insisted that once youth were "trained in such a manner that they will be fitted for usefulness" they would be prepared to fight for black rights, and their work would lead to a "marked difference in the Colored People of this country, in a political and social point of view." Finally, William C. Nell, an early black historian who chronicled the lives of important African-American leaders, stressed throughout his work that the heroes he described were all temperate.

Religious Strains of Abolitionism

Many leaders of the Northern free black community had embraced self-elevation and moral uplift early in their careers, and a number of them even gained their leadership experience through self-improvement societies. Delany was a member of the Young Men's Bible Society, the Young Men's Anti-Slavery and Literary Society, and a founder of the Theban Literary Society. He was also manager of the Moral Reform Society and founder of the first total abstinence society for blacks. Garnet was an officer of the Garrison Literary and Benevolent Association, and Crummell was a charter member of the Phoenixonian Literary Society, both in New York. Many of these societies opened libraries, founded evening schools, and encouraged intellectual enlightenment through group discussions. They also organized lyceum-style lectures in which experts spoke about scientific, political, historical, and moral topics.

Membership in these groups gave future leaders the confidence and optimism necessary to spread their self-help crusade through missionary work. Garnet believed that encouraging self-elevation would "show [our] love to the slave at the South, by doing good to the free black man at the North." He wrote to Simeon S. Jocelyn, a white reformer who worked with the American Missionary Association (AMA), to encourage the organization to reach out to the poor of both races in New York City, "sympathise with them, and teach them in divine things." He also urged the AMA to "encourage them in everything that belongs to well ordered living." In the same spirit, using words that indicate a distance between herself and her subjects, Northern free black leader Frances Ellen Watkins Harper outlined a plan to take her missionary crusade to the West, "lecturing among the colored people." She maintained that the most useful contribution she could make to the abolitionist cause would be to "labor earnestly and faithfully among those with whom I am identified by complexion, race and blood." She concluded that "so long as they are down, I belong to a downtrodden race." While both of these

leaders were referring to the need for black uplift in the United States, other African-American leaders began to see a need to spread similar missionary efforts to Africa in a broader effort to prove that people of color throughout the world could achieve the same levels of success as white Americans, if given the chance.

Black Equality Through Education

Advocates of self-elevation agreed that moral uplift was only the beginning. Education was equally crucial in the crusade for equality. Black leader H. Ford Douglas argued that both blacks and whites needed to be educated for the betterment of the entire American society, insisting that "if anything is to be done for freedom, we must make this question of slavery, not a colored question, but a white question as well." Speaking in Ohio in 1860, he informed whites that "while the colored people are bowed down by slavery, they can accomplish nothing great or noble; nor can you, while you oppress them." Douglas, a self-taught fugitive slave, valued education in general, but, like most former bondsmen, he especially emphasized the need for black education. Another former slave, James R. Bradley, insisted that slaves wanted not only liberty but education as well. He enrolled in Lane Seminary immediately upon buying his own freedom and later produced a written account of his life. Emphasizing his desire for an education and his efforts to teach himself to read and write, he explained that he had been "praying to God for years that my poor dark mind might see the light of knowledge." Frederick Douglass, Henry Bibb, and William Wells Brown, all of whom were escaped slaves, also drew upon their experiences in slavery to argue the need for black education in the struggle for freedom.

Former bondsmen were not the only ones to recognize the value of education. Some leaders encouraged youth to participate in integrated schools whenever possible. A strong proponent of racial cooperation, Nell insisted that "the colored youth should be stimulated to establish such a character in these seats of learning, by his energy in study and gentlemanly deportment towards teachers and pupils, as to disarm opposition, show himself an equal, and, in spite of cold looks and repulsive treatment, hew a path to eminence and respect." He concluded that, "like the gem which shines brighter by attrition," the black youth must "become himself, among good scholars, the very best."

Denied equal privileges in the public school system, however, most Northern black communities boasted their own schools. The New York African Free School was a great source of pride for the black community, training important leaders such as Garnet, Alexander Crummell, John B. Russwurm, and James McCune Smith. Students' accomplishments were celebrated each year with exhibitions displaying their work. Even girls were allowed to attend such schools, but, like white girls, they were taught gender-specific skills such as knitting and sewing.

By the mid-1830s, higher education was available to Northern free blacks at schools such as Noyes Academy, the Oneida Institute, Wesleyan University, Oberlin College, and Dartmouth. However, many avenues of opportunity remained closed to blacks. Delany and James McCune Smith were both denied access to medical training at the major medical schools. Delany managed to get into Harvard but was asked to leave after a semester because of the protests of white students, and Smith was forced to turn to Scotland's Glasgow University for his degree. Many divinity schools also refused to admit black students. Crummell, like Smith, eventually turned to Great Britain for an opportunity to earn advanced training, and J.W.C. Pennington, after hiding behind doors at Yale to learn as much as possible for intrinsic benefit, eventually earned his Doctor of Divinity degree at the University of Heidelberg.

Many abolitionists emphasized the practical role of industrial education over traditional academic training. Samuel Cornish called for a manual labor college in 1829, and Abraham Shadd, William Hamilton, and William Whipper reported on the need for such a school to the 1832 national convention of black leaders. These men argued that their proposed colleges would impart both classical knowledge and practical skills to their students.

By the 1850s, the call for manual education had become even stronger, as both black and white leaders began to see its value as a vehicle for autonomy and self-elevation. Charles Reason, former pupil and professor at the African Free School, maintained that abolitionists were responsible for "not only chattel slavery, but that other kind of slavery, which, for generation after generation, dooms an oppressed people to a condition of dependence and pauperism." The best way to ameliorate the condition, he insisted, was through industrial education.

Like moral uplift, education was only a step in the process of proving black equality. Once blacks gained education, the next important step was to earn economic self-sufficiency. In an effort to encourage black entrepreneurs, Delany and Nell both wrote

books that catalogued successful black businessmen. John N. Still, a successful black merchant, also believed in the power of black ownership of the means of capital. He voiced irritation that blacks were so willing to spend their money to support churches when they should be investing capital in black businesses. Peter Lester, another black Northern merchant, found what he considered concrete evidence that economic self-sufficiency by blacks would help end racial prejudice. Encouraged by the freedom and degree of equality he found after emigrating to Canada in 1859, he concluded that "the day that we are engaged in business matters, so as to bring about a commercial intercourse between the whites and ourselves, that very day our chains will commence to fall."

Given the American tradition of Jeffersonian thought and the opening of the West to farming ventures, many black leaders concluded that the best way to economic self-sufficiency was through agriculture. Woodson had argued as early as the 1830s that agriculture was an honorable trade that would lead to black autonomy, and a number of black abolitionists developed schemes for agricultural settlements both before and after the Civil War. Some maintained that the American West was the ideal location for such communities, while others wanted to create agrarian communities in Canada, Haiti, or Africa.

After the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, a handful of black abolitionist leaders began to consider emigration to such distant places, and some saw agriculture as the key to successful communities. Relying heavily on the idea of "free produce," Delany developed a plan for a settlement in the Niger Valley. He believed that Africa provided the ideal climate for growing crops that were currently being cultivated by slave labor in the United States. He also maintained that Africans were talented farmers already accustomed to agricultural tasks, and he cited the cultivation he saw in Africa and the sophisticated agricultural division of labor as proof that Africans were qualified to become the producers of the world's wealth and thus prove racial equality. Ironically, emigrationist leaders like Delany are sometimes considered the most radical leaders of the antebellum black community, but they were also some of the strongest adherents to the moral suasionist, self-help philosophy.

Conclusion

Although black abolitionist emphasis on self-help and the movement's overall reliance on moral suasion show a conservative tendency, it is important to realize that the abolition movement was indeed radical. Even the moderate abolitionists hoped to drastically alter American society by forcing Southerners to give up valuable private property. Historians have pointed out that even the most radical white abolitionists, including Garrison, held their own paternalistic assumptions that blacks needed white guidance to help them prepare for freedom. Black abolitionists saw this tendency and struggled to prove otherwise through their self-help agenda. It is important to note, however, that Garrison, Smith and other white abolitionists were willing to put their safety on the line to argue for black freedom, and black abolitionists realized that, despite their own biases, white abolitionists had good intentions.

The struggle to end slavery began when Africans and African Americans fought for their own freedom. It became a viable movement when white abolitionists listened to black objections to colonization and joined in the fight to end slavery and push for a racially inclusive society in America. Both groups played crucial roles in the overall crusade.

Beverly Tomek

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Frederick Douglass and Antislavery

For most of the English-speaking world, Frederick Douglass is the black voice of antislavery. Born a slave, he entered public life within three years of his escape. A modern man, his mastery of the spoken and written word has sustained him as a preeminent figure of nineteenth-century American political life. One of the paradoxes of slavery in the United States is that it produced such men and women. The history of American slavery and the struggle against that "peculiar institution" is filled with the unique vantage points of articulate slaves, fugitives, and free black men and women. Among them, Douglass left the most extensive record, inscribed himself into his own time and history, and made his struggles as a slave to free himself and as a freeman to bring slavery to an end a central part of the drama of the nineteenth century.

The "School" of Slavery

Douglass was born Frederick Augustus Washington Bailey in February of 1818 on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. He was the son of Harriet Bailey and a white man most often identified as Aaron Anthony, his owner. On his mother's side he descended from blacks who had lived in Talbot County as a stable extended family for more than a century. Harriet Bailey's father, Isaac, was free and earned his living as a sawyer. Her mother, Betsy, was a slave but lived independently in the family's modest cabin where she earned money and considerable respect as a net maker. Her children, however, were slaves, and her only obligation to her master seemed to have been the care of her grandchildren, a task for which she was sometimes paid. Douglass was one of her charges, and he was raised in the relative freedom and familial stability of his grandparent's cabin until he was six years old.

Douglass recorded in his autobiographies the shock he experienced when his grandmother abruptly left him with Aaron Anthony and he became a part of his owner's household. A newcomer to slaveholding, Anthony inherited Harriet Bailey and her children through marriage to the daughter of one of the most distinguished families in the region. A widower in his late fifties when Douglass came to live with them, he arose from relative poverty to own several small farms and more than two dozen slaves, most of them the children and grandchildren of Betsy Bailey. Not a planter himself, he rented out his farms and slaves while he served as principal overseer of Edward Lloyd's plantations. The home to which Douglass was taken was on Lloyd's Wye River plantation.

The Lloyd family was one of the oldest in the region, with traditions of economic self-sufficiency, grandeur, and hospitality dating back to the colonial period. The Wye River plantation's present owner, a former governor and senator and one of the largest slaveholders in the region, was by blood and tradition an aristocrat of slaveholding society. The splendor of the Wye River was unequaled in the state, but that splendor was supported by 500 slaves spread out over a series of outlying plantations run by overseers under the supervision of Lloyd and Anthony. The home plantation was populated by house servants and artisans with the skills to underwrite the estate's independence and opulent life.

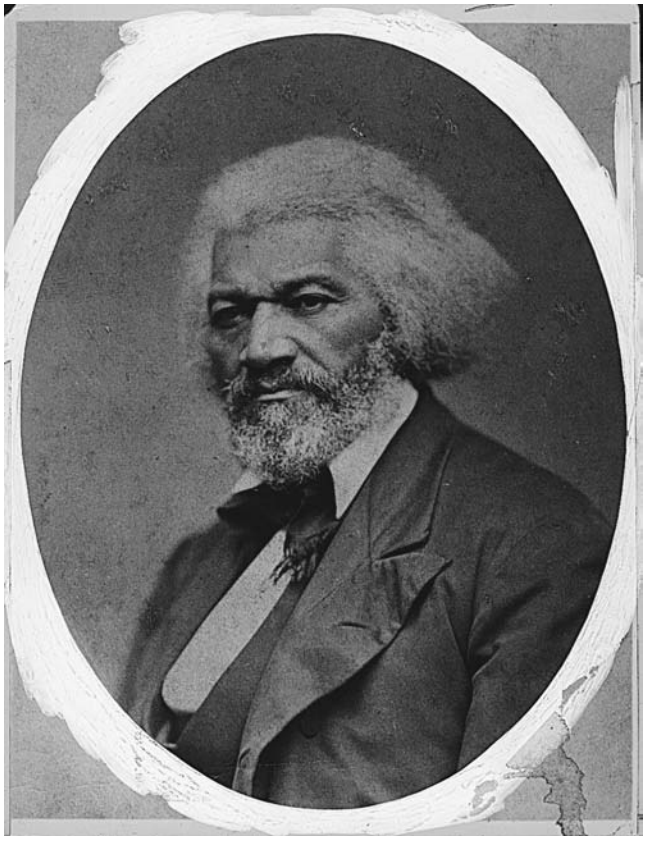
In Anthony's house on the Wye River plantation, Douglass began to experience slavery's extremes. Despite the wealth of the Lloyds, slavery as an institution was declining in Maryland, and the more meager fortunes of Anthony's family as well as the stability of the Bailey clan suffered. Throughout his youth, Douglass experienced the dissolution and dispersal of the century-old black community into which he was born, with more than a dozen members of his own family being sold out of state. His mother worked on a distant plantation, and he rarely saw her. Placed under the supervision of Anthony's slave cook, he rarely

had enough to eat, and he witnessed and heard about the harsh beating of the Lloyd slaves. Lloyd's slaves were considered poorly fed and harshly treated, even by the standards of the time.

Yet Douglass was relatively favored, and though they were small favors, he had the natural instincts to make the best of them. He soaked in experiences and constantly remade himself to the extent of the boundaries that confined him. Douglass spared no energies in his later career in cataloging the horrors of slavery on the Eastern Shore, but the considerable talents he brought to that denunciation were ironically nurtured in the unevenness and paradoxes of that very institution. Lloyd selected him to be the companion to his son. Anthony's daughter, Lucretia, also singled him out for special protection and favors. Perhaps the greatest favor that was done him was in 1826, as Anthony retired from Lloyd's service and a younger man replaced him at Wye River. Douglass was sent to Baltimore to live with Hugh Auld, the brother of Lucretia's husband, to be his son's companion.

Free blacks in Baltimore outnumbered slaves four to one. Douglass lived for seven years amid the porous boundaries between the life of urban and mostly domestic slaves and the social and political structures of free black domestics, day laborers, artisans, and seamen. In Auld's household, his mistress, Sophia Auld, treated him with unexpected kindness and even began to teach him to read until her husband forbade her to do so. As an errand boy in Auld's shipbuilding firm, he taught himself the alphabet by copying letters used to identify ship parts and learned to write by transcribing the work in "Little Tommy" Auld's cast of copy books. Among free blacks he became an active member of the all-black Bethel African Methodist Church, where he was converted and heard the important black and white evangelical preachers of his day. Together with one member of the church, Uncle Lawson, Douglass read and pondered the Bible.

A disagreement between Hugh and Thomas Auld forced his return to the Eastern Shore, and after seven years' absence much had changed. Anthony and his daughter Lucretia had died, leaving him the property of her husband Thomas Auld. At fifteen, Douglass, too, had changed. He was old enough to be put to work, but it became clear to slaves and masters alike that he was interested in his freedom and the freedom of other slaves. He opened a Sabbath school and began to teach a group of his fellow slaves how to read and write. When his activities were discovered, Auld hired him out to Edward Covey who had a reputation for breaking the spirit of rebellious slaves. A slave beater of some enthusiasm, Covey beat him until Douglass resolved to resist. In the ensuing fight, Douglass was the victor, and he cites this battle as having ushered him into symbolic manhood. Auld then hired him out to another slaveholder who had the reputation for treating his slaves more humanely. Soon Douglass was found organizing a group of slaves to run away. Ultimately, Auld returned Douglass to Baltimore, promising him that he would free him at the age of twenty-four.



Abolitionist, orator, editor, and author Frederick Douglass was the preeminent African American of his generation. After escaping from slavery in 1838, he devoted his life to the causes of emancipation, universal suffrage, and equal rights. *(Brown Brothers)*

Douglass returned to Baltimore a self-confident young man determined to attain that freedom. Thomas Auld apprenticed Douglass to learn the caulking trade at a shipyard. Where blacks and whites had worked side by side in the past, the influx of free blacks and Irish immigrants made competition between them inevitable. While Douglass was employed, the white workers struck in order to have all the free black workers fired. That animosity also applied to the slave apprentices, and he frequently

found himself the source of derision and was provoked into fighting.

At the same time, Douglass became a full participant in churches, benevolent societies, and Sabbath schools. His independence was facilitated by making an agreement with Auld in which he would hire himself out and pay all of his own expenses. He and several friends formed the East Baltimore Mental Improvement Society, a debating society where they read and argued religion, morality, and abolition. They became increasingly politically conscious and withdrew from Bethel when church leaders took a stand against radical abolition. During this time, Douglass met and became engaged to Anna Murray, a free black woman, who also came from the Eastern Shore.

After a series of almost violent confrontations with Auld, Douglass decided to run away, fearing that he would be sold South. He borrowed a black seaman's protection papers and traveled by train from Baltimore to Wilmington, Delaware, where he boarded a ship to Philadelphia, and then took another train to New York. He left slavery with considerable personal resources. He was literate and urbane, and he was also something of a preacher. He had the confidence of a young man who was considered by all to have promise, and he had the experience of leadership among the free blacks of Baltimore and the slaves of the Eastern Shore. He would later speak with characteristic irony of having been educated in the "school" of slavery, yet there is more truth to that claim than his rhetoric suggested.

Radical Abolition

Like so many fugitive slaves before him, Douglass, going by the name Johnson, found his safety first in the familiar world of the free black community of New York. He stayed at the home of David Ruggles, the secretary of the New York Vigilance Committee, where Murray joined him and where they married. Although his later colleagues saw their marriage as a mismatch, Murray was typical of the women, white and black, whom Douglass knew and admired all of his life. She never learned to read and write, but like Betsy Bailey she was personally and financially independent, having saved enough money to help Douglass pay his fare to New York. Murray was never comfortable in the interracial social circle that Douglass came to live in, but her frugality, domestic management, and personal industry underwrote Douglass's public life, leaving him free to travel extensively, secure that in his absence she could manage his household and raise the five children they had together.

From New York, Douglass and his new wife moved to New Bedford, Massachusetts, where he changed his name from Johnson to Douglass, and began his new life as a free man. Although smaller than Baltimore, the New Bedford black community was similarly organized by its churches and other institutions. Like Baltimore, there was tension between white and black workers. Douglass was an experienced caulker, but whites already in that profession opposed his employment, confining him to unskilled and occasional labor. Nevertheless, the free black community of New Bedford afforded Douglass some considerable opportunity for his talents. He joined the New Bedford Zion Methodist Church and was later licensed to preach by the African Methodist Episcopal Zion denomination. Through his appearances in various New Bedford pulpits he continued his apprenticeship as a public speaker.

New Bedford's blacks were openly abolitionist, in a way that Southern free blacks could not be, and their institutions were at one with national abolitionist and moral reform movements. Douglass became a subscriber to *The Liberator* and heard its editor, William Lloyd Garrison, and other black and white abolitionists as they spoke in his town. In August of 1841, Douglass attended the state convention of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. His reputation led to an invitation to speak, and that speech, which would become the crowning moment in his *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (1845), launched his public career as an abolitionist. Garrison recounts the inspiration Douglass's listeners felt in his "Preface" to the *Narrative*. He was an immediate success, and John A. Collins offered him a position as general agent for the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

Douglass surpassed in fame other black abolitionist lecturers. A compelling speaker in an age when public oratory was the preeminent art of political life, he lectured throughout New England with Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and the other principal white abolitionists seeking converts, raising money, and selling subscriptions to *The Liberator* and the *Anti-Slavery Standard*. He became a "regular speaker" at the American Anti-Slavery Society's annual convention. The precarious life of the abolitionist circuit was not without its hardships. Speakers frequently met with violent opposition from their audience and on the streets, and black and interracial speaking teams were more likely to suffer attacks. In addition, for blacks, formal

and informal discrimination in transportation and lodging presented constant outrages and challenges.

Douglass shared Garrison's commitment to moral suasion, immediate emancipation, civil equality for free blacks, and opposition to colonization—positions that separated radical abolition from the more conservative and Southern-based antislavery and brought Garrison many black supporters to *The Liberator* and the Massachusetts and American Anti-Slavery Societies. Although theory often outstripped practice, Garrison's views made an interracial abolitionist movement possible. Few shared Garrison's belief that the United States Constitution was tainted by articles that recognized and protected slavery, and most did not follow his call to avoid voting and the political process, or his more extreme advocacy of disunion with slaveholding states. Nonetheless, Douglass followed the tenets of Garrisonian abolition that were contested and split radicals into factions in the 1840s.

Douglass's abolitionism was also of a piece with his commitment to the broad national moral reform that embraced temperance, women's rights, and self-improvement. He was the only one of the thirty-two men who attended the 1848 Women's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls, New York, to speak, urging the convention to resolve itself in favor of women's suffrage. Within the black community, he became active in the variety of organizations that sustained community life. Some of these organizations, like the League of Colored Laborers, were short-lived, but most urged temperance, economic and cultural self-improvement, and an end to discriminatory laws and social practices. He regularly attended the National Conventions of Colored Citizens. At the 1843 convention, he unsuccessfully opposed a resolution in support of the emerging antislavery Liberty Party. He also opposed, successfully, Henry Highland Garnet's resolution urging an uprising among slaves. He was also a strong supporter of the Convention's attempts to establish an industrial arts school for blacks in Connecticut.

Douglass's rapid emergence into leadership of both the interracial abolitionist movement and the all-black convention movement led many to question his credentials as a fugitive slave. In response to those doubts as well as to raise money, in 1845 he published the first of his three autobiographies, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, Written by Himself*. Written under his adopted name, the work revealed the details of his experience in slavery and the development of his resolve to gain his freedom. Although the written and dictated narratives of ex-slaves was a staple of abolitionist literature, his *Narrative* was better crafted than most and, as a result, was exceedingly popular both in the United States and Great Britain. His quest for literacy, independence, family, and social status were ambitions with which most of his readers could identify. Through the *Narrative*, Douglass convincingly converted himself and his life into a symbol of the struggle against slavery.

The success of the *Narrative* and the specificity of Douglass's revelations about his early life made him a prime target for recapture. He decided to leave the country, and between the fall of 1845 and the spring of 1847 he toured England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales giving antislavery lectures and championing moral reform causes. The abolitionists and moral reformers of Great Britain embraced and supported him with enthusiasm. His sympathetic British followers not only contributed money to his cause, but also sought to further Douglass's individual voice and position. Most importantly, several friends raised funds and arranged for his manumission. Although the purchasing of freedom was against the strict tenets of many of his antislavery colleagues, Douglass welcomed this opportunity and, with Garrison's support, was able to deflect some of the criticism.

Douglass returned from England in the spring of 1847 free from the claims of any master and poised financially, politically, and intellectually to pursue his own course. Gradually, he began freeing himself from the claims of his most important mentor, William Lloyd Garrison. The relative social ease he experienced in Britain made him chafe at the awkwardness and anxiety with which white abolitionists treated him in the United States. Twelve years his senior, Garrison had become something of a father figure to Douglass, shepherding his way into the top ranks of the abolitionist movement, but the publication of Douglass's *Narrative* and the success of his foreign tour gave Douglass a sense of his unique importance to the antislavery cause. Almost thirty, he was offended by the paternal relations. He had become an important force in the antislavery movement in the English-speaking world and was supported and courted by the leaders of its various divisions. Throughout the rest of his career, he would negotiate the various factions of the antislavery and reform movements in order to chart a course that was uniquely his own.

Over Garrison's objections, Douglass used the money raised on his British tour to establish his own newspaper, the *North Star*, which published its first

THE MEANING OF JULY FOURTH FOR THE NEGRO, 1852

Perhaps one of Frederick Douglass's most passionate addresses was delivered on July 5, 1852, at an affair celebrating the signing of the Declaration of Independence at Rochester's Corinthian Hall. In a scathing speech, Douglass submits that Independence and the "Fourth of July is yours, *not* mine. *You may rejoice, I must mourn."*

Fellow Citizens—Pardon me, and allow me to ask, why am I called upon to speak here, today? What have I, or those I represent, to do with your national independence? Are the great principles of political freedom and of natural justice, embodied in that Declaration of Independence, extended to us? . . .

Such is not the state of the case. I say it with a sad sense of the disparity between us. I am not included within the pale of this glorious anniversary! Your high independence only reveals the immeasurable distance between us. The blessings in which you this day rejoice, are not enjoyed in common. The rich inheritance of justice, liberty, prosperity, and independence, bequeathed by your fathers, is shared by you, not by me. The sunlight that brought life and healing to you, has brought stripes and death to me. This Fourth of July is *yours*, not *mine*. You may rejoice, I must mourn. . . .

Fellow-citizens, above your national, tumultuous joy, I hear the mournful wail of millions, whose chains, heavy and grievous yesterday, are to-day rendered more intolerable by the jubilant shouts that reach them. If I do forget, if I do not faithfully remember those bleeding children of sorrow this day, "may . . . my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth!" . . . My Subject, then, fellow-citizens, is AMERICAN SLAVERY. I shall see this day and its popular characteristics from the slave's point of view. Standing there, identified with the American bondman, making his wrongs mine, I do not hesitate to declare, with all my soul, that the character and conduct of this nation never looked blacker to me than on this Fourth of July. Whether we turn to the declarations of the past, or to the professions of the present, the conduct of the nation seems equally hideous and revolting. America is false to the past, false to the present, and solemnly binds herself to be false to the future. Standing with God and the crushed and bleeding slave on this occasion, I will . . . denounce, with all the emphasis I can command, everything that serves to perpetuate slavery—the great sin and shame of America! . . .

For the present, it is enough to affirm the equal manhood of the Negro race. Is it not astonishing that, while we are plowing, planting, and reaping, using all kinds of mechanical tools, erecting houses, constructing bridges, building ships, working in metals of brass, iron, copper, silvery, and gold; that, while we are reading, writing and ciphering, acting as clerks, merchants, and secretaries, having among us lawyers, doctors, ministers, poets, authors, editors, orators, and teachers; that, while we are engaged in all manner of enterprises common to other men—digging gold in California, capturing the whale in the Pacific, feeding sheep and cattle on the hillside, living, moving, acting, thinking, planning, living in families as husbands, wives, and children, and above all, confessing and worshiping the Christian's God, and looking hopefully for life and immortality beyond the grave,—we are called upon to prove that we are men!

What! am I to argue that it is wrong to make men brutes, to rob them of their liberty, to work them without wages, to keep them ignorant of their relations to their fellow-men, to beat them with sticks, to flay their flesh with the lash, to load their limbs with irons, to hunt them with dogs, to sell them at auction, to sunder their families, to knock out their teeth, to burn their flesh, to starve them into obedience and submission to their masters? Must I argue that a system, thus marked with blood and stained with pollution, is wrong? No; I will not. I have better employment of my time. . . .

What to the American slave is your Fourth of July? I answer, a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him, your celebration is a sham; . . . your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; . . . your shouts of liberty and equality [are] hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns . . . are to him mere fraud . . . and hypocrisy—a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages. There is not a nation on the earthy guilty of practices more shocking and bloody, than are the people of the United States, at this very hour.

Source: Philip S. Foner, *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*, Vol. II, *Pre-Civil War Decade 1850–1860* (New York: International, 1950).

issue on December 3, 1847. The *North Star* was published from Rochester, New York, where Douglass and his family took up residence. In New York, Douglass developed and had the financial support of Gerrit Smith, a philanthropist, reformer, and one of the founders of the abolitionist Liberty Party. Perhaps his most important ally was Julia Griffiths, whom he had met in England. She came to the United States and assisted Douglass as business manager and assistant editor of the *North Star*. She was particularly adept at helping Douglass secure funds for the always poorly financed paper. Her presence allowed him to travel and lecture while she took care of the business of publishing the newspaper.

During the 1850s, Douglass remade his abolitionist vision and sought new allies. Black and white abolitionists experienced this decade as a series of political defeats further entrenching what they came to call "Slave Power" in the American polity. The Compromise of 1850 with its newly strengthened Fugitive Slave Law, the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 with the attending warfare in Kansas between pro and antislavery forces, and the U.S. Supreme Court's *Dred Scott* (1857) decision challenged Douglass to rethink his political views. These events left little cause for optimism that the tactics of moral suasion would lead the nations to political regeneration. Douglass abandoned the Garrisonian view of the Constitution, announcing his changed position at the annual convention of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1851 and in *The Liberator*. The Convention withdrew its support of the *North Star*, but Douglass had already secured another means of support. Casting his lot firmly with political abolitionists, the *North Star* merged with the less successful Liberty Party Paper reemerging under Douglass's editorship as *Frederick Douglass's Paper*. Douglass's newfound positions and alliances were bitterly resented by the Garrisonians, and in a manner that was typical of that age, Douglass found himself increasingly the subject of hostile comments in the Garrisonian papers. These comments culminated when Garrison quietly questioned in print the role of Julia Griffiths in Douglass's household. Anna Murray Douglass issued a statement denying any irregularities. Thereafter, the breach between Douglass and Garrison was complete, and Douglass no longer attended the meetings of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Throughout the rest of the 1850s, Douglass and his paper were deeply involved in the political process. He spoke at political conventions and endorsed candidates for national and local office. Although his first allegiance was to Gerrit Smith's single-issue Liberty and Radical Abolitionist parties, he flirted even while he criticized with the emerging Free Soil and Republican parties. He also turned with more conviction to elevating the condition of free blacks, advocating a dual strategy of eradicating barriers to their equal participation in civil society, such as his campaign to eliminate the property qualification that was only imposed on blacks in New York, while supporting attempts to establish an industrial education school for blacks in the North. In 1855, he published another autobiography, *My Bondage and My Freedom*, in which he sought to explain his changes of political views and in which he criticized his old friends for their racial practices.

Still Douglass could not imagine abandoning the interracial coalition the abolitionists had created. He merely shifted his sense of who would be the best allies to the political abolitionists. He rejected the increasingly strong minority voice in the black national conventions advocating immigration to Africa, the Caribbean, and Latin America. He also rejected John Brown's plans to capture the Arsenal at Harpers Ferry. Just before the raid was executed, Douglass met Brown in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, in hopes of dissuading him from a plan he felt was destined to fail. After Brown was defeated and captured, correspondence was found among his possessions that seemed to implicate Douglass and other prominent abolitionists in his raid. Douglass found it expedient to follow through on his plans to lecture in England and Scotland in order to avoid arrest and possible extradition to Virginia.

Civil War and Reconstruction

When Douglass returned from England, the United States was in the midst of the election of 1860. He warmed only slowly to Abraham Lincoln, instead supporting Smith's campaign as the presidential candidate of the Radical Abolitionist Party. Whatever initial reservation Lincoln had about directly addressing the issue of slavery, the Civil War and Reconstruction put the abolitionist goal within reach. After twenty years of swimming against the national tide, Douglass found himself with the much more complex task of trying to influence a rush and flow of events that seemed to be going his way. The Emancipation Proclamation, the enlistment of black troops, the emergence of Radical Republicans, the creation of the Freedman's Bureau, the Reconstruction amendments to the Constitution—all policies that he advocated before they came into effect—gave reality to Douglass's

most cherished goals. Undaunted by having to end publication of his newspaper in 1860 and his magazine, *Frederick Douglass' Monthly*, in 1863, Douglass became a propagandist for the war as he wished it to be, and more slowly he also became a Republican Party operative.

The most prominent among blacks in the abolitionist movement, Douglass became the national black politician whom the nation needed, someone who could represent a group of men and women whose actions and opinions were important to the successful pursuit of the war effort, and after the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment a group that played a significant role in Republican Party politics. On August 10, 1863, Douglass led a group of blacks who met Abraham Lincoln in the White House. Although they discussed significant differences between their respective positions on the war aims, the symbolic importance of the meeting was unmistakable. Thereafter he met with most Republican presidents, as well as senators, congressmen, and cabinet members. Even Andrew Johnson, who had no sympathy for Douglass's vision of America, met with him.

In 1872 Douglass's house in Rochester burned down, and he moved his family to the District of Columbia, where he took over ownership and active editorship of the *New National Era*. In that same year he urged the National Convention of Colored People to endorse the presidential candidacy of Ulysses S. Grant. He served as one of Grant's electors in New York State, and he lectured in New England and Middle Atlantic States for Grant's elections. His only major misstep of the period was in 1874 when he accepted the presidency of the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company without being fully aware that this bank, with branches throughout the South and with millions of dollars in deposits, had been mismanaged and was insolvent. When Douglass was unable to restore confidence in the institution, the bank closed and thousands lost their deposits.

The Sage of Anacostia

The year that Rutherford B. Hayes was nominated, Douglass attended his first Republican National Convention, and he missed only one thereafter. The Compromise of 1877 brought Hayes the presidency in exchange for his withdrawal of federal troops from the South, effectively ending Reconstruction. If the black vote could no longer elect candidates in the post-Reconstruction South, it remained important in nominating Republican candidates to national office, and blacks like Douglass had limited access to the party's patronage machine. Hayes appointed Douglass U.S. marshall of the District of Columbia, his first political patronage position, and accepted his advocacy for others. The series of positions Douglass received from Republican presidents gave him a regular income and relieved him of the necessity of constant speech making and article writing, while allowing him the time to speak and write as he pleased. He bought a large house for himself and his family along the Anacostia River, called "Cedar Hill," and there he wrote his third autobiography, *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*. Published in 1881, it was less successful than his previous volumes, but it recorded his view of the volatile Civil War and Reconstruction periods.

The last decade of Douglass's life was marked by two controversies, one in his private life and one in his public career. In 1884, after Anna died, Douglass remarried. His wife, Helen Pitt, a clerk in the Office of the Recorder of Deeds, was the daughter of an abolitionist and descendant of the *Mayflower*. It was an interracial marriage criticized for different reasons by both blacks and whites, and to which his children were cool. In 1889, Douglass accepted appointment as America's resident minister and consul general to Haiti. In addition to the many small tasks he had to perform for American citizens, he was also expected to further American economic and military interests. The United States was particularly interested in establishing a naval base at Môle St. Nicolas. The American press blamed Douglass's support for Haitian interests for the failure of the negotiations, and after returning to the United States Douglass resigned the consulship. For their part, Haitians still honored him and in 1893 appointed him their commissioner to the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago.

Douglass revised and updated his last autobiography in 1892, and in his last days he took up new causes and renewed his commitment to old ones. He became an enthusiastic supporter of Ida B. Wells's crusade against lynching. On February 20, 1895, Douglass spoke at a meeting of the National Council of Women, where he was with his old friend and sometime adversary, Susan B. Anthony. Shortly after returning to Cedar Hills, he died of heart failure.

The degree to which Douglass had come to embody the central American political struggle of his century became almost immediately apparent. His memorial service in Washington, D.C., was followed by others throughout the nation. The new group of leaders, wary of his views when he was alive, quickly

reached out to embrace his legacy. No two leaders fought more for Douglass's legacy and mantel than Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois, each claiming to be continuing his tradition.

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Free Blacks: Foundations of Polities

Shortly after South Carolina troops fired on Fort Sumter, blacks in Boston assembled at their Twelfth Baptist Church to rally themselves to the Union cause and to volunteer as soldiers. Similar events took place in Providence, New York, Washington, Cleveland, and Philadelphia. These men and women, the free blacks of the North, were the fruits of the Northern emancipation, and they could justly feel that if their own history could be replicated in the South, they had reason to be optimistic about their future and the future of their brothers and sisters in bondage. In the eighty years between the Revolutionary and the Civil wars, they had created a community that spoke in words and by the example of their lives for universal liberty and unrestricted citizenship. They had lived in a margin of freedom that was far smaller than that of their white contemporaries, but within that margin they had also made the transition from slavery to freedom, absorbed a large number of fugitive slaves and free black migrants from the South, and built a network of local and national institutions. Despite, and in part because of, civil, social, and economic proscriptions, the free blacks of the North welded themselves into a community, with an institutional infrastructure, a purposeful official culture, and the means of sustaining their voices in the public debates about race and slavery. The clarity with which they saw their role in the Civil War was the product of eighty years of building a culture that stressed the intertwined nature of their status and that of the slave, and imposed on them the obligation to be a vanguard in the movement toward total emancipation.

Shaping a Free Community

The impulse toward institution building was shared by free blacks in both the North and the South. The first black church was organized in Silver Bluff, Georgia, in 1773. It was followed by the Harrison Street Baptist Church, organized in Petersburg, Virginia, in 1776; the First African Baptist Church, organized in Richmond, Virginia, in 1785; and the Colored Baptist Church, organized in Williamsburg, Virginia, in 1785. Throughout the antebellum period, black churches, often with mixed congregations of slave and free, and pastored by blacks, existed in the South. In like manner, mutual aid societies and schools existed intermittently in numerous Southern cities. The history of the Southern black church and other social institutions, however, was one of valiant efforts to maintain some autonomy against increasing hostility toward them from the white population. Often the churches had to give up their ambitions of having a black minister, or they had to accept nominal or very stringent white control. These churches and other institutions remain as testimony to the impulses of their creators, but stable institutions could be built by blacks only in the cities and towns of the North, and it is in that region that the uninterrupted history of all-black organization and institutions allowed them to reach their intended potential.

The abolition of slavery in the Northern states during the era of the American Revolution established the basis for freedom, but emancipated slaves took it upon themselves to define what it was to be free men and women. The most important component of freedom for them was to move from being dependents and subordinates in white households to becoming economically and culturally independent householders. In his study of blacks in Providence, Rhode Island, *The Afro-Yankees: Providence's Black Community in the Antebellum Era* (1982), historian Robert Cottrol concludes that householders "had to make decisions for their families on such matters as the education of their children, the religious environment of their families, and how to protect their families in an increasingly hostile society." The formation of households in an environment that was hostile to the economic, cultural, and political ambitions of blacks called for a variety of institutions to sustain and support the ideal as well as the reality.

The founding of the independent black religious denominations was pivotal in the development of the free black community. The early history of the independent black church begins in Philadelphia. The principals in the first act of that history were two men of similar background and vision—Richard Allen and Absalom Jones. Both men purchased their freedom before the general emancipation in Pennsylvania, educated themselves, and became property holders. Allen, after converting to Methodism, traveled with white preachers in Maryland, New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania as an exhorter.

Like most Northern free blacks, Allen and Jones worshiped at a white church, St. George's Methodist Episcopal. In 1787, their church instituted the Southern policy on rear balcony seating for blacks. In part, the segregation policy was a reaction to an increase in the black membership through Jones and Allen's evangelical activities in the black community. Jones, Allen, and other black parishioners were forcibly evicted from their seats and forced to sit in the balcony. They withdrew from the church and formed the African Free Society.

The African Free Society was a mutual aid society that collected dues and dispensed benefits for its sick members, widows, and dependent children. Blacks throughout the North created similar societies to establish and protect their economic standing. Predating the Philadelphia group was the Free African Union Society of Newport, Rhode Island, which was founded in 1780. The African Benevolent Society was founded in that same city in 1807, and a satellite unit of the Free African Union Society was founded in Providence in 1789. In 1796, the Free African Society of Boston was founded. Although by nature ephemeral and short-lived, mutual aid societies became a constant part of the life of free blacks in the North.

At the core of the Free African Society and the various other mutual aid societies was a vision of the necessary characteristics that Afro-Americans needed to cultivate in order to prosper socially, economically, and politically. The men and women who developed the society tried to preserve, support, and ultimately reproduce themselves and their accomplishments. They were classically self-made men and women, and their institutions embodied the goal of "racial elevation," which they saw in their lives. The preamble of the Free African Society's constitution is more than anything else a statement of an achieved identity. It declared: "Whereas, Absalom Jones and Richard Allen, two men of the African race, who, for their religious life and conversations, have obtained a good report among men, these persons for a love of the people of their own complexion whom they beheld with sorrow, because of their irreligious and uncivilized state, often communed together upon this painful and important subject in order to form some kind of religious body; . . . till it was proposed after a serious communication of sentiments that a society should be formed without regard to religious tenants [sic], provided the persons live an orderly and sober life, in order to support one another in sickness, and for the benefits of their widows and fatherless children." The society sought to promote education, thrift, industry, marital fidelity, and temperance. These values were written into their constitution, and loss of benefits and membership was the punishment for straying outside the strictures of behavior. In addition, as the society grew, a committee was appointed to "visit the members and give such advice as may appear necessary." As the antebellum period progressed, the personal qualities called for by the society would become the official standards of the free black community. In the society's structure were the seeds of the independent black church, literacy societies, temperance societies, and other organizations that would promote and sustain official standards.

The Free African Society of Philadelphia began holding Sunday services and organized the African Church in 1791. In 1794, the society raised the funds for and built St. Thomas African Episcopal Church. The church, under the leadership of Jones, was accepted by the Episcopalian denomination in that same year. Jones became the first black Episcopalian priest in 1804. Allen, however, remained faithful to the Methodist doctrine and established Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1794. He became a deacon and was ordained in 1799. African Methodist Episcopal (AME) churches were established in other Northern cities, and in 1816, the various independent churches met and established a denomination with Allen as its first bishop. Despite the different denominational affiliations, Jones and Allen remained friends and worked together in many common endeavors. They shared the same broad goals and methods; under their guidance, the activities of St. Thomas and Bethel AME were mirror images of each other. At St. Thomas, Jones founded the Female Benevolent Society, the African Friendly Society, and a school. In 1795, Allen opened a school, and in 1804, he organized the Society of Free People of Color for Promoting the Instruction and School Education of Children of African Descent. Together Jones and Allen petitioned both the Pennsylvania and the United

States Congress for the abolition of slavery, provided leadership for the Philadelphia lodge of black Masons, and founded the Society for the Suppression of Vice and Immorality.

In similar ways, other all-black denominations were founded. In 1796, James Varick led a group of New York blacks in the establishment of Zion Church, which became one of the founders of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion denomination in 1822 with Varick as its first bishop. Baptist churches also began to make an appearance in the North. In 1805, the Jay Street Baptist Church was founded in Boston; in 1808, the Abyssinian Baptist Church was founded in New York; and in 1810, the First African Baptist Church was founded in Philadelphia. By 1840, there were 300 independent black congregations in the North. These churches existed in almost every major Northern city, and equally important, denominations had been established that tied the black churches together into regional units. Local leadership had developed, as had national leaders with strong local bases. The black community under these leaders began to establish a degree of political, social, economic, and cultural autonomy.

Although the church was the most successful and most permanent of the institutions built by free blacks, second in importance was the establishment of schools. The establishment of schools did not proceed with the directness of the establishment of independent black churches. Each political jurisdiction had differing ideas about the education of blacks. Some made no provisions for black education, others had an integrated school system, while still others provided for a segregated school system. Where education was lacking or deficient, blacks tried through various institutions to create independent black schools. At the simplest level, churches established Sunday schools and Bible classes. By the 1830s, blacks in all of the major cities supported schools, and Philadelphia had ten such institutions. In 1844, the African Methodist Episcopal Church Ohio Conference took the first step toward founding a theological seminary. Union Seminary was opened in 1847 and paralleled the activities of white Methodists of that state to found a college for blacks. The institution they founded was named after the British abolitionist William Wilberforce and opened in 1856. During the Civil War, the Methodist Episcopal church purchased Wilberforce and merged it with their Union Seminary, thereby creating the oldest of the historically black colleges.

In the 1830s, two new types of organizations arose: literary societies and temperance societies. Early in the 1830s, blacks made a concerted effort to establish literary societies. Blacks found themselves denied access to white forums for the discussion of ideas and to white reading rooms; the literary societies tried to ensure that free blacks would not be denied these avenues to self-culture. In her survey of antebellum black literary societies, *Early Negro Writing, 1760–1837* (1971), Dorothy Porter lists eleven in Pennsylvania; sixteen in New York State; six in Massachusetts; three in the District of Columbia; two each in Rhode Island, Ohio, and Maryland; and one each in Connecticut, Michigan, and New Jersey. Most met at regular intervals to discuss books, to read, and to discuss original works by their members. They also sponsored libraries. In a similar fashion, temperance and total abstinence societies grew throughout the 1830s and 1840s. Aimed at both the old and the young, these societies elicited pledges of total abstinence, lectured on the evils of drink, and encouraged blacks to spend their money in more profitable areas.

By the 1830s, the main lines through which blacks wished to develop their communities were established. The free blacks of the North found, in the prevailing ethos of the nation, forms and frames of reference that were meaningful to them. They adopted these frames of reference to their own condition, and through a variety of organizations made them suitable vehicles for their own elevation. The church, mutual aid societies, educational institutions, temperance societies, and literary societies formed an interrelated network of organizations that aimed at racial elevation. Many of these institutions worked together and shared membership. In particular, the church encouraged and housed a number of other organizations.

Much of the effort of free blacks was spent looking inward, establishing a distance between themselves and the condition of blacks in slavery, and defining the nature of being for free men and women. Free blacks borrowed liberally and, indeed, self-consciously from Anglo-American culture. At the core of their personal identities and the culture they were forming for themselves was the prevailing nineteenth-century notion of character. If in the formative period of the free black community, there was an emphasis on self-mastery, the other side of the notion of character—the presentation of the self to society and the interrelationship between the social and the moral—was ever present. Indeed, the presentation of their achieved identity as free men and women was central to their political stances.

Shaping a Political Vision

Free blacks of the North sought to achieve a personal and public identity that could not be realized while slavery existed in the South or racial discrimination existed in the North. Their quest to define themselves as free men and women had to entail a struggle against slavery. Beginning with tentative pleas to the consciences of men and women of goodwill and ending with strident outcries in voices that presumed a moral authority, free blacks protested the slave trade, slavery, and racial discrimination in free states. Drawing heavily on the ideal of a universal brotherhood of man under God, and the mixed secular-sacred language of the Declaration of Independence, they launched an ever-increasing attack on racial discrimination in the North and slavery in the South. Racial elevation, as they developed the notion, was a dual project that called for the development of character within the race and the recognition of civil liberty by American society. So completely interwoven were these twin aspects of the same project that each was conceived and described in terms of the other. Almost always including a statement of their achieved identity in their numerous petitions, memorials, articles, and speeches, they argued their accomplishments in liberty as living proof of the unreasonableness and immorality of racial distinctions in civil and economic matters. In doing so, free blacks gradually established themselves as the national spokesmen for the interests of slaves and became significant theorists, actors, and voices in the abolitionist movement.

In 1792, Benjamin Banneker, a free black who had achieved international distinction as a mathematician and astronomer, wrote Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson. Within his letter are the main lines of the argument that the free blacks used against slavery. He said: "I freely and cheerfully acknowledge that I am of the African race, and in that color which is natural to them of the deepest dye; and it is under a sense of the most profound gratitude to the supreme Ruler of the Universe that I now confess to you that I am not under that state of tyrannical thralldom and inhuman captivity to which too many of my brethren are doomed, but that I have abundantly tasted of the fruition of those blessings, which proceed from that free and unequalled liberty with which you will willingly allow you have mercifully received from the immediate hand of that Being from whom proceedeth every good and perfect Gift." As proof of these blessings that liberty conferred on men, Banneker offered his own almanac, the first of six derived from his astronomical calculations. Reminding Jefferson of America's won struggle for liberty, he suggested that "it is the indispensable duty of those who maintain for themselves the rights of nature, and who profess the obligations of Christianity, to extend their power and influence to the relief of every part of the human race," according to historian Sidney Kaplan in his *Black Presence in the Era of the American Revolution* (1989).

In 1817, the establishment of the American Society for the Colonizing the Free People of Color of the United States, popularly known as the American Colonization Society, presented the free black population with a strong challenge to their goals for themselves and for the country. Through the American Colonization Society, distinguished white Northerners and Southerners united around deportation to Africa as the solution to the problems of free blacks and part of the ultimate solution to the problem of slavery. The Colonization Society quickly brought together the antislavery elements of American society with slaveholders and established a national consensus around deportation. Under the society, antislavery became almost synonymous with colonization. The prestige of its membership and the resources at its command threatened to drown out the emerging voice of free blacks as spokesmen for their own interests.

Emigration to Africa was neither a new idea to blacks nor one that they were opposed to under all circumstances. In 1783, the mutual aid societies of Boston, Newport, Providence, and Philadelphia corresponded with one another to discuss the idea of emigrating to Africa. In 1815, Paul Cuffe, a wealthy black sea captain in Westport, Massachusetts, used his own resources to take thirty-eight black settlers to the British colony of Sierra Leone. Free blacks, however, envisioned emigration in quite a different way from the members of the Colonization Society. For free blacks, emigration was to be selective and missionary in nature. Just as they sought to replicate themselves in America, they felt it was their duty and obligation to play a role in the elevation of Africa by evangelizing, promoting education, encouraging modern approaches to cultivation, and spurring commerce. The formation of the American Colonization Society virtually ended discussion on emigration in the black community for two decades. The colonization idea challenged the basic tenets of the identity that free blacks were building for themselves, the universality of humankind under God and the American Constitution. This appellation "African" ceased to be used in the titles of new black organizations. Henceforth,

free blacks would look at themselves and describe themselves as Americans. Equally important, they would bend their resources toward establishing themselves as the legitimate voice for their race in America and sometimes in Africa.

Although the Colonization Society had some black supporters, the majority of free blacks were swift and clear about their rejection of colonization. Almost immediately following the formation of the society, a rally at Bethel AME Church in Pennsylvania, attended by over 3,000, declared the collective opposition of free blacks to colonization. At a second rally, James Forten, a wealthy sailmaker and influential leader of Philadelphia's black community, declared: "Relieved from the miseries of slavery, many of us by your aid possessing the benefits which industry and integrity in this prosperous country assures to all its inhabitants, enjoying the rich blessings of religion, by opportunities of worshipping the only true God, under the light of Christianity, each of us according to his understanding; and having afforded to us and our children the means of education and improvement; we have no wish to separate from our present home." Forten made clear the opposition of free blacks to colonization. He also denied that the expatriation of slaves would be of benefit either to the slave or to Africa. As noted by Porter, he felt that a community of freed slaves "without arts, without habits of industry, and unaccustomed to provide by their won exertions and foresight for their wants, the colony will soon become the abode of every vice, and the home of every misery." Forten further argued that the deportation of free blacks would strengthen slavery, not weaken it.

One of the most effective responses to the Colonization Society was the development of the black press. Although by the 1820s blacks were well organized on the local level, they had not created a means of systematic national communication. In 1827, John B. Russwurm and Samuel E. Cornish founded the first black periodical, *Freedom's Journal*, which Russwurm renamed and edited alone under the title *The Rights of All* until its demise in 1830. The *Journal* was above all anticolonization, but it also drew portraits of famous blacks in history, defended the character and the intellectual and cultural capabilities of blacks, and championed immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery. James Forten, Richard Allen, and abolitionist David Walker were among its contributors.

Other periodicals followed the demise of *The Rights of All.* Cornish himself founded the second national periodical, *The Weekly Advocate* (1837–1842), which was renamed *Colored American*. The AME church established three periodicals in this period: the *African Methodist Episcopal Church Magazine* (1841–1848), which was largely devoted to denominational news; the *Christian Herald* (1857–), which is still published in the twenty-first century as the *Christian Recorder;* and the *Repository of Religion and Literature and of Science and Art* (1858–1864), a general interest magazine. Perhaps the best known and the longest lived of the antebellum black journals was *The North Star*, edited by Frederick Douglass. First published in 1847 and rechristened *Frederick Douglass's Paper* in 1851, it remained in publication until 1860. Also of particular note was the *Anglo-African Magazine* (1859), which distinguished itself by the fame and caliber of its contributors. The goal of a consistent national black press was never reached, but after 1838 a periodical edited by a black was almost always available.

Along with the desire to create a national press, free blacks wanted to create a secular national organization. Samuel Cornish in *Freedom's Journal* called for a national convention of free blacks. The first national convention of free blacks met in 1830. Although it was the first secular institution to attempt to achieve national status, its origins were rooted in the black churches and in Philadelphia. The first convention was held at Bethel AME Church in Philadelphia and was presided over by Bishop Allen. For the next five years conventions were held annually, all but one of them hosted by Philadelphia's blacks. The activities of the conventions of the 1830s were decidedly inward looking and focused on the elevation of free blacks. Many of the delegates to these first conventions had come of age in the period of the Revolutionary War and were shaped by their earlier organizational activities; they were in may ways trying to reconstruct on a national scale the early free African societies.

One of the primary aims of the convention was to discredit the idea of colonization among white antislavery advocates, but in the initial three years the delegates also voted to support the efforts of Cincinnati blacks to emigrate to Canada. Second, there was a plan for the establishment of a black college of manual labor in New Haven, Connecticut. The delegates made ambitious plans for an "American Society of Free Persons of Colour, for Improving their Condition in the United States; for Purchasing Lands; and for the Establishing of a Settlement in Upper Canada." They stressed the official virtues of temperance, education, and economic development. In the 1831 convention, the Committee on the Convention of the Free People of Colour said: "Education, Temperance, and

THE BLACK FREE PRESS 1837

In the early nineteenth century, African Americans contended that the right to a free press should not be limited to white Americans but should extend to blacks as well. In 1837, Samuel Cornish founded The Weekly Advocate *as a means to advance this cause. The following is an editorial to the readers, justifying the newspaper's founding.*

The addition of another Paper to the list of those already before the Public, may be, and is probably considered by some persons of common observations and superficial reflection, as unnecessary and uncalled for; but numerous, however, as we freely allow them to be, it is believed by many of our people, that there is still a vacancy to be supplied, a chain to be filled up; and that there is NOW a clear opening for one of a different character, which shall be devoted to the moral improvement and amelioration of our race. After the most mature deliberation we have commenced the noble enterprise. Our paper, thought somewhat small in size, will be found valuable in contents. The advantages of the present undertaking are not to be estimated by words, they are incalculable. If the Press, a "FREE PRESS," be a foe to the tyrant—if its blessings be so great and innumerable; the Question naturally presents itself, why do we not have one of our own? We now have a Press and Paper under our own entire control and we call upon our friends, one and all, to come forward and assist us in this work and labor of love, and share in the consequent blessings thereof. Are there not hundreds among you, who will welcome the Advocate as a Friendly Visitor?—Philanthropists! Shall we have LIGHT, clear and irresistible Light on all the important topics of the day, or shall we live and expire in the gloom of ignorance, with the lights of science shining around us.

The *Advocate* will be like a chain, binding you together as ONE. Its columns will always be the organ of your wishes and feelings, and the proper medium for laying your claims before the Public. What then, in the name of common sense, is wanted to enable us to GO FORWARD, in the successful prosecution of this new enterprise?—Judging from numbers, we are abundantly able. O how often have we been insulted and degraded, and how frequently do we feel the want of an ADVOCATE among us! Those of us who shall be instrumental in establishing such a paper, will reap a rich reward in their own bosoms—not in silver and gold—but in the intelligence and improvement of our race in intellectual knowledge and refinement. And when time has consigned us to our honored graves, the good we have done will live after us. Future generations will partake largely and freely of the fruits of the tree planted by our bounty, rise up and call us blessed. . . .

We need scarcely say, we are opposed to *Colonization.* It matters not to us what features it may assume whether It presents in the garb of philanthropy, or assumes the mild and benign countenance of Christianity, or comes with the selfish aspect of Politics; we will believe, assert and maintain (So help us God!) that we are opposed to the exclusive emigration and colonization of the People of Color of these United States. We hold ourselves ready, at all times to combat with opposite views, and defend these our principles to the last! In regard to TEMPERANCE, we go the whole in this good cause. But our motto is *Temperance in all things.* We shall advocate Universal Suffrages and Universal Education, and we shall oppose all Monopolies, which oppress the poor and laboring classes of society. . . .

We need not say that our entire dependence for support is upon the colored portion of this great community, when we tell them that the ADVOCATE is their paper, in every sense of the word—that it will advocate their just claims and rights—sustain them in every proper appeal to manly generosity and justice. And as the cause of IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION is based on incontrovertible right, we shall at all times, take it up with resolution, and defend it with firmness. We trust we possess sufficient moral courage to assert THE TRUTH and maintain it at all hazards. We shall neither be frightened nor coaxed from our duty. The empty threats of the oppressor we despise. We shall, however, always point out that course to the friendless and unprotected, which will bring *happiness* to the mind, and will give such advice as will prove useful to all in the wearisome journey of human life.

The people of color have often said among themselves. We want an Advocate of our own—devoted particularly to our own interests—conducted by ourselves, devoted to our moral, mental and political improvement, containing the news of the day, and a variety of scientific and literary matter; and ONE in which we can make known our various and respective occupations in life, through the medium of advertising. To such we say, Look here! Today you have spread before your eyes the desideratum you have so long, and ardently prayed for.

Source: The Weekly Advocate, New York, January 7, 1837.

Economy, are best calculated to promote the elevation of mankind to a proper rank and standing among men, as they enable him to discharge all those duties enjoined on him by his Creator. We would therefore respectfully request an early attention to those virtues among our brethren, who have a desire to be useful."

Until the 1830s, the trend among blacks was to create independent organizations. Perhaps the original impetus to separation was discrimination in, and exclusion from, white institutions, but the institutions of free blacks clearly gave them an independence that they came to regard as inherently valuable. The emergence of the militant abolitionist movement among whites created an important point of convergence between independent black institutions and white organizations. William Lloyd Garrison was one of the benefactors of the infrastructure of the black community. It provided him with his crucial early support and encouragement. For the first four years of the publication of *The Liberator,* blacks were three quarters of the subscribers, and Garrison's pivotal journey to England to gather the support of the British antislavery movement was largely underwritten by blacks. The New England Anti-Slavery Society was founded in the schoolroom of the African Baptist Church in Boston, and much of the planning for the American Anti-Slavery Society took place at the home of James Forten in Philadelphia.

The early support given by free blacks was essential for Garrison's development from a lonely voice into the voice of American antislavery. They supported him with such enthusiasm because he was the first prominent white to espouse the black view on slavery. Garrison championed immediate abolition, uncompensated emancipation, and equality for free blacks. His full entry into the fold came in 1832 with the publication of his *Thoughts on African Colonization* in which he cited black opposition to the Colonization Society as a primary reason against it. In later years, blacks would claim a prominent role in converting Garrison away from the colonization solution.

Where the Colonization Society competed with the blacks for authority, the post-1830s abolitionist crusade sought part of its authority from blacks. They became central in the new abolitionist crusade. Free blacks gave eloquent testimony to the genius of liberty, and the former slaves bore shocking witness to the brutality of slavery. Charles Lenox Remond, a free man, was one of the first blacks appointed as a lecturer on the abolitionist circuit. Remond was joined by others, most notably the fugitive slave William Wells Brown and Frederick Douglass. The fugitives from the plantation added another dimension to the crusade through their published autobiographies. Many were written by the fugitives themselves, which doubly struck at the arguments of black inferiority used to justify slavery.

The rise of militant abolitionism supplemented, but did not supplant, black-led institutions; in fact, it perhaps encouraged the growth of these organizations. The National Negro Conventions expanded their reach by establishing state-affiliated organizations. The conventions that met in the 1840s and 1850s did so in a different atmosphere and under new leadership. Many of the older leaders died or were in declining health: Allen died in 1831; Forten's health declined in the late 1830s, and he died in 1842. Escaped slaves like Frederick Douglass and William Wells Brown, whose base of influence was the abolitionist movement, not traditional black institutions, came to national prominence on the lecture circuit. They joined with traditional black leaders, who were becoming increasingly militant, in focusing the efforts of free blacks outward. A decade of militant abolitionism had placed the issues of slavery and the role of free blacks at the center of national attention. The conventions of the 1840s, therefore, were decidedly more political.

As time progressed, the abolitionist movement was failing to live up to the hopes that blacks had for it. Blacks found that their white co-workers in the struggle to end slavery were not untainted by the habits of racism and paternalism. In the 1840s, the movement itself split between the moral suasionist led by William Lloyd Garrison and the political pragmatist led by Garrett Smith. Debate on central goals and tactics spread to the conventions, where blacks debated encouraging slaves in the South to revolt. After the black community had successfully shifted the abolitionist movement away from the path of colonization, it reopened the debate on emigration.

Where consensus and the development of culture were essential to the first convention, the conventions of the 1840s took their existence within their community for granted. Despite the significant issues that divided black leadership in the 1840s and 1850s, the cultural ideals that were established prior to the 1830s held sway. Education, for example, was a consistent focus for all conventions. In the 1830s, the conventions made plans to create a manual arts college in New Haven, Connecticut. The conventions of 1847 and

1853 would also support similar plans. Among those who proposed emigration, the vision of civilizing Africa, or making Africans like themselves, still held sway and was the key to the reestablishment of African greatness. Garnett's address to the slaves encouraging violent resistance was so steeped in the ideas of the universal need of man to be free that at times it seemed to condemn slaves for their submission to bondage.

The decade of the 1850s was indeed a difficult one for free blacks. The abolitionist movement was disappointing, and the fruits of militant abolitionism were few, scattered, and sometimes bitter. As the issue of slavery became part of a national debate, the instinct of most Americans was to compromise. The decade was inaugurated with the Compromise of 1850, which once again tried to find a *modus vivendi* between the diverging interests of the North and South. That compromise, however, contained a Fugitive Slave Act, which endangered not only runaway slaves but many prominent abolitionists and free blacks as well. The U.S. Supreme Court's *Dred Scott* decision of 1857 undercut constitutional efforts to give blacks citizenship. Some blacks reacted with increasing militancy, and a handful joined John Brown's assault on Harpers Ferry. Others tried violence in the North to block the return of fugitive slaves, and still others looked toward Africa or the Caribbean as a home.

From the vantage point of the late 1850s, free blacks had reason to despair. Viewed by objective standards, many of the organizations they founded were feeble and others were short-lived. Only the black church maintained a stable and consistent presence. Yet, at the same time, many of the larger goals of the institutions were reached. Free blacks had developed a broad consensus around thrift, industry, temperance, and Christian piety as internal measures of character. If not all possessed or even aspired to these "virtues," these characteristics were the official goals of the leaders of the free black community. Free blacks had also established a history of their own transformation in adversity from slaves to free men and women. That history served up its own institutions and representative men and women as examples and models for themselves and their progeny. Equally important, free blacks had achieved an independent voice in American politics. Despite the divisions of basic political goals on the eve of the Civil War, free blacks had become a culturally unified community with internally determined values, visions, and goals, and with models for achieving those goals.

Conclusion

The Civil War, emancipation, and the enlistment of black soldiers healed many of the divisions of the 1850s and reaffirmed the main lines of the dual project of freedom developed by free blacks. In the Civil War, blacks prepared as soldiers against slavery, as missionaries to the emancipated slaves, and as spokesmen for the next phase of their struggle, the replication of their history in the South.

On October 4, 1864, the last of the National Conventions of Colored Men convened in Syracuse, New York. In addition to delegates from Northern states, delegates attended from Virginia, North Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, Tennessee, Missouri, and Mississippi. In accepting election to the presidency of the Convention, Frederick Douglass declared "... nowhere, in the wide, wide world, can men be found coupled with a cause of greater dignity and importance than that which brings us here. We are here to promote the freedom, progress, elevation, and perfect enfranchisement, of the entire colored people of the United States; to show that, though slaves, we are not contented slaves, but that like all other progressive races of men, we are resolved to advance in the scale of knowledge, worth, and civilization, and claim our rights as men among men." The convention's business took place in front of the battle flag of the First Louisiana Colored Troops. Each evening session was reserved for oration. Perhaps P.B. Randolph of New York echoed the majority sentiment in declaring:

> we are here to prove our right to manhood and justice, to maintain these rights not by force of more appeal, not by loud threats, not by battle-axe and sabre, but by the divine rights of brains, of will, of true patriotism, of manhood, of womanhood, of all that is great and noble and worth striving for in human character. We are here to ring the bells at the door of the world: proclaiming to the nations, to the white man in his palace, the slave in his hut, kings on their throne, and to the whole broad universe, that WE ARE COMING UP.

The convention looked to the future: it founded the National Equal Rights League whose purpose was "to encourage sound morality education, temperance, frugality, industry and promote every thing that pertains to a well-ordered and dignified life; to obtain by appeals to the minds and conscience of the American people, or by legal process when possible, a recogni-

tion of the rights of the colored people of the nation as American citizens."

George P. Cunningham

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Antislavery Resistance: An Overview

Slavery was America's paradox, for while white citizens increasingly enjoyed an unprecedented level of individual liberty and social equality African Americans were treated as chattel. The enslavement of one group of people made little sense in a nation that proclaimed, "all men are created equal," and when the rhetoric of the Enlightenment ideals of the inherent rights of men and individual liberty crossed the Atlantic Ocean in the second half of the eighteenth century, the walls supporting the institution of slavery began to come down.

In the two decades after the American Revolution, every Northern state legislature took steps to abolish slavery; but in the South, with the invention of the cotton gin and the rise of "King Cotton," the value of slave labor to the region's economy and culture increased. Here, as in other slave societies throughout the Western Hemisphere, emancipation would come neither quickly nor easily. Consequently, a movement developed among both free and enslaved Americans in the first half of the nineteenth century to destroy the South's "peculiar" institution. Like other reform movements inspired by the evangelical Protestant revivals of the 1820s, the crusade to abolish slavery aimed to remake America into a more perfect and Christian nation; but unlike the others, this one reached its stated objective.

The Movement to Abolish Slavery

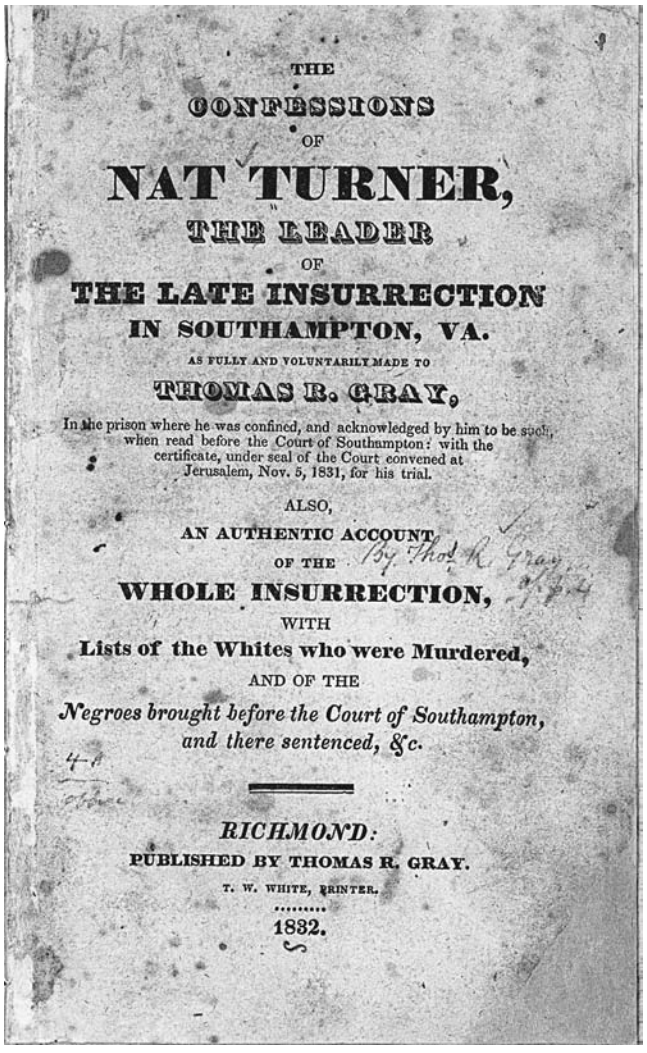
A number of important historical events served as catalysts to the organized movement to abolish slavery in the United States. First, in 1829 a free black clothier in Boston published the most incendiary piece of antislavery literature ever written by an American. Known as the *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World*, David Walker's written attack on slavery and the failure of the American dream shocked readers, for Walker not only charged Northerners with complicity in perpetuating the inhumane institution, but criticized Southern slaves for refusing to rise up and slaughter their masters.

Second, on January 1, 1831, also in Boston, William Lloyd Garrison, a young, controversial, and intensely religious newspaper editor, began publishing an antislavery newspaper called the *Liberator*. Writers and editors had written in opposition to slavery in American newspapers before, but the *Liberator* was different, for according to its creator its goal was to bring about the abolition of slavery *immediately*. In language reminiscent of Walker's *Appeal*, Garrison insisted that the time to solve the problem of slavery had arrived, and Northerners would play an important role.

Third and lastly, just months after the *Liberator* first appeared, the bloodiest slave insurrection in American history took place in Southampton, Virginia, on August 21, 1831, when Nat Turner, a spiritually and intellectually transcendent field slave, led more than sixty slaves across the plantations of Southampton County, Virginia, killing fifty-seven whites. Turner's revolt horrified white Southerners, convincing many of an imminent racial apocalypse, but it had a much different impact on white Northerners, who interpreted it as a divine sign that an oppressed people were seeking and in need of deliverance. For this, some were ready to answer the call.

The American Anti-Slavery Society

In December 1833, Garrison founded the American Anti-Slavery Society, and within five years, more than 1,000 local societies with 250,000 members had organized under the national group. For the next three decades, these societies would serve as the organizational framework on which the movement to abolish slavery rested. Through formal and informal networks of communication, they provided a vehicle for individual Americans to change society collectively, and their diversity testifies to their widespread ap-


THE
CONFESSIONS
OF
NAT TURNER,
THE LEADER
OF
THE LATE INSURRECTION
IN SOUTHAMPTON, VA.
AS FULLY AND VOLUNTARILY MADE TO
THOMAS R. GRAY,
In the prison where he was confined, and acknowledged by him to be such, when read before the Court of Southampton: with the certificate, under seal of the Court convened at Jerusalem, Nov. 5, 1831, for his trial.
ALSO,
AN AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT
OF THE
WHOLE INSURRECTION,
WITH
Lists of the Whites who were Murdered,
AND OF THE
Negroes brought before the Court of Southampton, and there sentenced, &c.
RICHMOND:
PUBLISHED BY THOMAS R. GRAY.
T. W. WHITE, PRINTER.
1832.

Nat Turner was a Virginia slave and leader of an insurrection of nearly eighty slaves that left approximately sixty whites dead in August 1831 in Southampton County, Virginia. *The Confessions of Nat Turner* is an account of the uprising, countered by the killing of about 100 blacks by white vigilantes. *(Library of Congress)*

peal: some societies were all-male; others were all-female; some were racially integrated; others were racially segregated; some were short-lived; others lasted for decades. Despite this diversity, these disparate and at times distant groups shared much in common. Members were committed social reformers who demonstrated great courage when they paid a membership fee of anywhere from twenty-five cents to one dollar and took part in initiation rites, for by joining an antislavery society they sided with an unpopular cause.

It is estimated that no more than 1 percent of Americans were abolitionists at one time; thus, the members of antislavery societies took great risks when they took a stand on slavery. They faced personal and social ostracism and became vulnerable to verbal and physical attacks. There were also financial risks, for few had time or money to spare. Although some organization members earned a living working for these societies as writers, lecturers, and administrators, typical members volunteered their time. Members were businessmen, manufacturers, and lawyers. They were also wives, schoolteachers, and artisans.

The American Anti-Slavery Society took the lead in recruiting members, hiring and training traveling lecturers, funding the publication and distribution of antislavery literature, and hosting annual conventions. In short, they organized the work of the local societies, which formed after a group of people established an organizing committee, drafted a Constitution, elected officers, and then contacted peer agencies for guidance and assistance. The men and women of antislavery societies considered slavery a sin, and they set out to convince others. To do this they needed money, so fundraising became a central concern. Wealthy businessmen like Arthur and Lewis Tappan donated large sums of money; nonetheless, abolitionism remained largely a grassroots movement. Under the leadership of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, and Susan B. Anthony, women especially played an essential fundraising role. They formed sewing circles and "cent-a-week" societies, and hosted antislavery fairs and bazaars to raise funds that went not only to supporting society functions, but were forwarded directly to fugitive slaves and free black communities in the North and Canada, to provide food, clothing, education, and shelter.

Rising Opposition to Slavery

Antislavery lectures formed the nucleus of society life and were held wherever an audience could gather: outdoors, in schools, halls, clubs, and private homes. The emotion speakers exhibited and evoked from audience members at these events reminded observers of the religious revivals that had swept parts of the Northeastern and Midwestern United States as part of the Second Great Awakening. But antislavery lectures were also part of the nineteenth-century lyceum movement in which rhetorical addresses became public spectacles of erudition, discourse, and debate, making political and cultural icons of gifted orators like Frederick Douglass, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Wendell Phillips, Henry David Thoreau, and Daniel Webster.

Hosting such events was difficult in an era with-

out reliable communication and transportation, and over time the difficulties inherent to booking speakers, advertising, renting halls, and pricing and printing tickets wore on devout reformers; yet members considered themselves part of an imagined moral community, forging a collective identity that in times of frustration and despair provided sustenance.

In addition to holding meetings and sponsoring lectures, antislavery societies relied on a number of tactics to convince others of the sin of slavery. In the Great Postal Campaign of 1835, more than 1 million pieces of antislavery literature were distributed throughout the United States. Signed petitions were also forwarded to the United States Congress and state legislatures, requesting such things as the abolition of the internal slave trade and the limiting of slavery's expansion into Western territories. Petition drives are symbolic for their grassroots nature, with women taking the lead in traveling door-to-door, often miles at a time to obtain signatures. In one year alone, 415,000 signatures on antislavery petitions were forwarded to Washington, and within two years there were more than 2 million. In spite of these successes, the peaceful movement of moral suasion was short-lived. Southerners destroyed antislavery mail and convinced Congress to institute a Gag Rule in 1836, thus tabling all abolitionist petitions. Increasingly, antislavery lecturers and audience members risked their lives when they attended a public event. In Boston, Garrison was pulled off a stage and dragged down the street with a noose around his neck, and in Illinois, Elijah Lovejoy, the editor of an antislavery newspaper was shot to death by a rabid pro-slavery mob.

Abolitionists, many of whom had learned about the evils of slavery as youngsters on their parents' knees, underestimated the difficulty of moral suasion in converting others. New tactics were required. In 1840, prominent abolitionists who disagreed with some of Garrison's radical ideas, among them his refusal to embrace the American political system and his advocacy of women's rights, bolted the American Anti-Slavery Society and formed the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. That same year they organized the Liberty Party, the first political party in the United States expressly devoted to the abolition of slavery. The party ran James G. Birney for president in 1840, but he received only 7,000 votes. Abolitionism was faltering

Nevertheless, committed reformers—especially free blacks—refused to give up. Feelings of racial solidarity motivated these men and women to maintain the struggle. Many had been slaves themselves and were in constant danger of being reenslaved, and most had loved ones still in bondage. Although they were in general less economically positioned to fight slavery than white abolitionists, free black abolitionists led by Samuel Cornish, Martin Delany, Frederick Douglass, James McCune Smith, and John B. Vashon, worked as lecturers, writers, newspaper editors, and agents, and established and attended national Negro Conventions in order to keep slavery on the national agenda. Slaves, who continually demonstrated a willingness to fight and even die for liberty, convinced them that their efforts were not in vain.

Slaves had always resisted, and whether taking part in day-to-day acts of resistance, running away, or revolting, they responded to a higher law when seeking liberty. White masters and local officials did not easily detect the most common acts of defiance. Slaves broke tools, feigned sickness, slipped poison into the owners' drinks, and burned buildings to the ground. These actions occurred without warning, and at times, the most plaintive and acquiescent slave was culpable; for Southern whites, they were both unpredictable and unstoppable.

Slaves also ran away. In the Upper South, they ran away from farms and plantations in search of either the Mason–Dixon line or the Ohio River—important geographic thresholds separating free from slave soil. In the Lower South, fugitives sought heavily populated seaports like New Orleans or Charleston, or absconded to hard-to-reach forests, mountains, and swamps where they lived on the largess of other fugitives as well as the crops and livestock of local communities. The most well-known group of American fugitive slaves were those who joined with militant Creek Indians and together, known as the Runaway, or Seminole Indians, fought a series of brutal wars with the United States government.

Violent resistance was uncommon for American slaves, for in a region where they were outnumbered, unarmed, and under constant surveillance, such methods were tantamount to suicide. Nonetheless, throughout the nineteenth century, slaves acting alone and in groups resorted to violence in an effort to be free. Two instances of violent slave resistance in particular kept the spirit of abolitionism alive in the 1840s. In July 1839, captives on a Spanish slave ship named the *Amistad* revolted against the white crew and murdered the captain. The *Amistad* eventually sailed into New York outside of Long Island where the United States Navy apprehended its black passengers and then delivered them to Connecticut for trial.

LUCRETIA COFFIN MOTT (1793–1880)

Born on January 3, 1793, in Nantucket, Massachusetts, Lucretia Coffin grew up in Boston, where she attended public school for two years in accordance with her father's wish that she become familiar with the workings of democratic principles. A Quaker, she studied and taught at a Friends school near Poughkeepsie, New York. It was then that her interest in women's rights began. She was paid only half the salary male teachers were receiving simply because of her gender. In 1811, she married James Mott, a fellow teacher from the school, and the couple moved to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

After 1818, Lucretia Mott became known as a lecturer for temperance, peace, the rights of labor, and the abolition of slavery. In 1821, she was accepted as a minister of the Friends and joined the Hicksite (Liberal) branch of the Society when a rift occurred in the 1820s. She aided fugitive slaves, and following the initial meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833, she organized the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society. She met opposition within the Society of Friends when she spoke of abolition, and attempts were made to strip Mott of her ministry and membership. In 1837, she helped organize the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women, and in May 1838 her home was almost attacked by a mob after the burning of Pennsylvania Hall, Philadelphia, where the convention had been meeting.

Refusal by the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London (1840) to recognize women delegates led Mott to champion the cause of women's rights. Mott still managed to make her views known. While there, she met Elizabeth Cady Stanton and became a mentor to the younger activist. In 1848, taking up the cause of women's rights, she and Stanton called a convention at Seneca Falls, New York, the first of its kind, "to discuss the social, civil, and religious rights of women." The Woman's Rights Convention issued a "Declaration of Sentiments" modeled on the Declaration of Independence; it stated that "all men and women are created equal." From that time Mott devoted most of her attention to the women's rights movement.

Mott wrote articles ("Discourse on Woman" appeared in 1850), lectured widely, was elected president of the 1852 convention at Syracuse, New York, and attended almost every annual meeting thereafter. At the organizing meeting of the American Equal Rights Association in 1866, she was chosen president. The following year she joined Robert Dale Owen, Rabbi Isaac M. Wise, and others in the organization of the Free Religious Association.

After passage of the Fugitive Slave Law in 1850, Mott and her husband had also opened their home to runaway slaves escaping via the Underground Railroad. After the Civil War, she worked to secure the franchise and educational opportunities for freedmen; she continued to be active in the causes of women's rights, peace, and liberal religion until her death. Mott died on November 11, 1880, in her home outside Philadelphia.

James G. Lewis

There antislavery groups provided for the legal defense of the fifty-three slaves in a celebrated case that eventually went to the U.S. Supreme Court. Defended by the ex-president and long-time abolitionist John Quincy Adams, the high court ruled in favor of the rebellious slaves, setting them free. In November 1841, more than 100 American slaves being transported from Virginia aboard the Brig *Creole* to the slave markets of the Deep South, overtook the crew and sailed the ship to the British Bahamas, where islanders aided in their escape. The Northern press followed both cases closely and reported on them in great detail; in antislavery circles the leaders of the two revolts, Joseph Cinque and Madison Washington, became causes celebres.

Notwithstanding the efforts to keep abolitionism a vibrant cause in the 1840s, interest waned and membership in antislavery societies declined. Slavery was a divisive issue and many simply chose to avoid conflict. But the issue would not go away, and when the Fugitive Slave Act became law in 1850, interest in abolitionism revived instantly. Congress passed the law in response to the increasing numbers of runaway slaves to the North and as part of a compromise to settle the issue of whether to allow slavery in the territories ceded to the United States by the Mexican government following the Mexican-American War. According to the controversial law, harsh punishments including imprisonment and fines awaited those found guilty of assisting fugitive slaves, federal funds would be used to return fugitives, and federal judges were to be paid ten dollars when they found suspected fugitives guilty of running away and five dollars when they set them free. The Fugitive Slave Act gave rise to a new era of antislavery resistance, one that was both more militant in its outlook

and more willing to use violent tactics than its predecessor.

Growing Militancy against Slavery

Throughout the North, black and white abolitionists mobilized, forming Vigilance Committees to protect free blacks, and on numerous occasions they battled with slave catchers and officers of the law to aid runaway slaves. The most notorious case occurred in Boston in May 1854 when an armed and angry antislavery mob stormed the local courthouse to free Anthony Burns, a fugitive slave from Virginia who was awaiting trial. It took federal marshals, soldiers, and companies of state troops to repulse the attack, but not before one deputy fell dead from a gunshot. In June, black drapes and inverted American flags, which hung from the buildings lining Boston's streets, greeted soldiers as they marched Burns to the wharf where they placed him on a ship and returned him to slavery. To Northerners the point was clear: the United States government aided and abetted slaveholders. In opposition to the Fugitive Slave Act, Northern states passed personal liberty laws that forbade state officials from assisting in the capture and return of suspected runaways, Garrison publicly burned a copy of the Constitution on the Fourth of July, and free blacks petitioned the Massachusetts legislature to sanction the formation of a black military company.

Abolitionists' increasing militancy, the willingness of slaves to risk it all by running away, and the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act gave rise to the legendary Underground Railroad. Ironically, the Underground Railroad was neither underground nor a railroad. It was, instead, a clandestine and loosely organized network run by ordinary Americans—black and white, male and female, Northern and Southern, rich and poor—who risked fine, imprisonment, and the loss of their lives by assisting fugitive slaves, providing them with food, shelter, clothing, money, medical care, and at times guns and other weapons for self-defense. In the three decades before the American Civil War, it is estimated that as many as 1,000 slaves per year "rode its rails" to freedom.

Heroic tales of conductors and passengers on the Underground Railroad resulted in a culture of protest in the North, one evidenced most clearly by the explosion of popular interest in the topic of slavery in the region's print culture, in newspapers, almanacs, and pamphlets. Slave narratives and fictional accounts of American slavery became especially popular. Solomon Northrop's *Twelve Years a Slave* (1853)

This portrait of Anthony Burns shows the famed fugitive slave surrounded by key incidents in his life, including his sale at auction, his arrest in Boston, his escape from Richmond on shipboard, his forced departure from Boston, and his imprisonment. *(Library of Congress)*

sold more than 8,000 copies within a month of its publication, while Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* first published as a serial in 1851–1852, sold a million copies in less than a year-and-a-half after being published in book form in 1852. Publications of these books made instant celebrities of their authors, and the printed and visual images of abused and defenseless slaves they evoked became ubiquitous throughout Northern popular culture, in poems, songs, and material items like badges, boxes, and clothing. These images were meant to weigh on the consciences and influence the hearts and minds of those who deemed antislavery an unworthy cause, but they likewise served as a source of abolitionists' inspiration and collective consciousness.

As the movement culture of abolitionism increasingly engulfed Northern lives, the United States Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854. The law allowed settlers in the territories of Kansas and Nebraska to decide on whether these territories

would allow slavery to exist. In essence, the new law repealed the Missouri Compromise, which for more than twenty years had limited the expansion of slavery. When Northern abolitionists and pro-slavery Southerners rushed to Kansas to participate in upcoming elections, the sectional conflict turned violent. After pro-slavery Southerners destroyed property in the free soil town of Lawrence, radical abolitionists under the leadership of John Brown pulled five pro-slavery settlers from their beds in the middle of the night and murdered them in the streets. Three years later, Brown and more than twenty followers attacked the federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, in an attempt to launch the first salvo of a large-scale slave insurrection. The raid failed, and while five of Brown's men escaped, the others were either killed or executed. Brown, who survived several gunshot wounds, was arrested, tried, convicted, and hanged to death on December 2, 1859.

Brown's detractors labeled him insane, but this religious devotee was foremost a committed opponent of human bondage. He had witnessed the abuse of slaves first-hand and become disenchanted with both the tactics of moral suasion and the American political process. He insisted that abolition would come only through bloodshed, and he gave his own for the cause. His raid provides a dramatic example both of the tactical shift that had taken place among abolitionists in the decades leading up to the Civil War and of the extremism that came to characterize the sectional crisis in general.

The Civil War erupted in April 1861, but abolitionists' work was still incomplete. They wanted to make the war about slavery, a difficult task considering that throughout the first year of the war, President Abraham Lincoln repeated his pledge to leave slavery intact where it already existed. But just as they had done before, antislavery activists mobilized. They formed new groups to raise funds for the writing, publication, and distribution of antislavery literature, and again petitioned the United States Congress to emancipate Southern slaves. In just one year during the war, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society published 100,000 emancipationist pamphlets. Throughout the duration of the war, abolitionists collectively forwarded approximately 400,000 signatures to Washington. A number of abolitionists played a prominent part in the war as soldiers in white units and officers of black troops. Others raised money, made clothing and blankets for the freedmen, or went south to work as teachers or healthcare providers.

In spite of their passion and commitment, abolitionists' war efforts would have been doomed were it not for the actions of the slaves themselves. During the first two years of the Civil War, slaves by the tens of thousands simply walked away from the farms and plantations on which they lived in search of Union lines, and by their sheer numbers forced Lincoln to act. On the grounds of military necessity, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863, freeing slaves in the territories in rebellion. The Proclamation said nothing about slaves in the Border States and Southern territories controlled by the Union Army. Nevertheless, it symbolized Lincoln's shifting attitude towards abolition and led ultimately to the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment in December 1865, which forever abolished slavery.

With the end of slavery, abolitionists joined other movements of the late nineteenth century to reform labor and municipal governments, and secure women's rights. Many continued to fight for the civil rights of African Americans, who after the Civil War still needed assistance in overcoming the daunting obstacles of racial discrimination, economic dislocation, and social segregation. The antislavery movement ended, but today the memories of its interracial and cross-class character, and of its ultimate success, serve as important reminders of the ability of ordinary American to effect change.

Matt Clavin

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North–South Reactions to Antislavery

Few white Americans, in the North or the South, sympathized with the abolitionists when their movement first appeared in the 1830s. Their attempts to promote racial equality and appeals for the immediate emancipation of all slaves in the United States stirred fears throughout the country, regardless of the level of personal involvement with slavery. Predictably, Southerners were hostile to what they saw as an attack on their property, safety, and general way of life. They fought the spread of abolitionist sentiment by espousing a more militant pro-slavery ideology, destroying literature sent through the mails, and pushing for a gag rule that tabled all discussion of the slavery issue in Congress. Despite their residence in states that had provided for the end of slavery, Northerners also saw abolition as a threat. Fears of racial amalgamation, disunion, and social instability contributed to a strong, often violent, anti-abolitionist sentiment in the North throughout the 1830s. Only at the end of the decade, when Southern "slave-power" attempts to curb abolitionist agitation seemed a bigger threat to the American social fabric than the abolitionists themselves did Northern opinion shift slowly to a more supportive stance on abolition and American unity on the subject begin to fragment along sectional lines.

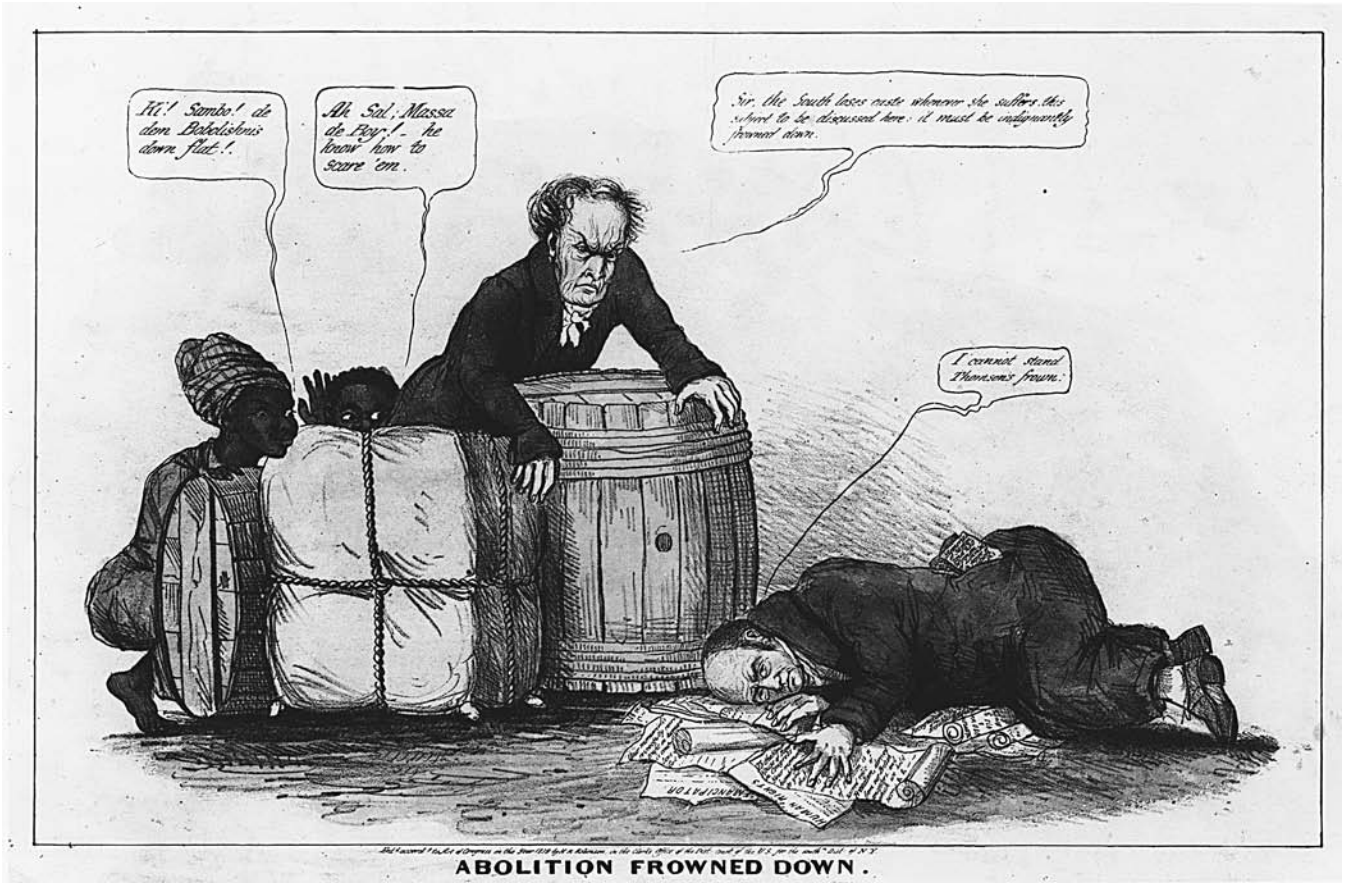
The Rise of Abolition

The sectional division of the United States—half-free and half-slave—had largely existed since the end of the American Revolution. On a state-by-state basis Northerners gradually did away with the institution of slavery in their region during the first decades of independence. Antislavery sentiment thus was not a new phenomenon that arose with the abolitionism of the 1830s. Many Americans, especially those in the Northern states, had long recognized slavery's inconsistency with the ideals of natural rights that had fostered the new republic. At the same time, however, most citizens accepted the notion that slavery was a state issue and therefore tolerated the perpetuation of the institution in the South. The compromise on slavery and the delegation of policy on the subject to the states was necessary to American political unity from the very inception of the nation. It was built into the Constitution.

Even for those who opposed slavery, the unity and stability of the new American republic trumped any desire to attack the institution. Early antislavery advocates were gradualists who focused on actions that would bring an eventual end to slavery without disrupting the American social structure. Many worried about the effect that a large free black population would have on this structure and proposed a policy of "colonization"—sending free blacks out of the United States to Africa or the Caribbean in order to maintain social order. The American Colonization Society, organized in 1816 and made up of citizens from both Northern and Southern states, promoted this effort and formed the backbone of antislavery efforts before the rise of abolition.

The abolitionists therefore represented a real departure from the antislavery advocates of previous years. Not only did they plead for the unconditional, immediate end of slavery but they also opposed colonization and insisted on racial equality in American society. In addition, the new movement became a biracial one, with black and white reformers working together to pursue common goals.

Abolitionism was a strain of a larger reform impulse of the 1830s that included such issues as temperance, social welfare, pacifism, and women's rights. This impulse grew, in great measure, as a response to developments associated with the market revolution, which transformed Northern society in the years after the War of 1812. Population growth, industrialization, technical innovation, and the growing commitment to a free-labor system produced a combination of anxiety


Hi! Sambo! de dem Abolishnis down flat.!
Ah Sal; Massa de Feg.!- he know how to scare 'em.
Sir, the South loses caste whenever she suffers this subject to be discussed here: it must be indignantly frowned down.
I cannot stand Phanom's frown.
ABOLITION FROWNED DOWN.

The "gag rule," in effect from 1836 to 1844, barred members of the House of Representatives from introducing petitions or documents relating to abolition. In this 1839 lithograph, Massachusetts representative John Quincy Adams, chief opponent of the gag rule, lies prostrate on a pile of antislavery petitions, an abolitionist newspaper, and a resolution to recognize Haiti. Above him stands South Carolina representative Waddy Thompson, Jr., a gag-rule advocate, who says, "Sir the South loses caste whenever she suffers this subject to be discussed here; it must be indignantly frowned down." *(Library of Congress)*

and optimism in Northern society. Reformers felt the need to address dislocations in the social order brought about by this revolution, but they also remained optimistic that all problems could be surmounted in an innovative, modernizing society. In addition, the Second Great Awakening, a religious revivalism that had spread throughout the Northern states in the 1820s, stressed the idea of one's ability to lift both himself and his society up out of sin and contributed to this spirit of reform. Individuals began to feel they had the power, and therefore the responsibility, to improve society.

Abolitionism grew, in part, out of the optimistic strain of this reform impulse. Theodore Dwight Weld, Arthur and Lewis Tappan, Elizur Wright, and William Lloyd Garrison—all of whom had been touched by revivalism—emerged in the 1830s as leaders of the drive for immediate emancipation. During the 1830s, they promoted a policy of "moral suasion," believing that they could appeal to the conscience of the nation, both in the Northern and Southern states, to provoke an end to slavery. By educating the populace about the evils of slavery, they believed they could convince most Americans to support their goal. In 1831, Garrison began publishing *The Liberator*, a newspaper dedicated to the promotion of abolition. In 1833, he joined with the Tappans and other abolitionists to create the American Anti-Slavery Society (AAS). Throughout the remainder of the decade, this society promoted lectures, circulated petitions, and organized the dissemination of printed materials opposing slavery. The AAS became the abolitionists' central vehicle in the use of moral suasion to promote an immediate end to slavery.

Immediatism, however, was not a white invention. Free blacks, encouraged by the emancipations of the Revolutionary era but disheartened by the gradualism and centrality of colonization in contemporary white antislavery efforts, organized their own institutions of protest. Frustration at the continued subjugation of the black race rather than optimism about human perfectibility fostered their involvement in the abolition movement. Free blacks operated newspapers, held conventions, produced tracts, circulated petitions, and made speeches advocating emancipation and black equality well before Garrison and other white abolitionist leaders were drawn to the cause. Four years before Garrison started his antislavery newspaper, John Russwurm and Samuel E. Cornish began publishing *Freedom's Journal*, a black abolitionist newspaper. Free Northern blacks organized National Negro Conventions annually throughout the early 1830s to discuss issues affecting their race, and white abolitionists later incorporated many of the opinions put forth at these meetings on colonization, segregation, and the importance of black education into their own ideology.

Perhaps the most influential early black abolitionist was David Walker, a free black man who lived in Boston and wrote for *Freedom's Journal*. In 1829, after touring the Southern states, Walker published his *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World*. In this work, he depicted the miseries of slavery and called for black unity in defying both slavery and racism. Walker took a strong stand against colonization and sanctioned the notion of a racial uprising, as a last alternative, in order to achieve freedom and equality. White abolitionists rejected the proposition of violent resistance, but the arguments of Walker's *Appeal* resonated with them. His work, along with other black abolitionist efforts, persuaded white abolitionists to commit to abolition not just as a means of lifting up white society but as a necessary attack on the constraints placed on black individuals, both within and outside of slavery.

The campaign for abolition therefore became a biracial one. Free blacks were the largest supporters of Garrison's newspaper, and both black and white reformers were represented in the AAS. Nevertheless, white and black abolitionists did tend to operate separately. Many black reformers continued to work through black institutions and organizations, while "mainstream" white organizations often included only a few blacks. These reformers, however, worked toward common goals: the end of slavery and black equality. Despite their tendency to self-segregate, their unity on these goals seemed quite radical to the majority of the American population during the 1830s.

Pro-Slavery in the South

Nowhere did the abolitionists seem more radical, or more of a threat, than in the Southern states. Southern slave owners had long defended the "peculiar institution" of slavery as a regrettable but necessary component of Southern society. They believed that immediate abolition of the institution would destroy their economic base. Slave owners would lose the huge investments that they had put into their slaves and would be hard-pressed to find an alternative form of labor to feed the plantation economy. In addition, white Southerners worried that the liberation of slaves and creation of a large free black population would at best lead to mass social dislocation and at worst foster race war.

Much of the emotion behind the Southern response to abolition in the 1830s arose from this fear of violent black retribution. Although slaves rarely rose up in rebellion, the possibility of insurrection had always haunted the white Southern psyche; the fears extended across white Southern society, encompassing poor whites as well as slave owners. Fresh in the memory of many Southerners was the Denmark Vesey conspiracy of 1822. Vesey, a free black from Charleston, was rumored to have gathered up to 9,000 black followers in preparation for a large-scale revolt. Although whites suppressed it before it ever took place, news of the planned rebellion reminded many Southerners of the precarious nature of their region's race relations.

The distribution of David Walker's *Appeal*, which advocated black unity and sanctioned slave rebellion, heightened Southern fears. After its publication in 1829, black sailors who worked along the Atlantic coast spread the pamphlet into the Southern states. Free blacks passed it along informal inland communication networks until, by 1831, the pamphlet had permeated much of the South. The widespread dispersal of Walker's words exposed the sophisticated communication networks among free blacks in the South. Whites tried to suppress the spread of the incendiary pamphlet when they became aware of its existence, and several states, fearing slave rebellion, passed harsher slave codes as a result of its distribution. Many of these new slave codes placed heavier social controls on slave access to education.

The white South's discovery of this black communication network coincided with the beginnings of organized abolition in the North. When Garrison

started publication of *The Liberator* in 1831, slave owners began to fear a possible alliance between Northern abolitionists and organized Southern blacks in a rebellion against slavery.

Another event in 1831 intensified Southern white anxieties. Nat Turner, a Virginia slave, led an uprising that left approximately sixty whites dead in August 1831. Turner was a slave preacher who believed that God ordained him to lead his people out of slavery. With no clear plan, Turner and five followers went from farm to farm in Southampton County, killing most of the white people they encountered. As they progressed, nearly eighty more slaves joined the rebellion. The militia eventually suppressed the uprising, and white vigilantism broke out, resulting in the murder of approximately 100 black Virginians.

Although no evidence exists that Turner had read either Walker's *Appeal* or *The Liberator*, many Southerners connected the uprising to the distribution of abolitionist materials among free blacks and slaves. They blamed abolitionists for the rebellion, and they charged them with deliberately encouraging insurrection. Because perceived black militancy in the South grew contemporaneously with the emergence of Northern abolitionist activism, the two became linked in the Southern mind.

Following the events of 1831, citizens throughout the South held meetings to discuss the abolitionist threat. They passed laws forbidding the distribution of literature that could foment slave rebellion. Southern authorities offered rewards for suspected abolitionists, and those who were turned in faced fines, lashings, or imprisonment. Southern leaders also issued demands to Northern authorities that they silence the abolitionist leaders. In Georgia, the state legislature offered a $5,000 bounty to anyone who would bring Garrison to the state to stand trial.

In Virginia, the Turner episode led to a resolve to address the slavery problem in a different way. Throughout 1831 and 1832, the Virginia legislature debated a bill calling for the gradual, compensated emancipation of slaves in the state. Those who pressed for the initiative cited the economic impracticality of slavery and the superiority of a free-wage system of labor. Those against the motion refuted slavery's economic impracticality. They alluded to the benign, paternalistic relationship between Southern masters and slaves and argued that emancipation would too severely upset the Southern social structure. In the end, a substantial majority in the Virginia legislature defeated the motion for gradual emancipation. This defeat signaled the end of any discussion of Southern state-led emancipation and the beginning of a more explicit Southern defense of slavery.

The first to advance this defense was Thomas Roderick Dew, a professor from William and Mary College. In 1832, Dew published *Review of the Debate in the Virginia Legislature*, cataloguing his reactions to issues that had been discussed in the Virginia legislature's debates on gradual emancipation. Dew argued that the abolitionists' desire to end slavery was impractical. He believed that social institutions changed slowly over time and that any idealistic attempt to intervene and restructure those institutions too quickly would cause mass disorder. He recommended that Southerners commit to the social order that they were a part of and come down firmly on the side of pro-slavery rather than rely on the concept of slavery as a "necessary evil."

A number of even more vehement Southern pro-slavery writers followed Dew in the decades before the Civil War. Among these writers were newspaperman James Henry Hammond, whose writings offered a biblical defense of and sociological rationalizations for slavery; politician William Harper, who attacked the idea of natural rights and insisted that some men were born to subordinate roles in society; and the most famous pro-slavery advocate, George Fitzhugh, who argued that slave labor was superior to the free-labor system of the North. These polemicists were joined by other ministers, politicians, and scholars in developing a more radical pro-slavery stance that not only defended slavery on practical grounds but argued that it was a positive good. They refuted the idea of racial equality, condemned outside interference with Southern institutions, criticized the Northern social structure and labor system as inferior to that of the South, and cited biblical support and historical precedent as a justification of slave labor.

For the first few years after Dew's argument, however, the South remained relatively quiet on the subject of slavery. A desire to avoid conflict, protect Southern honor, and avoid nurturing any impulse toward slave insurrection drove this period of restraint. Southern leaders remained anxious about abolitionist rhetoric, but they avoided the subject of slavery in order to avoid feeding the debate. Instead they began to focus their attention on the idea of "states' rights," a concept that fueled the nullification controversy of 1832–1833.

The nullification controversy involved a conflict between President Andrew Jackson and South Carolina senator John C. Calhoun over the South Carolina legislature's desire to nullify a federal tariff. Issues of

sovereignty were at stake. Calhoun argued that state legislatures were the true voice of the people. They were responsible for the creation of the federal government and had ceded only limited powers to that government. When the federal lawmakers passed laws that overstepped their bounds, state legislatures could reject the validity of those laws within the state. Furthermore, states had the right to secede from the union in order to protect their rights.

Although economic reasons drove the dispute, many Southerners seized upon the concept of states' rights as a way to protect slavery. If they established the precedent of state power over federal legislation, then they could avoid the possibility of any future federal interference with slavery. In addition, the states' rights doctrine emphasized the rights of the community over those of the individual and thus fed Southern arguments that the need to preserve the stability of the Southern social structure eclipsed the natural rights of slaves. In 1835 and 1836, as abolitionists used new strategies to further their cause, this concept of sacrificing individual rights for the good of the community became central to the Southern defense of slavery. Furthermore, Southern argument extended this concept beyond the right to enslave to encompass the circumscription of white rights.

National Controversies over Abolitionist Initiatives

During the mid-1830s, two abolitionist initiatives led to major national debates over abolition, government power, and individual rights. The postal campaign of 1835–1836 and the simultaneous intensification of petitioning Congress for antislavery measures both helped lead to Southern demands for the circumscription of abolitionist rhetoric and Northern recognition of the movement's subversive potential.

In 1835, the executive committee of the AAS embarked on a postal campaign to spread abolitionist literature throughout the South. The abolitionists flooded the mails with antislavery tracts addressed to Southern ministers, public officials, and newspaper editors. The campaign was part of the abolitionists' larger strategy of moral suasion, and their intent was to attract white Southerners to the cause and persuade slave owners to free their slaves. Southerners, however, were convinced that abolitionists were aiming their literature at Southern slaves and free blacks in an attempt to foment rebellion.

A violent reaction to the campaign spread through the South. In some areas, those caught with abolitionist materials received the death penalty, and in other areas vigilance committees relieved the courts of their prisoners and stoned, beat, or even killed their victims. Tighter controls on the Southern free black population were applied everywhere in fear that the abolitionist literature would incite race war.

John C. Calhoun warned Northern leaders that antipathy toward the North was spreading throughout the Southern states and that further antislavery agitation could lead to disunion. Southern governments made demands for Northern extradition of abolitionist agitators to the South to be tried for inciting uprising and violating state laws forbidding the distribution of antislavery literature. In addition, they requested that Northern states pass legislation curbing the rhetoric of abolitionists who were operating within their boundaries.

Southern protests led to a growing awareness of the abolition movement in the North. Most Northerners were unsympathetic to abolition and resented the divisive nature of the movement. Northern state governments, however, did not respond positively to Southern demands for Northern laws restraining abolitionists. Although the threat of disunion disturbed them, they would not pass laws infringing on free speech.

The mail campaign became a national issue in July 1835 when a mob stormed the U.S. Post Office in Charleston and burned mailbags that were filled with abolitionist tracts. The contradiction between state laws prohibiting the circulation of abolitionist literature and federal protections of the United States mail brought up questions not only about state or federal sovereignty but also about individual rights to free speech versus a community's right to preserve social stability.

In August 1835, U.S. Postmaster General Amos Kendall declared that he had no authority to inhibit the delivery of abolitionist literature but that he also could not force delivery. Local authorities should therefore decide on whether to withhold abolitionist literature based on their own state laws concerning the circulation of the material. This solution, he felt, should be a temporary one, and he recommended that the United States Congress take up the issue for the sake of the union.

President Jackson echoed this recommendation. In December 1835, arguing that the U.S. mail was intended to unite and not divide the country, Jackson recommended that Congress pass a law preventing use of the mail for distributing "incendiary publications" that were meant to promote slave re-

bellion. Senator Calhoun opposed Jackson's proposal that Congress control the mails because this gave the federal government the power to decide what materials should be considered incendiary. Instead, he argued that no law should be passed regulating the U.S. postal service but that the states should be allowed to exercise police power over the mails with no federal intervention. Other senators, such as Daniel Webster from Massachusetts, opposed any legislation that would limit free speech.

In July 1836, after continued debate on the issue, Congress passed a measure reorganizing the Post Office and requiring that the postmaster deliver all written matter that was addressed to a specific location. The slave states, however, made little effort to cooperate with this law. They continued to suppress abolitionist materials that arrived in the South. Lawmakers, fearing sectional division, let the issue alone.

At the same time as the dispute over the postal campaign was occurring, Congress faced a similar controversy over the proper handling of antislavery petitions that were submitted to the legislature. The petitioning of Congress for measures against slavery had long existed in the United States, but in 1835, owing to the organization of the AAS, the petitioning intensified. The main objectives of the petitions submitted at this time were the closure of the internal slave trade and the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in Washington, D.C. The federal government could be construed to have some control over both of these measures. Abolitionists argued that it could act on the slave trade through its power over interstate commerce and its jurisdiction over matters in Washington, D.C., gave it the authority to attack slavery in that locale. Opponents of the petitions argued that the states maintained exclusive control over slavery and that the federal government had no right to take any action against it at all. Debates in Congress over the issue leaned toward the latter view.

In 1836, at the urging of Southern representatives, Congress passed a gag rule that automatically tabled any petitions concerning slavery. Because the body claimed that it had no authority over the issue of slavery, there was no reason to discuss the petitions. Northern congressmen cooperated with the gag rule in order to preserve both party and sectional unity, and so the rule was renewed each year throughout the rest of the decade.

Abolitionists only increased the volume of petitioning in response to this policy, and they called attention to the fact that the protection of slavery was now leading not only to the denial of black rights but to the infringement of white civil rights as well. In order to appease what was increasingly referred to as "the Southern slave-power," freedom of speech was dangerously curbed.

Anti-Abolition in the North

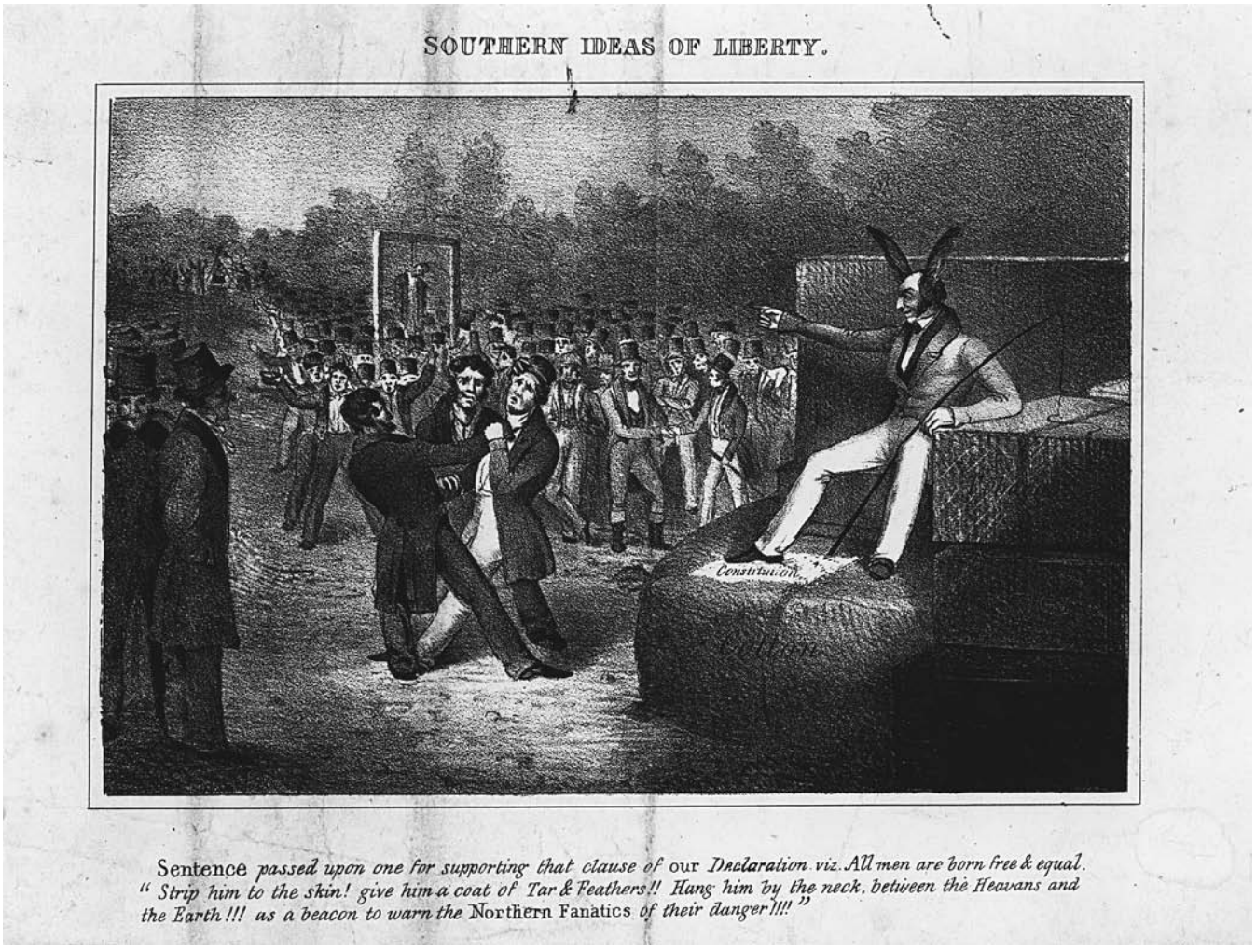
These major controversies drew Northerners' attention to the abolitionists. Many Northern journalists and politicians criticized the movement, and between 1834 and 1838, rioting frequently broke out throughout the North protesting abolitionist activities.

Like the Southern population, most of the Northern public initially viewed abolition as a threat to the stability of the existing social order. Unlike the response of the South, however, that of the North had little to do with any dedication to the institution of slavery itself. It was grounded more in "anti-abolition" than in any "pro-slavery" sentiment. Northern anti-abolitionist sentiment radiated from a variety of concerns. Anxieties about race, economic and social status, foreign threats, and the preservation of the Union all contributed to Northern hostility towards abolition.

Paradoxical fears concerning both racial conflict and racial amalgamation drove much of the Northern opposition. The end of slavery in the North did not mean the end of racism, and a majority of white Northerners rejected the abolitionist push for racial equality. Doubts that blacks could successfully, and peacefully, assimilate into white society coexisted with irrational fears of "miscegenation," interracial sexual relations, corrupting the white race. Citizenship and equality for blacks had not followed Northern emancipation, nor had Northern manumissions added great numbers of free blacks to society. The abolitionists' attack on both racial inequality and their attempts to free the masses of black slaves in the South therefore unsettled many Northern whites.

Some Northerners also viewed the abolition movement as a threat to their economic and social status. The economic connections between Northern merchants and bankers and the Southern plantation system remained strong during this period, and an attack on slavery would therefore affect more than the Southern economy. It would hurt many Northerners' economic status as well.

In addition, many Northern leaders felt that abolitionists were, in part, responsible for the deterioration of tradition and their own authority in society. Abolitionists criticized various church denominations for accepting slavery. They drew women out of their traditional domestic sphere and into the public realm.


SOUTHERN IDEAS OF LIBERTY.
Constitution
Sentence passed upon one for supporting that clause of our Declaration viz. All men are born free & equal.
" Strip him to the skin! give him a coat of Tar & Feathers!! Hang him by the neck, between the Heavans and the Earth!!! as a beacon to warn the Northern Fanatics of their danger!!!"

This 1835 lithograph printed in the North shows an imaginary scene of southerners' violent opposition to abolitionism and those who opposed slavery. Holding a whip, a judge, drawn with the ears of an ass, sits on bales of cotton and tobacco. With the Constitution lying trampled underfoot, the judge sentences an abolitionist to execution, while a cheering crowd surrounding the gallows awaits the condemned man's arrival. Beyond can be seen a cauldron filled with hot tar, boiling over an open fire. Genuine instances of the tarring, feathering, and hanging of antislavery advocates in Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi in the early 1830s may have inspired this lithograph. *(Library of Congress)*

They brought whites and blacks together to work for a common cause. Abolitionists attacked the compromises of the Constitution, property rights, church authority, and the safety of the American Union; and their definitions of equality threatened existing social hierarchies. Many prominent doctors, lawyers, merchants, bankers, clergymen, judges, and politicians therefore vehemently opposed abolition, seeing it as a threat not only to the social order but also to their positions of authority within that order.

Other groups also feared that abolitionist agitation might bring a loss of social and economic status. Although they opposed slavery in principle, many Northern laborers believed that the criticism of slavery deflected attention from the problems of free-wage labor in the North, which many abolitionists —in their attack on slavery—idealized as a system of labor. Some also feared the increased job competition that would result if slaves were freed and brought into the market economy.

Recent immigrants from Ireland, who filled the least desirable jobs in the Northern economy, were particularly hostile to abolition. An inundation of free blacks in the market economy would threaten their jobs first. These immigrants therefore began to make a concerted effort to differentiate themselves from free

blacks, emphasizing the political and social privileges due to them as members of the white race. Members of the Irish Catholic community also believed that abolitionists were hostile to their own group interests. They associated abolition with nativism and anti-Catholicism, which grew out of the same evangelical impulse as did antislavery; many abolitionists were, in fact, outspoken critics of the Irish Catholic community. Both antiblack and anti-abolitionist impulses thus ran strong throughout this sector of Northern society.

Other Northern anxieties included the suspicion that abolitionists were instruments of foreign interference in the affairs of the United States. A strong American nationalism existed in the 1830s, and connections between English and American abolitionists led to protests against "meddling outsiders" who passed judgment on American society and threatened American unity. When prominent English abolitionist George Thompson made a speaking tour in the Northern states in 1835, he consistently faced hostile, often violent, crowds. Newspaper reports on his activities emphasized his nationality and denounced English ignorance of the complicated American situation concerning slavery. Many of these articles also asserted that abolitionists were part of a foreign plot to weaken the United States.

The American nationalism of the period contained a strong element of concern for the Union. Sectional interests were diverging as the Northern states became more industrial and the South became more committed to the plantation economy. A strong desire to protect the Union and overcome sectional rifts existed in both the North and the South, and both sections viewed the abolitionists' crusade against slavery as a real danger to this effort.

This Northern hostility to abolition was expressed in the anti-abolitionist mobbing that occurred frequently throughout the region. In July 1834, mobs attacked Arthur Tappan's home in New York City. In October 1835, a convention to create an antislavery society was forcibly broken up in Utica, New York. Mobs repeatedly harassed the Tappans, Garrison, Weld, and other antislavery speakers on lecture tours.

Initially, most Northerners blamed the abolitionists themselves for the disorder. They characterized the reformers as fanatics whose actions would lead to mass social upheaval and eventually destroy the nation. As the violence continued, however, negative opinion began to shift away from the abolitionists and toward those who attacked their efforts. Two particularly destructive acts in May 1838 solidified this shift: the burning of Pennsylvania Hall, an antislavery meeting place in Philadelphia; and the murder of abolitionist editor Elijah Lovejoy in Alton, Illinois, during a mob attack on his printing press.

The Northern Shift from Anti-Abolition

Abolitionists had long publicized the pacifist nature of their movement, and the escalating violence of the anti-abolitionist opposition convinced much of the Northern population that the blame for disorder rested on the shoulders of the attackers and not the victims of attack. In addition, during the late 1830s some abolitionists—recognizing that racism was as entrenched in the North as in the South—began to emphasize the danger that the protection of slavery posed for white civil liberties rather than focusing on appeals for racial equality.

Both the Northern anti-abolitionist violence and the Southern assault on individual rights led to a growing acceptance of the abolitionists throughout the North. Northern hostility shifted away from abolitionist activity and onto those who violated American ideals in their responses to it. Ironically then, support for the abolitionists grew in a circular way, in reaction to the Southern pro-slavery and Northern anti-abolitionist measures against the movement. These reactionary elements now represented a more dangerous threat to the Northern social order than did the abolitionists.

Like the initial opposition to abolition, Northern acceptance of the movement had little to do with slavery itself. It represented neither a condemnation of unfree black labor nor an acceptance of black equality. Instead, the shift occurred out of conservative concerns about the maintenance of social order and the preservation of white rights. These concerns now fed the sectional rift that was growing between the Southern and Northern states. As this rift expanded throughout the antebellum era, Northern hostility toward the South remained grounded in resistance to Southern attempts to dominate U.S. policy and circumscribe white rights. This hostility did, however, eventually lead in the 1860s to civil war and the culmination of one of the abolitionists' goals—the end of slavery in the United States.

The achievement of emancipation, however, was a qualified victory for the abolitionists. They had helped to force a confrontation between the North and the South that led to the end of slavery. They failed, however, in their campaign of moral suasion. The

hearts and minds of Americans remained unchanged, in both the North and the South, and most white citizens remained unconcerned about black rights or racial equality. War forced white Southerners to accept an end to slavery, but they found other ways of exploiting black labor and limiting black freedoms. Northern support for black freedom and equality, which had grown more from hostility toward the South than out of a belief in those causes, eroded as soon as sectional hostility abated. Another century would have to pass, and another generation would have to wage their own campaign for change, before most Americans would adequately address the full agenda of the abolitionists and provide guarantees of racial equality to all citizens of the United States.

Angela Murphy

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2

Civil Rights Movement

Introduction

The civil rights movement ranks at the forefront of epochal events in American history, including the Revolutionary War and the Civil War. This section focuses on the scope and complexities of the U.S. civil rights movement, from the 1865 post–Civil War Reconstruction period through the 1960s upsurge in mass protest and civil unrest. The enactment of transformative civil rights legislation and shifts in racial-ethnic political power and leadership during the twentieth century are highlighted and grounded in major historical conflicts, outlining more than a hundred years of intense struggle for racial justice.

History of the Movement

Color-based bondage, spanning the American colonial period through the end of the Civil War in 1865, was constitutionally inscribed, universally institutionalized, and ingrained in the fabric of American society. Against this backdrop of slavery, the antebellum period of American racial history and nearly 100 years of Jim Crow legalized segregation against African Americans set the stage for the civil rights movement. When viewed as a continuum of interrelated events, leaders, and ideologies, the civil rights era defies simple chronological categorization. However, for the purposes of accessibility of information, contributors have suggested major historical groupings, including pre–World War I, World War I to World War II, post–World War II, and the 1960s protest period, also known as the modern civil rights era.

The post–Civil War system of racial control and separation, cast in the mold of slavery, was frequently punctuated by public lynchings of blacks, race riots, random acts of violence, and harsh political repression against both blacks and progressive whites who organized resistance and rebellion throughout the twentieth century. Thus, the seeds of the civil rights movement took root in centuries of blood-soaked oppression, fertilized anew by ongoing injustice.

Among the antecedent root causes of the movement were the unresolved contradictions of racism and exploitation embedded in both the system and legacy of chattel slavery, the American Revolution, the abolitionist movement, and the Civil War. America's racial caste system was never eliminated and created deep historical conditions, giving rise to peonage, convict labor, superexploitation of industrial labor, color codes, and waves of African-American migration, in which blacks fled from the oppressive South to the less than welcoming North. The mass civil rights movement reached a crescendo during the 1960s protest period, as millions of people viewed and were influenced by events such as the 1955 murder of Emmett Till, the 1963 assassination of Medgar Evers, the Birmingham church bombing killing four black girls, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s march from Memphis to Montgomery, desegregation of public schools in places like Little Rock, Arkansas and "Old Miss," and the integration of Chicago's Rainbow Beach.

The public stage occupied by luminaries and founders of the movement such as W.E.B. Du Bois, Ida B. Wells, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Rosa Parks, Malcolm X, Paul Robeson, Adam Clayton Powell, Angela Davis, A. Philip Randolph, Ella Baker, James Meredith, Jesse Jackson, Thurgood Marshall, Fanny Lou Hamer, Roy Wilkins, thousands of other civil rights leaders, and millions of unsung masses of followers was constructed over generations of resistance and sacrifice. The movement, at its base, was composed of common folk fighting the dehumanization and degradation of racism and segregation.

Historians and analysts have characterized the civil rights movement as revolutionary because it fundamentally altered the political, legal, social, educational, and cultural landscape of twentieth-century America. The movement consciously sought, through ideology, protest, and social policy, to promote racial equality by systematically removing the social, polit-

ical, economic, and legal barriers imposed on black Americans, Native Americans, women, immigrants, and other people of color. Both the means and methods of struggle were subject to constant ideological, philosophical, and practical debate and internal conflict. The articles in this section reveal major fault lines and individual battles within the larger battle.

The movement made significant gains but was not, however, linear: It ebbed and flowed with historical tides of progress and reaction, advance and retreat, terror and self-defense, revolution and counterrevolution. The legal-constitutional arena, highlighted by various civil rights acts and amendments to the U.S. Constitution—from the Reconstruction Acts of the 1860s to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965—are among the most obvious and enduring legal victories won through mass pressure and direct action.

The civil rights epoch is most closely associated with the 1960s' overt and covert battles, marches, boycotts, demonstrations, sit-ins, strikes, pickets, and rallies, many of which were locally based and nationally organized by an array of organizations, coalitions, and activists. Places and events are indelibly etched in the annals of history: Selma, Alabama; Jacksonville, Florida; the Montgomery Bus Boycott; the March on Washington; Attica; and the Watts rebellion. These events were frequently at odds with each other, and leaders differed over the path the movement should take in order to advance the struggle. Although many of the great battles were fought in the Southern states, the movement also engulfed the Northern, Eastern, and Western states, attracting young and old, male and female, rich and poor, black and white, Latino and Asian people.

Although predominantly comprised of African Americans, Jewish, Italian, and other supporters and activists played an important role in the movement, particularly in the early stages of the struggle.

Major civil rights groups founded included the Niagara Movement and its progeny, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), African Blood Brotherhood, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP), National Negro Congress (NNC), March on Washington Movement (MOW), Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU), Angela Davis's Che-Lumumba Club (CPUSA), Black Panther Party (BPP), and Young Lords Party (YLP). These and others carried the torch to illuminate the civil rights struggle and to fend off attacks on African Americans from the likes of the Ku Klux Klan, Southern racist Democrats known as Dixiecrats fighting for "states rights," and assorted American Fascists.

The movement had close organizational and ideological ties with the women's movement from the time of its inception and became closely aligned with the anti-Vietnam War movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Hundreds of smaller local, grassroots-oriented civil rights efforts stimulated the rise of antiwar protests, the organization of senior citizens as manifested by the emergence of the Gray Panthers, a militant multiracial senior citizens organization, and La Raza, the Mexican-American farm workers movement under the leadership of Cesar Chavez.

The late twentieth century witnessed many "events," including "white backlash," racial polarization, attacks on Affirmative Action, adverse legal rulings since the 1970s linked to the rise of neoliberalism, conservative, and neoconservative Republicans opposed to the civil rights agenda in national, state legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government, and continuing racist resistance from politicians like Alabama governor George Wallace, Georgia governor Lester Maddox, Senator Strom Thurmond (R-SC), Senator Trent Lott (R-MS), and their local states rights followers. The convergence of these virulently hostile forces and the wrenching domination of political power contributed to the decline of the civil rights epoch.

Articles in this section denote a complex movement with numerous, evolving ideological strains and tendencies, including radical and reformist, separatist and integrationist, Black Muslim, Jewish, Catholic, liberal, conservative, Gandhi-style nonviolent philosophy, Socialist, Communist, and capitalistic.

Tensions between competing ideologies and organizations were manifested by relations ranging from active coalitions to violent internal organizational opposition. The evolving interplay between resistance and change within U.S. social institutions characterized and contextualized the civil rights era. Thus, as the movement transformed elements of society, civil rights organizations were particularly subject to the intense, frequently overwhelming forces of internal and external change.

Its Impact

The removal of most of the overt, racially offensive and formerly legal manifestations of Jim Crow segregation, including the desegregation of public accommodations like transportation, lunch counters, and workforces in commercial stores like Woolworth's, constituted significant and enduring civil rights victories. Black and white children attending public schools together, in the North and South, came to symbolize the movement's impact and hope for the nation. The movement also substantially achieved the integration of federal employment, the armed forces, entry-level corporate employment, and most industrial trade unions, with the skilled trades lagging in terms of integrated membership.

The movement's aspiration for America was implanted and imparted as hope for the world as tens of millions of Indians, Chinese, Soviets, Africans, and Europeans watched news clips, listened to radio reports, and read local papers covering the unfolding dramas with riveted fascination. International political leaders closely watched the U.S. civil rights struggles, as common folk around the world, many engaged in their own anticolonial struggles, were inspired. In this sense, the civil rights movement helped set the stage for the international human rights struggles that followed. The American civil rights movement had a profound international impact. This influence was played out in U.S. foreign policy, as issues of freedom and democracy reverberated globally, influencing anticolonial and African struggles for independence, the anti-apartheid and nonaligned movement, and the establishment of institutions like the United Nations, which was in no small measure aided by the African-American civil rights activist Dr. Ralph Bunche.

In the political and electoral realm, by the end of the twentieth century more than 5,000 African Americans had been elected to federal, state, and local governments, far surpassing the number of blacks elected during Reconstruction after the Civil War. However, African Americans elected to office did not necessarily translate into their holding meaningful political power, as economic and social bastions of privilege still dominated American life.

In terms of economic relations, indices of poverty, unemployment, labor and housing discrimination, and business ownership, the impact of the modern civil rights movement was far less successful. The legacy of slavery in America stymied generations of ameliorative social policies, including Reconstruction's never-delivered promise of "40 acres and a mule" for every African American, President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal, Truman's Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC), and Lyndon Johnson's Great Society and War on Poverty. Equality remained elusive, and African Americans were polarized by the underlying economic system. Although some blacks entered the middle class, the majority was mired in poverty and despair.

Ironically, Dr. King's most famous "I have a Dream" speech at the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Justice, resonating against the backdrop of the Lincoln Memorial, coincided exactly with the death of W.E.B. Du Bois, solemnly announced to the throngs of marchers from the dais, and followed by a moment of silence. This marked both the pinnacle and the beginning of the decline of the civil rights movement and the nation's failure to resolve its racial history.

Community control movements like Brooklyn's Ocean Hill Brownsville and the multicultural education movement based largely in America's urban public schools, calling for the inclusion of people of color, women, and immigrants in the K-12 curriculum, of late twentieth and early twenty-first century America had as their impetus the spirit and philosophy of the civil rights movement, the ongoing work of activists, and the furthering of the unfinished agenda of dismantling the racial caste system in America. The movement also gave rise to black and women's caucus movements in unions, churches, and political parties, and spawned African-American, Latino, and ethnic studies programs and curricula that soon sprouted up in many American colleges and universities, including "Open Admissions" policies massively integrating the City University of New York, the nation's largest urban higher education system.

Although the impact of the civil rights movement continues in myriad ways, the modern civil rights era, according to most observers, has drawn to a close. This demise resulted from a complex combination of forces, including divisions between radical and liberal leaders, ideological splits among nationalists and integrationists, those supporting passive nonviolent resistance and self-defense, and, not least importantly, setbacks created by government-orchestrated repression, dirty tricks, sabotage, and the assassinations of Dr. King, Malcolm X, Medgar Evers, and others.

By the end of the twentieth century, civil rights laws and policies were severely tested. Many of the once powerful civil rights organizations, especially at

the local level, withered or disintegrated in political and generational countercurrents. Clarence Thomas, the conservative African-American jurist, replaced his pioneering predecessor, Thurgood Marshall, on the U.S. Supreme Court, symbolizing a reversal of the Court's civil rights trajectory and producing a chill in America's liberal political climate. The trend of limiting or reversing civil rights law was reflected in the U.S. Supreme Court's narrow 5–4 ruling in *Grutter v. Bollinger* (June 2003), upholding the University of Michigan's right to the "forward looking" practice of considering diversity and the critical mass of minorities admitted to its law school as a "compelling state interest." However, in a mixed signal within the same ruling, the Court struck down the university's point system, which allowed extra consideration of applicants based on race, a policy more closely related to Affirmative Action as a "backward looking" remedy for past wrongs.

Future generations have been left to grapple with the complex and contentious economic, political, and legal issues of race and diversity, thus setting the stage for a new phase of civil rights struggles in the twenty-first century.

Joseph Wilson

Civil Rights Movement 1865–1910

Although whites often influenced black life both legally and practically in the forty-five years following the abolition of slavery, it was through millions of everyday trials that African Americans struggled for justice. Using political, economic, cultural, and social means towards ends ranging from full access to white-dominated institutions to total control of their own, separate communities, blacks fought to define their own experiences amidst oppression.

The Constitutional Amendments

Ratified between 1865 and 1870, a series of three constitutional amendments promised 4.5 million African Americans previously banned from citizenship (about one-ninth of whom had never been slaves) all the civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. The Thirteenth Amendment (1865) declared, "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude . . . shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction." The Fourteenth Amendment (1868) made "All persons born or naturalized in the United States . . . citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside." The Fifteenth Amendment (1870) pledged, "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

Legal measures nullified the U.S. Supreme Court's *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857) decision, which mandated that all blacks, whether free or slave, "are not included, and were not intended to be included, under the word 'citizens' in the Constitution, and can therefore claim none of the rights and privileges which that instrument provides for and secures to citizens of the United States." In reality, African Americans battled individually and collectively to gain these legal protections, often unsuccessfully in the face of overwhelming white power. In the years following these constitutional amendments, the Supreme Court narrowly defined civil rights legislation, and the federal government's commitment to black freedom waned.

Following the end of the Civil War in 1865, defeated Confederate states ratified the Thirteenth Amendment but refused to approve the Fourteenth Amendment. Instead, Southern states passed laws called Black Codes that placed major restrictions on newly emancipated African Americans. Black Codes limited the areas where blacks could live and hold property. Blacks could not testify or be jurors in court cases involving whites. These restrictions varied locally, but most included vagrancy laws that drafted unemployed blacks into forced labor if they failed to pay a $50 fine. On the basis of race, Black Codes imposed curfews, denied voting rights, prevented the ownership of alcohol, livestock, and firearms, banned intermarriage, and restricted travel.

In 1866 and 1867, Congress responded to the Black Codes. It extended the life of the Freedmen's Bureau, a federal agency that was originally set to expire after a year, and passed a Civil Rights Bill. In addition to providing medical, educational, and economic support to former slaves, the Freedmen's Bureau protected black civil rights. It enforced contracts between black labor and white employers and created new courts wherever it deemed local judicial authorities to be prejudiced against African Americans. The Civil Rights Bill banned the denial of citizenship rights according to color and presaged the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Congress also passed the Reconstruction Act, which imposed military rule on Confederate states, called for new Southern governments, and required each Southern state to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment or lose political representation. Black men had the right to vote, but their doing so depended on federal policing of former Confederates.

African Americans organized politically during

this period and gained power in some Southern states. Churches were integral to this purpose, as were more specialized creations like the Lincoln Brotherhood and the Heroes of America. Following the Civil War, the largest black political organization was the Union League, which had ties to the Freedmen's Bureau and the Republican Party. Blacks played important roles in the governments of South Carolina and Louisiana. In Alabama, Florida, and North Carolina, black representation was marginal. In Mississippi, unchecked white violence and intimidation prevented blacks from capitalizing on their numerical majority at the polls. In some states, black voting strength backed by federal authority led to increased African American political representation and power. Others, like Georgia, more successfully resisted this possibility.

Despite white intransigence, African Americans never let their oppressors fully delimit their political vision. When the Georgia legislature barred its black members in 1868, for example, the ousted men fought for their seats and regained them following federal military intervention. Even in states where they lacked meaningful government representation, the blacks' assertiveness encouraged civil rights legislation. From 1869 to 1873, South Carolina, Texas, Mississippi, Florida, and Louisiana passed civil rights laws in response to black demands.

By the late 1870s, the Supreme Court's narrow constitutional interpretations and the federal government's decreasing commitment to fighting a guerrilla war against antiblack terrorist organizations like the Ku Klux Klan marked the end of the period known as Reconstruction (1865–1877). In the *Slaughter-House Cases* (1873) decision, the U.S. Supreme Court separated state and national citizenship, nearly nullifying the Fourteenth Amendment by declaring almost all rights the product of state citizenship. In *United States v. Cruikshank* (1876), the Court ruled that the Fourteenth Amendment empowered the federal government to punish states, but not individuals, for depriving citizens of their rights. In *United States v. Reese* (1876), it determined that the Fifteenth Amendment barred the denial of suffrage on the basis of race but did not guarantee citizens the right to vote, allowing injudiciously applied poll taxes and literacy tests to circumvent the law and disfranchise most blacks. With neither the Court's help nor the protection of Northern soldiers, who left the South in 1877, black civil rights gains were compromised.

From the 1830s until nearly the twentieth century, the Convention Movement developed black middle-class leadership on the grassroots level. Conventions were made up of delegates who were chosen locally. Both nationally and within their states, these leaders held meetings to propose solutions to black problems. In October 1864, about 150 black men met in Syracuse, New York, to organize the National Equal Rights League, which demanded African-American political equality. Perhaps because they were dominated by elites, however, many conventions proposed more conservative means for black advancement. For example, conventions in 1865 and 1866 in North Carolina, Alabama, and Kentucky stressed education, morality, and industry as the keys to black success. Nevertheless, federal protection in the South in the 1870s led to an increased focus on political strategies for racial equality. The largest of the Reconstruction-era national conventions, held in Washington, D.C., in December 1873, was devoted entirely to civil rights agendas. Once Reconstruction ended, however, conventioneers generally returned to more conservative programs endorsing race-based economic separatism to further black causes.

Divergent African-American Perspectives

Like the diverse people they represented, African-American leaders possessed varied visions of black empowerment. Some were black nationalists who believed that African-American success depended on economic and/or political racial unity and the maintenance of autonomous black social, cultural, and spiritual spheres. Others were integrationists who called for full access to white-dominated institutions and stressed black participation in all aspects of American life. The dialogue, ideological intersection, and conflicts between black nationalists and integrationists have fundamentally marked African-American political and intellectual history since the eighteenth century.

Of the black nationalists who proposed that African Americans emigrate to Africa, the most influential in the United States near the end of the nineteenth century was Henry McNeal Turner, an African Methodist Episcopal bishop who had been one of the legislators sacked in Georgia's 1868 purge of its black politicians. Turner believed that black Americans needed to run their own governments in newly established African colonies. There was also a religious mission to Turner's plan. Like the Harvard-educated physician Martin Delany and the Episcopalian missionary Alexander Crummell, Turner

SPEECH BY BISHOP HENRY M. TURNER

June 22, 1867

Bishop Henry M. Turner (1834–1915), of the Methodist Episcopal Church, a leading African-American opponent of slavery, became a member of the Georgia legislature following the Civil War and appealed to African Americans in Georgia to become active in political life.

. . . Many of our fellow citizens in the country, and even in the towns and villages, are far from being awake to their own interests and to the interests of prosperity; not because they are disinterested at all, but because many cherish the foolish idea that they had better not have anything to do with political matters; thus leaving it, as they say, to their white friends and colored leaders to manage—misapprehending as you see, that they are individually responsible and connected to the weal or woe of our future civil and political status. The result is that hundreds declared they will not register; others say, they do not care to either register or vote until things are more settled; others again, say they cannot lose the time just now, crops are being laid by, and for every day they lose, from three to five dollars are deducted from their wages; while still others declare it is useless to register, for they have already been told that if they ever vote in harmony with Congress, or old Joe Brown, their throats will be cut from ear to ear, consequently, they are determined not to register, or vote, in the face of such events; especially, when they would be sure to vote to sustain the power that gave them freedom. . . .

The question then resolves itself into [a] plan by which the fore-going evils may be remedied, and the liberties of our race preserved. This can only be done by organizing associations in the above named cities, where a weekly or monthly fee can be collected for the purpose of salarying intelligent men to traverse the rural regions of our State, and deliver such lectures to them as will inform them that their inactivity now is an unpardonable crime. . . .

Let the people of our cities rise in the majesty of their strength and the more correct knowledge and send the true alarm like thunder crashes through the country, towns and hamlets, until every man shall see his duty, and be forced to do it. If the country districts vote wrong, our cities will be no more than a drop in the bucket. If the men are too indifferent to take action on this matter, I must respectfully appeal to the ladies. Ladies! form yourselves into societies; gather all the funds you can and employ as many colored speakers (or white either) as you can, and send them in the field to teach our people what to do, and how to do it. Your destiny is ours; ours is yours. We rise and fall together. . . .

Source: The Loyal Georgian, [Augusta], July 6, 1867.

believed that Africa's salvation depended on the exportation of Protestantism and Western mores to that continent.

In part, Turner's success in returning blacks to Africa was determined by their lack of faith in the United States and its institutions. For example, when in 1883 the U.S. Supreme Court declared the 1875 Civil Rights Act to be unconstitutional, Turner expanded his campaign to transplant black Americans to Liberia. Although he was able to convince only a small group of African Americans to leave, Turner's plan had symbolic importance because of the level of black independence it proposed. Historians have argued that poverty and lack of transportation rather than disinterest kept many blacks from relocating to Africa during this period.

Although it had been in existence for decades before the Civil War, the American Colonization Society (ACS) also responded to the immediacy of the post-Reconstruction era. By the late 1880s, the white-controlled ACS, which many blacks distrusted, had declined in popularity but still sent about a hundred colonists to Liberia annually, in part owing to the impact of Henry McNeal Turner, who served for a time as one of its vice presidents.

Perhaps the ACS's most famous emigrant was Edward Wilmot Blyden, whose trip to the United States in 1889 brought national attention to the Back-to-Africa movement and sparked congressional debate about funding the repatriation of dissatisfied American blacks. Born in the Dutch West Indies, Blyden had been educated by an American missionary before completing his schooling in Liberia with assistance from the ACS. While a resident of Liberia, Blyden had founded that country's national college and served as its minister to Great Britain.

Blyden, who had visited the United States several times previously, was by 1889 at the peak of his influence on Americans because of the publication of his 1887 book, *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, and

because of contemporary political and socioeconomic conditions. Although a Presbyterian, Blyden sensed that Islam fostered racial pride and was potentially more attractive to blacks than sectarian Christianity, which often equated blackness with evil. Blyden asserted that if American blacks formed new churches in Africa, they could save the continent from total submission to Islam. Although Blyden was more ambivalent toward modernizing Africa than were Crummell, Delany, and Turner, he shared their desire to Christianize it.

In late 1889, Blyden found support for his Back-to-Africa movement both popularly and in Congress. According to some Southern ministers, Blyden could have mustered 500,000 black people to emigrate from the region immediately if there had been ample transportation and money to do so. Before the 1888 election, Republicans had tried to retain black support with promises of lasting civil rights legislation. In his State of the Union Address the next year, President Benjamin Harrison proposed that Congress pass a law calling for federal supervision of elections. Because this measure would greatly increase black political power, some white Southern leaders saw emigration as more desirable than a strong black voting bloc. Senator Matthew Butler of South Carolina proposed a bill that would provide transportation for all Southern black persons who agreed to certify their wish to become citizens of their destined country. Senator R.L. Gibson of Louisiana called for the investigation of acquiring or designating territory in Africa for black expatriates. The introduction of these measures reveals the relative popularity of Back-to-Africa movements and their parallel meanings to blacks and whites following Reconstruction. Importantly, however, most African Americans, whether black nationalists or integrationists, criticized these programs and preferred to remain in the United States. Some historians also argue that black nationalists who supported the emigration movement viewed separatism as only a temporary means to eventual incorporation into American life.

In the face of massive civil rights rollbacks, migration within the United States also became an attractive option for ex-slaves. During a matter of weeks in 1879, thousands of freed people from Mississippi, Louisiana, and Tennessee, terrorized by antiblack legislation and attracted by promises of farmland in Kansas, boarded steamships to St. Louis, Missouri. This rush, known as the Kansas Fever Exodus or Exoduster Movement, saw nearly 15,000 African Americans come to Kansas over the next year. About three-quarters of these migrant families wound up owning their own homes. Another 35,000 blacks moved to Missouri, Indiana, and Illinois from the South during this period. In these areas, migrants formed all-black towns that resonated with the self-help economic separatism proposed by conservatives. Most migrants were poor, rural folk. Middle-class and urban-based blacks were less likely to leave the South during this period.

African-American Labor

Although black Americans have generally turned toward self-help, racial unity, and economic advancement when faced with oppressive conditions, there are always those, like leading black journalist and newspaper editor T. Thomas Fortune, who have championed political protest, if not the immediate integration of all American institutions. Fortune understood the importance of race unity and pride in political and economic, if not social, matters.

A critic of the Senate's colonization efforts and the emigration movement, Fortune formed the Afro-American League, which had its first national convention in Chicago in 1890. Also during that year, a group of 445 men, including most leading black politicians of the time, met in Washington, D.C., to discuss the barriers blocking first-class African-American citizenship. The Citizens' Equal Rights Association became the organizational offshoot of this meeting. Fortune believed that African Americans should split their votes in ways designed to make both major parties compete for them. Too long, Fortune argued, blacks had sold short their power at the polls to the Republican Party. Fortune also believed that economic influence would ultimately ensure civil rights, and later he devoted increased energy to industrial rather than political efforts.

Like many African Americans, Fortune encouraged black participation in labor unions in the 1880s and the politics of radical agrarianism in the 1890s. Although the United Mine Workers and the Knights of Labor were relatively unbiased during the 1880s, the National Labor Union, founded in 1866, and the American Federation of Labor, founded in 1886, took longer to freely admit African Americans. African Americans also formed their own groups like the Colored National Labor Union in 1869, but they attracted few members. Blacks gravitated toward populism in the 1890s. At its peak, the Colored Farmers Alliance, with many of its advocates loyal to the Populist Party, claimed over one million members. Before it eventually capitulated to racism, the Populist Party through

The abolition of slavery did not significantly improve the conditions of African Americans, who, under Jim Crow laws, now became contract laborers for former white slaveowners, subject to oppressive conditions and denied freedom of movement. *(Brown Brothers)*

its focus on interracial political cooperation won the support of many blacks seeking to weaken the Democratic Party's control of the South.

Rolling Back Black Rights

By custom and by law, private citizens and public officials in the North and the South restricted black civil rights gains. All over the country, Jim Crow laws forced racial segregation. Courts in Ohio and Massachusetts ruled that separate schools for blacks and whites were constitutional. In Indiana, laws banned intermarriage. West Virginia, Virginia, Delaware, Kentucky, and Mississippi laws limited juror status to adult white males. The Supreme Court of the United States upheld the constitutionality of such statutes in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), which maintained that forced racial separation on railway carriages did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment if facilities for blacks and whites were equal. Because of racism and the unequal distribution of power, however, black accommodations were almost always inferior. Nevertheless, the federal government rarely intervened in such situations.

Lynching was the era's predominant sign of racial inequality. These ritualized killings, which were public displays designed to terrorize blacks from asserting power, sometimes involved the complicity of local law enforcement agents that allowed white vigilante groups to remove blacks falsely accused of crimes from jail cells. Whites were almost never punished for

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AT WORK
1878

After the Civil War and the end of slavery, exclusion from training programs leading to skilled occupations was a means to discriminate against African Americans and to keep workplaces segregated.

There is something in America, commonly called prejudice that so opposes the progress of the colored people, as to render it well nigh impossible for them to make any headway at all. . . .

We have a great number of young men that would like to become skilled workmen; but hardly can there be a locality picked out in the whole country where it is possible for the colored parent to get a mechanic on any terms whatever, to take his boy and learn him a trade.

If you go to the brick mason or plasterer and try to get your boy in, he will tell you, yes we will take him to make mortar or carry brick; but we can't take and learn him a trade. And so, if he would learn any other trade he is refused—and the boy dispirited, comes to the conclusion that every avenue for his advancement is blocked. Yes, blocked by caste prejudice, and so with our young ladies. If an advertisement is read in our daily papers, that apprentices are wanted to learn dressmaking, or bonnet-making, or trimming, and a young colored lady makes application for the place, she is told that the kitchen is supplied with a cook and the main shop is only to be filled with white girls. If a clerk is wanted in a grocery house, or a dry goods store, and a young colored man of good education and pleasant address makes application for the place, he is told that they have a man on their delivery wagon now, and that behind the counter they have only white boys, not that their qualifications are not all sufficient, but their faces are not white enough, that's all. So there is in every avocation, except the lower ones in life. If we look at the educational advantages offered in most localities, we will find the same prejudice exists.

Source: The Colored Citizen [Fort Scott, Kansas], November 23, 1878.

these murders, in which black corpses were usually mutilated, even when photographs illustrating their involvement in such acts circulated as post cards or novelty items. While most common in the Deep South, lynching was a nationwide problem, occurring

Ida B. Wells, African-American freedom fighter and opponent of white violence in the Jim Crow era, led a life-long struggle against lynching. A prolific writer on white oppression of African Americans, Wells published *Red Record*, a study of lynching in America. *(© Bettman/CORBIS)*

as far north as Duluth, Minnesota, and often drawing thousands of white spectators. Lynching of African Americans increased greatly following the Civil War. From 1889 to 1918, over 2,500 blacks were lynched. In the overwhelming majority of the cases, the victims were male. Local judicial, political, and law enforcement officials allowed lynching and Congress never passed an antilynching bill, leaving blacks on their own to deal with this form of terrorism.

By the late 1890s, African-American clubwomen were one of the nation's strongest antilynching forces. In addition to forming local leagues and committees that constituted the black clubwomen's movement, several leaders also created the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs (NACW) in 1896. Promoting women's rights, racial uplift, and antilynching protest and legislation, the NACW attracted a spectacular group of members and supporters, including investigative journalist Ida B. Wells and organizer Mary Church Terrell. Women from reform groups na-

IDA BELL WELLS-BARNETT

(1862–1931)

Born in Holly Springs, Mississippi, on July 16, 1862, Ida Wells was the daughter of slaves and the oldest of eight. She was educated at Rust University, a freedmen's school in Holly Springs, and at fourteen years of age began teaching in a country school. With the death of her parents and three siblings from yellow fever in 1878, she worked to keep her family together. She continued to teach after moving to Memphis, Tennessee, in 1884 and attended Fisk University during several summer sessions.

In 1884, Wells challenged the rule of segregated seating on railroads and filed suit against the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad for having been forcibly removed from her seat after she had refused to give it up for one in a "colored only" car. In 1887, the Tennessee Supreme Court, reversing a circuit court decision, ruled against Wells. In the late 1880s, she began writing articles for her local church newspaper that were then reprinted in black-owned and operated newspapers around the country. In 1891, Wells also wrote some newspaper articles critical of the education available to African-American children. Her teaching contract was not renewed because of her writings. She then turned to journalism full time, buying an interest in the *Memphis Free Speech* and working as an editor at that publication from 1891 to 1892.

After three of her friends were lynched by a mob in 1892, Wells began an editorial campaign against lynching that quickly led to the sacking of her newspaper's office. Warned to stay out of town, she went to the Northeast and became a renowned antilynching activist. She continued her antilynching crusade, first as a staff writer for the *New York Age* and then as a lecturer and organizer of antilynching societies. She spoke in a number of major U.S. cities and twice visited Great Britain for the cause.

In 1895, she married Ferdinand L. Barnett, a Chicago lawyer, editor, and public official, and adopted the name Wells-Barnett. From that time she restricted her travels to raise her family, but she was very active in Chicago affairs. Wells-Barnett contributed to the *Chicago Conservator*, her husband's newspaper, and to other local journals; published a detailed look at lynching in *A Red Record* (1895); and was active in organizing local African-American women in various causes from the antilynching campaign to the suffrage movement. She founded what may have been the first black woman suffrage group, Chicago's Alpha Suffrage Club.

From 1898 to 1902, Wells-Barnett served as secretary of the National Afro-American Council, and in 1910 she founded and became first president of the Negro Fellowship League, which aided newly arrived migrants from the South even over the objections of middle-class urban blacks. She was militant in her demand for justice for African Americans and in her insistence that it was to be won by their own efforts. Although she took part in the 1909 meeting of the Niagara Movement, she would have nothing to do with the less radical National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that sprang from it. She ran for state senator in 1930 but came in third in the primary election. Undeterred, she continued her work while writing her autobiography. Wells-Barnett died in Chicago, Illinois, on March 25, 1931. Her autobiography, *Crusade for Justice*, was published posthumously in 1970.

James G. Lewis

tionwide contributed to the magazine *Women's Era*, which discussed socioeconomic and political issues like healthcare, education, and community development. A number of NACW members would continue their antilynching work throughout the twentieth century through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Members of the clubwomen's movement tended toward conservative, self-help strategies for improvement. The president of the National Federation of Afro-American Women, which merged with the Colored Women's League to form the NACW, was Margaret Murray Washington, the wife of Booker T. Washington. Like her husband, Washington endorsed black nationalist industrial education, which urged blacks to learn trades that would give them economic power and to avoid participation in politics or integrated social functions. The NACW slogan, "Lifting as we climb," revealed the class-consciousness of the clubwomen's movement. Most clubwomen were from the middle-class or elite and saw as their goal the improvement of rank-and-file blacks. They felt that integration and social equality could be achieved once common folk were trained in bourgeois ways of life. Programmatically, local clubs reflected this idea by providing welfare benefits for less fortunate black cit-

izens. Some focused on prison reform; others set up orphanages; and several provided free legal services for the poor.

Frederick Douglass

By the Civil War, Frederick Douglass was black America's leading spokesperson, a status he would maintain until his death in 1895. Born a slave in 1818, Douglass escaped to freedom as a young adult. He gained national attention after his first autobiography, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave, Written by Himself*, was published in 1845. An abolitionist and women's rights advocate, Douglass related the elimination of sexism to African American advancement, like members of the clubwomen's movement would at the turn of the century. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the white women's rights activist, called Douglass "the only man I ever saw who understood the degradation of the disfranchisement of women." Douglass realized the different challenges facing black and white women, and addressed them in his pro-feminist speeches and writings, but he generally advocated for women's rights in nonracial terms. Douglass shared the clubwomen's desire for assimilation while eschewing race pride per se. He believed that blacks sometimes had to organize along racial lines, but he felt that such groups were routes to integration and citizenship rather than autonomous ends. Unlike most clubwomen, however, Douglass argued for the immediate integration of all American institutions and equal political and civil rights for blacks and whites. In this regard, he was perhaps the most militant of the post-Reconstruction era's black spokespersons.

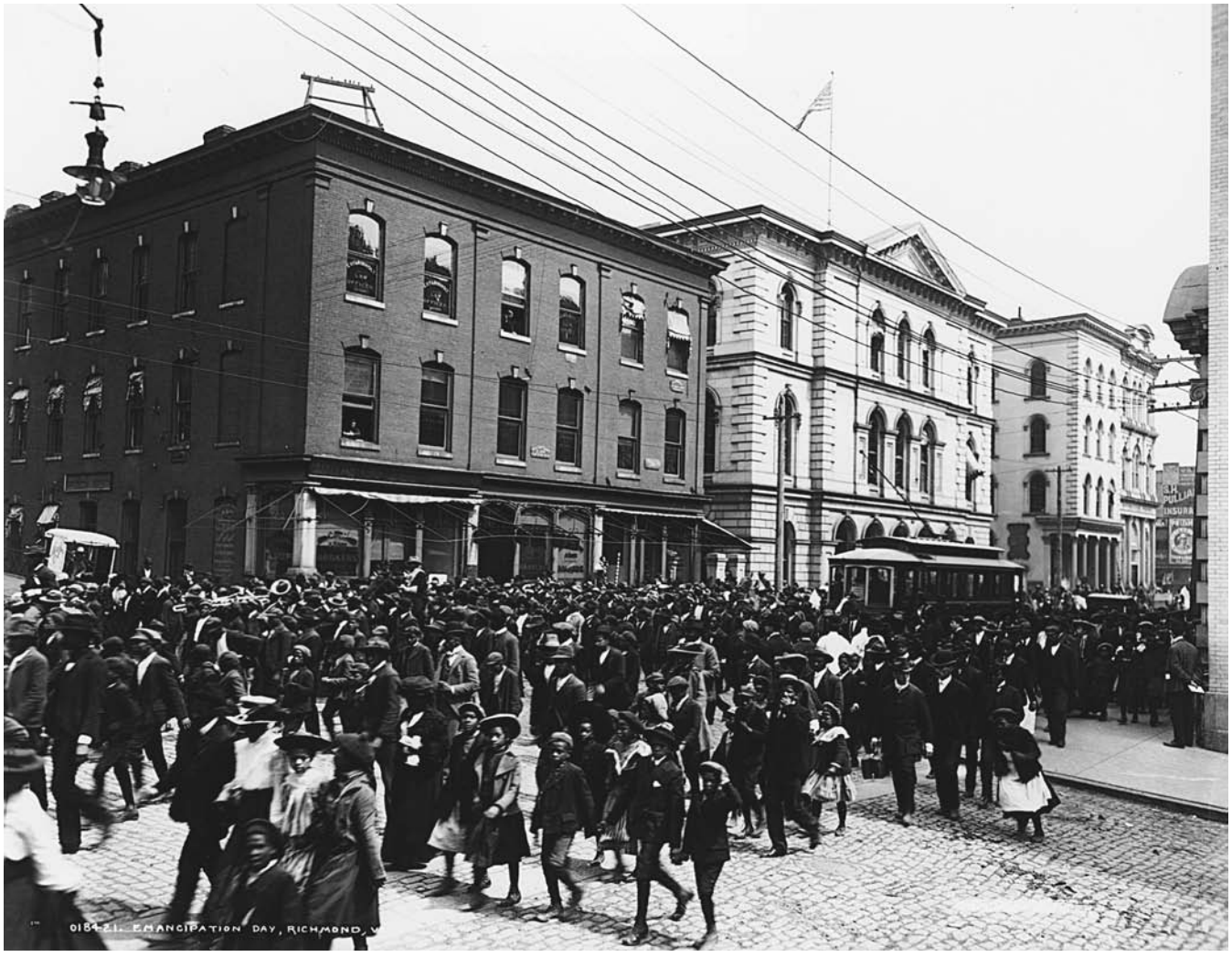
Douglass did not reject entirely the black economic sphere as a site for gaining power. He believed that learning trades and acquiring property would bring African Americans closer to full citizenship rights. During this period, Douglass felt that classical education was not sufficient and called for industrial education. Unlike conservatives, however, Douglass believed that blacks would succeed economically on the open market rather than through all-black commercial and industrial networks. Douglass wanted blacks to compete with whites for money, resources, and employment rather than operate within separate communities. In an 1886 speech, he told a Boston audience, "I think the blacks are in a position in some respects more favorable to progress than the whites. They, at least, can work. They have hard hands, strong frames, and are accustomed to toil, and the toilers of any country will, in the end, be uppermost." More than any other leader of the period, Douglass believed that blacks could gain social, political, and economic equality to whites through full participation in all American institutions. Although he understood the usefulness of certain tenets of black nationalism, Douglass rejected separate black and white spheres as both ends and means to solving racial problems.

Booker T. Washington

Booker T. Washington became America's most influential black man following an 1895 speech in which he endorsed racial segregation. This "Atlanta Compromise" address proposed black disfranchisement and a repudiation of black political power in the South in return for a share of the economic growth that came with post-Reconstruction Northern investment in the former Confederacy. The speech epitomized Booker T. Washington's leadership. It eschewed racial pride, and it urged blacks to be humble. It implied that black ignorance rather than white racism was the key barrier to black success. It also proposed that blacks and whites inhabit separate social spheres, and it called for a retreat from political protest and for a focus on economic advancement. To Washington, civil rights were meaningless without the protection of wealth.

Born a slave in 1856, Washington was first educated shortly after emancipation. As a teen, he received secondary training at Hampton Institute, a white-run industrial school. Hampton's program molded Washington's belief that liberal arts courses like reading, philosophy, grammar, history, and arithmetic were useful only in conjunction with job skills and training in trades like sewing, carpentry, construction, and printing. Washington's outstanding record as a student and then a teacher at Hampton earned him a recommendation from the school's white headmaster for a position as the principal of a newly chartered black normal school in Tuskegee, Alabama in 1881.

Washington's leadership and expansion of Tuskegee Institute centered on territorial possession, ownership of property, and land control, making the school into a model of independence that anticipated future black nationalist ideas involving economic solidarity and racial separatism. In particular, Tuskegee's brick-making enterprise materialized Washington's philosophies. Washington believed that a brickyard would boost Tuskegee's income, beautify the town, prove the school's usefulness to the community, and teach students an industry. Brick making also gave Washington control over the construction of new



Emancipation Day Parade in Richmond, Virginia, on April 3, 1905. The parade celebrates the fall of Richmond, when African Americans of the city became free. *(Library of Congress)*

buildings on campus. Furthermore, it asserted black discipline and modernity to racist whites, because producing brick from start to finish was difficult, demanding, scientific work.

Although Tuskegee was Washington's home base, it was not the only site from which he wielded influence. Another vehicle he used to bolster black economic strength was the National Negro Business League (NNBL). In 1915, the year of Washington's death, NNBL membership was estimated to be as high as 40,000, with 600 local chapters in thirty-six states and West Africa. The NNBL was an alliance of property-owning blacks whose total resources could help overcome problems faced by individual investors, most notably lack of capital and difficulties getting loans from white bankers. The organization also endorsed "buy-black" campaigns.

Washington's promotion of all-black towns typified his balancing act: black autonomy on the one hand, accommodation of white racists on the other. Washington declared self-segregated places like Mound Bayou, Mississippi, a town founded in 1867 by Isaiah Thornton Montgomery, a former slave, to be "the finest possible concrete argument that the Negro is ready for citizenship." He claimed that white racial separatism "has frequently been to create for the Negro a special business opportunity." However, Washington ignored the political aspects of all-black towns and did not celebrate publicly their self-governance.

Despite these all-black institutions and their focus

on self-help, positioning Booker T. Washington as a black nationalist is a curious proposition because of his accommodationism, deference to white norms, gradualism, and assuaging of white racists. Historians and contemporary observers have been conflicted about whether or not Washington's refusal to confront whites in exchange for the smooth operation of the Tuskegee machine and his acquisition of personal power ultimately benefited or harmed black Americans. Although Tuskegee's success refuted the basest claims of black inferiority, it also willingly accepted white limitations on the scope of black achievement and autonomy. Washington's overall impact on American race relations until his death in 1915 remains a source of considerable scholarly debate.

W.E.B. Du Bois

W.E.B. Du Bois was one of Washington's staunchest critics during the early twentieth century. In his classic 1903 book, *The Souls of Black Folk*, the thirty-five-year-old college professor Du Bois challenged the consensus that Washington spoke for all African Americans. According to the Massachusetts-born Du Bois, "Mr. Washington's program practically accepts the alleged inferiority of the Negro races." Du Bois doubted Washington's belief that civil and constitutional rights would evolve from black wealth and thought that Washington's refusal to focus on politics made his economic vision unreliable.

In July 1905, Du Bois brought together thirty black men in Ontario, Canada, for what would become known as the Niagara Movement. This movement centered on leadership by college graduates, whom Du Bois referred to as the Talented Tenth. The Niagara Movement championed voting and civil rights protest as the means to increase black opportunity in the United States. The Niagarites saw Washington as the greatest obstacle to their goals.

Although the all-black Niagara Movement folded after four years, it gave birth to the interracial National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which became one of the most powerful black sociopolitical organizations in the twentieth century. The integrated nature of the NAACP challenged Washington's call for racial separatism. NAACP members argued that civil rights were fundamental to black freedom and economic independence. W.E.B. Du Bois became the NAACP's director of publicity and research in July 1910 and founded the organization's official journal, *The Crisis.* From his position as its editor, Du Bois opposed Washington's policies and called for increased black political protest.

From emancipation to the twentieth century, African Americans proposed a variety of strategies to achieve first-class citizenship. Many, most notably the emigrationists, believed that such a condition was impossible within the United States, and urged blacks to return to Africa to form new governments and societies. Most, however, insisted that the battle for freedom be contested in America. Some, like Booker T. Washington, believed economic advancement to be a harbinger of equal protection under the law. Others, including Frederick Douglass and W.E.B. Du Bois, insisted that blacks could best advance through political means and the immediate integration of white-dominated institutions. These debates resonated throughout twentieth-century intellectual history, reflecting the competing traditions of integrationism and black nationalism in African American life. In the 1960s, for example, these differences were demarcated by the emergence of the Black Power movement in response to the civil rights movement. The longevity of these dialogues suggests the permanence of the struggle by blacks for equal opportunity in the United States.

Michael Ezra

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Movement to Abolish Convict Labor

Convict labor was a facet of American criminal justice from the colonial period and usually took the form of temporary enslavement or indentured servitude. Significantly, it was individualized. Similarly, efforts to reform and humanize criminal justice began at least as early as William Penn and his Pennsylvania Quakers. Later reformers, including Benjamin Rush, Thomas Jefferson, Louis and Theodore Dwight, Edward Livingston, Dorothea Lynde Dix, and Charles Sumner helped create in the United States what, despite numerous and obvious flaws, was hailed by such European observers as Gustave de Beaumont, Alexis de Tocqueville, and Nicholas Julius as the very model of enlightened criminal justice. As George Washington Cable, a noted Southern social reform advocate, wrote in *The Silent South* (1885), however, "[c]ommunities rarely allow the prison its rightful place among their investments of public money for the improvement of public morals and public safety. Its outlays are begrudged because they do not yield cash incomes equal to their cash expenses."

Penitentiary Models

For Americans in general, and the voters of the South in particular, taxpayer support of a state prison was an unpopular proposition almost from the start. As the potential for capitalist profit from convict labor became clear, movements to maintain the reformatory ideals of the penitentiary, protect prisoners from exploitation, and prevent the unfree labor of convicts from negatively impacting free workers faced a constant struggle with both state and local authorities and the enterprises that profited from convict labor. These movements lasted well into the twentieth century and face new challenges in the twenty-first.

By the early nineteenth century, the concept of reformative penitentiaries had taken hold throughout the United States. The "Auburn System," pioneered at the New York penitentiary in the 1820s, provided for separate cells for each prisoner and a congregate work area, managed by private contractors. This combination of the perceived educational value of hard work for convicts and the very real potential of profitable manufacturing had a broad appeal throughout the country in these early years of industrial capitalism. Consequently, the Auburn model was widely mimicked and, by mid-century, every state with any sort of central prison, except Pennsylvania and New Jersey (which relied on expensive Quaker-inspired solitary confinement and largely symbolic labor), had adopted variations on the Auburn penitentiary. In states with no penitentiary before the Civil War, such as Florida and the Carolinas, individual convicts were leased to individual bidders in a manner not unlike a slave auction (the crucial difference, of course, was that the service of convicts was temporary in most cases).

A logical extension of the penitentiary-as-factory model, in fact, was the "convict lease," in which either the entire penitentiary facility was leased to a private contractor or, in some cases, inmates were remanded to individual bidders for work outside the walls of the prison. This notion, too, was quickly adopted across the country. Although convicts labored in all antebellum American penitentiaries, and labored for private contractors in many facilities under the "contract system," the notion of leasing either the entire facility or its inmates was most appealing in the South and West. This idea did not take hold in most of the North and Northeast, in part, because the emergence of penitentiaries coincided, in these regions, with the growth of the industrial economy. Clearly, convicts who worked for private interests were in competition with free laborers. The relatively broad franchise in the North and Northeast, combined with the strength and influence of workers' movements, made convict leasing politically unattractive. The relatively slow emergence of significant private industry in the South and West, on the other hand, opened the door for pri-

vate interests to employ convicts. In the South, in particular, the pervasiveness of slavery (and the relatively restricted franchise for even free white men) made convict leasing politically more palatable.

Racialization of Convict System in Post–Civil War Era

After the Civil War and the end of chattel slavery, race became a prominent issue in the penal systems of the United States in general, and the South in particular. The code of race relations that dictated day-to-day life in the late nineteenth-century South forbade the equal treatment of African-American and white prisoners. This repressive social system, combined with the fact that the former slaves, or "freedmen," represented a new group of potential convicts, made the exploitation of convict labor far easier to defend than during the antebellum period. Concern for any failure of the system to reform and redeem the convict was blunted by the widespread belief in the inherent inferiority of African Americans. Furthermore, the safety and health of the convicts was not an issue for white society since the general welfare of the black race was rarely considered important in white public discourse. Thus, the expanded practice of leasing convicts to private contractors stemmed in part from an overall decrease in public concern for the welfare of its prisoners commensurate with an increase in the number of African Americans in the system. These factors, combined with the very real potential for substantial profits for government agencies and cheap labor for lessees, perpetuated convict leasing in the United States well into the twentieth century.

Resistance to Contract Labor

Several Southern states, including Georgia and Mississippi, began limited leasing programs almost immediately after the end of the Civil War, and the direct leasing of convict labor soon became common throughout the South, and the Deep South in particular. In fact, by the end of Reconstruction, all of the former slave states with the exception of Delaware used some form of leasing system to maintain their convict populations. Outside the South, however, only Nebraska, New Mexico, and Washington leased convicts after the Civil War. The Southern prisoners, increasingly and overwhelmingly African Americans, were employed on cotton and sugar plantations, in railroad, levee, and dock construction and maintenance, in the timber and lumber industries, in the turpentine industry, and in coal mining. Although it was not until the 1930s that convict leasing and contract labor were finally brought down in most states, numerous local and national movements had organized explicitly to oppose the practices, including the Louisiana Prison Reform Association, various state branches of the national Central Howard Association (named for eighteenth-century British reformer John Howard), the National (later, American) Prison Association, the (North) Carolina Prisoner's Aid Society, the Texas Society for the Friendless, the Ex-Prisoners' Aid Society of Virginia, the Anti-Convict League and Union of Alabama, and the State Campaign Committee for the Abolishment of the Convict Contract System (also of Alabama). By the 1870s, in fact, there was already a strong movement afoot to combat the increased use of convict labor for private profit. The movement in opposition to convict leasing was diverse and the emphasis of the reformers differed in every state, but criticism of the system centered around a few common themes.

The primary concern was humanitarian. Even in the increasingly intense Jim Crow environment of the late nineteenth century, reformers were able to gain support for their attacks on leasing by pointing to the horrible conditions often faced by the convicts. Investigations in Georgia in the 1870s, for example, revealed frequent and brutal whippings of inmates, often for trivial reasons. Texas convicts were discovered to be shoeless and ill clad, even in winter, and to be fed insufficient and often rancid rations, and Tennessee investigators decried the poor health and sanitary conditions in the prison work camps. In Alabama, a startling 41 percent of all leased convicts died in 1869. In all leasing states, moreover, the public decried the use of very young, very old, and female inmates in work programs. Such early humanitarian concerns were easily laid to rest by authorities, however. Restructured leases limiting the nature and amount of corporal punishments, increasing and better regulating the food, lodging, and clothing of convicts, and mandating a general improvement in the sanitary conditions of work camps did much to defray criticism. More importantly, state and local governments coupled these minor reforms with increased charges to the lessees, thereby increasing the flow of money into public coffers and muting much of the criticism.

Several critics focused on questions of penology. Booker T. Washington, for example, argued that the lease system provided no mechanism for the improvement or reform of convicts and that, in fact, the harshness of the system made many convicts worse than

they had been before their confinement. One Alabama convict inspector wrote, in his 1882 report, that the notion that the state prison system was at all reformatory was "one of the grandest farces, and one of the most sublime humbugs that human intelligence could possibly imagine." The alternative, as supporters of the lease did not hesitate to note, was increased public funding of the penal system, and concerns for the improvement of prisoners were again denied their "rightful place."

Just as supporters of convict leasing (and contract labor in general) emphasized financing in their argument for continuing the system, critics pointed to the negative economic results in their calls for reform. The most basic argument was that convicts, like slaves, served as unfree, low-cost, and therefore unfair competition with free laborers. The Farmers' Alliance, Populist movement, and labor groups, including the Knights of Labor, rallied in state after state to argue on these grounds. In Tennessee, in 1891 and 1892, the conflict between free workers and the exploiters of convict labor came to a head when free miners, in a replay of similar actions in Kentucky five years earlier, assaulted and took possession of several coal mines employing prisoners.

The convicts were then either set free or, in a powerful act of symbolism, shipped by rail to the state capital in Nashville. The free miners were emboldened by the recent political success of Populist and Alliance candidates, and then embittered and driven to action by the still-slow pace of change. By 1895, the Tennessee miners, like their colleagues in Kentucky, succeeded in removing the last convict from direct competition with free labor in the state. Free miners in other states were never as aggressive (or as successful) as those in Tennessee or Kentucky, but between 1881 and 1900 over twenty strikes, with convict labor as a central bone of contention, occurred throughout the Southern coalfields. According to historian Karin Shapiro, the failure of free miners to win the fight in Georgia was due in part to the relatively small size of the coal industry in the state. In Alabama, it was not the size but the makeup of the workforce that may have hampered the miners: the coal mining workforce in that state was almost half African American, and the powerful racism of the era made cooperation between the miners and their winning of sympathy from the broader public more difficult.

The Profit Motive and Growing Public Awareness

Sympathy for free labor was, of course, not the only economic weapon in the arsenal of lease critics. In Alabama, for example, it was argued that each convict robbed the merchants of the Birmingham area (where the state's coal mines and, therefore, convict laborers were concentrated) of a family of potential consumers. Similarly, Rebecca Latimer Felton of Georgia argued that the system's increasingly racial bias might encourage African Americans to leave the state and thereby deprive employers of cheap free labor. Furthermore, in these states and others, it became clear that police and judges often arrested and convicted men (and women) for no reason other than to bring in fees from leasing. In Birmingham, this situation became so severe that local iron and steel mills protested that many of their best workers were unfairly hauled off to the convict coal mines after carousing on payday. They were then unavailable for their legitimate jobs the next morning.

Indeed, the massive amounts of money the lease systems brought into state and local coffers engendered widespread corruption, which was also vigorously criticized by opponents of leasing. By 1900, Mississippi critics (most prominently, the editor of the Jackson *Clarion Ledger*) managed to convince the state government to take sole custody of convicts and work them on a 12,000-acre plantation in the Delta. This success came after decades of manipulation of the system by contractors who had become enormously wealthy on the backs of convict laborers. Removing private profit from the equation, reformers argued, would not only benefit the state treasury but would eliminate the often corrupt bidding wars for leases. Louisiana, under pressure from the influential citizens of the Louisiana Prison Reform Association, followed Mississippi's lead in 1900.

Virginia and West Virginia, never keen on leasing, had focused instead on the contract labor of convicts inside prison factories. By the 1910s, the good roads movement had largely succeeded in drawing convict labor out of private contracts and into public improvement work. In the early years of the twentieth century, North and South Carolina gradually shifted from for-profit leasing to a system that gave counties control of convicts for the purpose of road construction and maintenance. North Carolina returned to the lease system during World War I and continued it, on a limited basis, until finally outlawing it in 1929. State convicts thereafter were concentrated almost entirely

in road work. South Carolina, on the other hand, continued limited contracts on prison labor while also operating "state-use" industries in the penitentiary. Georgia ended convict leasing and contract labor in 1909, and Texas did the same in 1912. In both states, as in Mississippi and Louisiana before them, it was exposure of the widespread brutality and corruption of the system that finally forced change. Similar scandals rocked Arkansas, but the finances of penal slavery were seemingly too strong to prompt rapid reform. Finally, in an effort to bolster reform efforts, in 1912 Governor George W. Donaghey pardoned 360 state convicts. The move earned him praise from voters and antileasing activists, as well as Theodore Roosevelt and Socialist and labor militant Eugene V. Debs. Finally, in 1913, the state abolished leasing.

Although humanitarian groups, penal theorists and reformers, labor unions, and hundreds of politicians of various stripes (not least the Populists) had long struggled to effect change, it was ultimately negative publicity that broke the power of what was often called the "penitentiary rings" of Florida and Alabama. The two states' systems were quite different in most respects—Florida had little central penal authority and leased most of its convicts to turpentine camps, plantations, and lumber mills, whereas Alabama's large and complex penal system was financed through widespread (and quite profitable) contracts with coal mining companies. The two states' final shifts to new penal practices were prompted by very similar scandals. In Florida, the fate of Martin Talbert, a young North Dakotan, caused such an uproar that the state legislature ended leasing in 1923. In Alabama, similarly, the deaths of Hoote Taylor and James Knox, in 1925, added impetus to reform calls, which finally succeeded in 1928.

Over the years, thousands upon thousands of men and women had died in the custody of various states, but Talbert, Taylor, and Knox were all victims of a combination of brutal beatings and brutal work. In addition, they were all from outside the states in which they died. Most importantly, they were all white men in a system that functioned predominantly, if not solely, as a means of controlling black men. To the detriment of lease supporters, these factors all combined to attract the attention of Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World*, which ran detailed exposes of the South's penal systems. For Southern boosters, even those who favored leasing in principle, "bad press" was the last straw.

Conclusion

In many ways, American penal history, particularly as regards convict labor, can be seen in microcosm in Alabama. In the early 1840s, the state adopted a variation on the Auburn system, was one of the first states to lease its prison to an outside contractor, and was one of the first to lease convicts outside the walls of the penitentiary. After the Civil War, state convicts worked on state-owned and private plantations, in state and private factories, on railroads, docks, levees, and roads, and in timbering camps and lumber mills. Moreover, coal mining made the state's penal system one of the most profitable (and corrupt) in the nation. Opponents of the lease system pointed to the stunning racism (often between 80 and 90 percent of the state's convicts were African American), deep corruption (which nearly brought down a governor) and, increasingly, outrageous dangers it engendered (over 120 black convict miners died in one explosion in 1911). Religious reformers (including the state Baptist Convention), labor groups (including the Knights of Labor and United Mine Workers), Progressive-era business groups (including the Jaycees and, eventually, the United States Steel Corporation), and women's groups (including the League of Women Voters) were among the many who campaigned against the system. This eclectic group of reformers was not unlike others throughout the country, since convict labor (particularly for private profit) impacted upon so many facets of society. Alabama was also typical in that the fight against convict leasing and contract labor drew the attention of some of the state's most prominent citizens (including Booker T. Washington, Julia S. Tutwiler, Amelia Worthington Fisk, Pattie Ruffner Jacobs, and Hugo Black).

The lease system essentially died with Talbert, Taylor, and Knox, but convict labor continued. For example, in response to the 1892 miners' rebellion, Tennessee built its own mining prison at Brushy Mountain with little public outcry. It functioned until 1938 but was gradually supplanted in importance by state-operated light industry. In fact, well into the twentieth century, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, Iowa, and several other states outside the South maintained a contract labor system for state and local convicts. In the country as a whole, the life blood of the contract and leasing systems, and the reason for their survival in the face of mounting protest, was profit. Even as these systems declined in popularity, at least thirty-five states employed convicts in manufacturing goods for state use. By 1928, contract (and

some lease) labor on the part of convicts was still legal (if not always employed) in thirty-one states, but the trend was toward curtailment of such activities.

Contract labor and leasing emerged in the mid-nineteenth century because state and local governments were unwilling to pay to support reformative penitentiaries and were attracted by the notion that, rather than being a drain on public coffers, penal facilities could be made profitable. The desire for profit (or at least sustainability) continued to motivate politicians and influenced the decision to convert prisons into publicly owned and operated factories and plantations. This fixation on income from prison labor made prisoners into a commodity and, ironically, encouraged authorities (if only subconsciously) to desire more convicts. It also discouraged any efforts (such as education, parole, or other reformative measures) that might hasten individual convicts' departure from the system. In the late twentieth century, the notion of private, for-profit penal administration made a dramatic comeback, and a new generation of reformers began to attack this "innovation" in terms that are almost as old as the American penitentiary itself.

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Anti-Lynching Movement

Lynching, lynch law, or "Lynch's Law" as it was originally known, originated during the Revolutionary War as a form of frontier justice, occurring most frequently in areas that lacked routine access to law enforcement. In most cases where "lynch law" was employed, members of the community, in the absence of recognized court officers, would use their own interpretations of the law, serving as judge, jury, and executioner. Over time, vigilante justice became integrated into American life, occupying a fringe space in the competition for social, political, and economic dominance. Although images of men and women hanging from trees are the most familiar manifestations of this "strange fruit," attacks ranged from tar and feathering to burning, beating, and dragging individuals to their death. Whether carried out in secret or before a crowd of thousands, these violent, extralegal attacks left members of the community with vivid memories of the brutality of lynching.

The Color of Lynching

In the antebellum period, lynching was used to punish those involved in slave insurrection both black and white, but for the most part those held in bondage were exempt from the penalty of death for two reasons: first, because of their monetary value, and second, because murder of a slave at the hands of "parties unknown" undermined the authority of the slave owner. Extralegal means were often used to punish challenges to social boundaries by European, Asian, and Mexican immigrants, as well as native-born whites. It was only after the Civil War that African Americans became the primary target of lynch mobs.

White Southerners feared the newly freed millions who gained not only the protection of the federal government but also the power of the vote. Groups like the Ku Klux Klan and the Knights of the White Camelia launched guerrilla attacks against African Americans, Republicans, and sympathetic whites who favored the ideological death of the Old South. In this hostile atmosphere, African-American calls for social and racial equality were interpreted freely as demands for interracial sexual relationships between black men and white women. Public proclamations by white Southerners against "race amalgamation" masked the fear that African Americans would turn on their former owners and expressed the resentment over the demise of the slave system. During the next several decades, the anti-lynching movement worked to undermine and ultimately eradicate these long-held attitudes in the pursuit of racial justice. Between 1889 and 1932, more than 3,700 people were lynched in the United States. The majority of these lynchings occurred in the South, and most of the victims were African-American men.

African-American Anti-Lynching Mobilization

Ida B. Wells-Barnett, journalist and activist, stands as one of the first and most outspoken opponents of lynching. Her most important publication, *A Red Record: Tabulated Statistics and Alleged Causes of Lynching in the United States, 1892–1893–1894* (1895), carefully documents where and why African Americans were lynched during this period. Wells-Barnett's findings challenged the claims made by white men that African-American men brought the wrath of the mob on themselves by sexually assaulting white women. Although there were incidences of rape, Wells-Barnett found that less than one-third of all lynchings occurred because of this crime. Instead, black men and women were murdered for reasons as varied as theft, arson, or for simply being related to a person accused of a crime. In addition, lynchers targeted African Americans who owned their own farms and businesses, those who were outspoken, and individuals

SOUTHERN HORRORS
LYNCH LAW IN ALL ITS PHASES, 1892

Ida B. Wells was a leading African-American opponent of lynching in the post–Civil War era. In this pamphlet, she argued that white men justified the practice as retribution against black men's alleged rape of white women.

PREFACE

The greater part of what is contained in these pages was published in the *New York Age*, June 25, 1892, in explanation of the editorial which the Memphis whites considered sufficiently infamous to justify the destruction of my paper, *The Free Speech.*

Since the appearance of that statement, requests have come from all parts of the country that "Exiled" (the name under which it then appeared) be issued in pamphlet form. Some donations were made, but not enough for that purpose. The notable effort of the ladies of New York and Brooklyn Oct 5 have enabled me to comply with this request and give the world a true, unvarnished account of the causes of lynch law in the South.

This statement is not a shield for the despoiler of virtue, nor altogether a defense for the poor blind Afro-American Sampsons who suffer themselves to be betrayed by white Delilahs. It is a contribution to truth, an array of facts, the perusal of which it is hoped will stimulate this great American Republic to demand that justice be done though the heavens fall.

It is with no pleasure I have dipped my hands in the corruption here exposed. Somebody must show that the Afro-American race is more sinned against than sinning, and it seems to have fallen upon me to do so. The awful death-roll that Judge Lynch is calling every week is appalling, not only because of the lives it takes, the rank cruelty and outrage to the victims, but because of the prejudice it fosters and the stain it places against the good name of a weak race.

The Afro-American is not a bestial race. If this work can contribute in any way toward proving this, and at the same time arouse the conscience of the American people to a demand for justice to every citizen, and punishment by law for the lawless, I shall feel I have done my race a service. Other considerations are of minor importance.

New York City, Oct. 26, 1892.

Ida B. Wells

Source: Ida B. Wells, *Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases* (1892). Reprinted in Jacqueline Jones Royster, ed., *Southern Horrors and Other Writings: The Anti-Lynching Campaign of Ida B. Wells, 1892–1900* (Boston: Bedford Books, 1997).

who failed to acknowledge their place as second-class citizens.

In the postbellum South, white male fears of political, economic, and social emasculation were hidden behind the myth of the black rapist. Southern obsession with this fiction was deeply entrenched, even though by the 1930s, more than fifty women were lynched. In addition to *A Red Record*, Wells-Barnett's other publications, including *Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases* (1892), and *Mob Rule in New Orleans: Robert Charles and His Fight to the Death* (1900) stripped away the veneer claims that lynching was a chivalrous act in defense of white womanhood. Instead, mob violence was identified as a form of social control intended to keep African Americans in their place as second-class citizens. As their political rights were being stripped away by Southern Democrats, so too were blacks denied freedom of association, equal access to education, and full protection under the law. Wells-Barnett's studies, along with her numerous news articles and lectures that challenged the mythology supporting lynching, served as the foundation for anti-lynching campaigns through the mid-twentieth century.

In 1890, T. Thomas Fortune, a contemporary of Wells-Barnett, organized the National Afro-American League, a nationwide organization opposed to lynching. At the first meeting, held in Chicago, the group called for an end to mob violence and the prosecution of lynchers. The enthusiasm of this meeting could not be sustained, and Fortune's organization was unable to foster widespread support. However, local leagues were formed, and the message of the failed league inspired others to speak out on lynching. One of the more notable voices was that of emigration supporter Bishop Henry M. Turner, who called for a convention to discuss the problem of mob violence. From this meeting, the National Equal Rights Council was formed. The ERC program incorporated both political and legal campaigns to secure the eradication of lynching. Its plans included investigating and publicizing episodes of mob violence, along with lobbying federal and state officials for legislation to aid the victims of vigilante justice and their dependents. The

ideas from these conventions in the early 1890s formed the basis of the anti-lynching movement's two-pronged campaign that aimed to draw attention to these extralegal attacks and to secure federal legislation.

Perhaps the most sustained social and political activity came from black women through a series of local women's clubs. African-American women's groups, like the National Association of Colored Women (NACW), also adopted the anti-lynching cause as part of their campaigns. At the September 1897 meeting of NACW in Nashville, Tennessee, the group's agenda included the eradication of lynching, in addition to the promotion of temperance. Local women's clubs were also active in the fight against mob violence. For example, the Ida B. Wells chapter in Chicago launched a campaign against vigilante justice by writing to President William McKinley, Congress, and the governor of Illinois, with the goal of securing official statements against recent lynchings.

The National Afro-American League, reconvened by T. Thomas Fortune as the Afro-American Council in September 1898, again called for the eradication of lynching in its crusade for racial justice. Mary Church Terrell, the first president of the NACW, served as the director of the Anti-lynching Bureau. Booker T. Washington, founder and president of Tuskegee Institute, was noticeably silent on the lynching issue. Known for his program of accommodation, Washington refused to condemn Republican leaders and southern whites for their inability, and in some cases refusal, to halt attacks on African Americans. Although he occasionally made anonymous contributions to the struggle against mob violence, both to organizations and to individuals, Washington's position on this issue placed him at odds with many African-American leaders. By the turn of the century, the split in the anti-lynching movement was obvious. On one side were outspoken activists like Ida B. Wells, who advocated a confrontational approach, including self-defense, to secure an end to mob violence. On the other side were supporters of Washington, who advocated a less overt program of change to the status of African Americans in the South.

By the 1890s, whites joined interracial organizations that advocated an end to racial discrimination. The National Civil Rights Association, founded by Albion Tourgee in October 1891, was ardently opposed to segregation laws and discrimination. In addition, Tourgee served as Homer A. Plessy's attorney in the 1896 landmark U.S. Supreme Court case, *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which legalized racial segregation in the South. The turn of the century marked the first documented meeting of white southerners opposed to lynching. Those present at the Montgomery Race Conference of 1900 discussed the impact of mob violence on southern society. Much of the focus was on the way lynching undermined the authority of elected officials and amplified racial discord. These issues discussed in 1900 would resurface again among white southern anti-lynching groups after World War I. The conference concluded without any significant resolutions, solutions, or reflections on the underlying causes of mob violence.

W.E.B. Du Bois and the NAACP

The next major chapter in the anti-lynching crusade led by African Americans took place in 1905, when W.E.B. Du Bois invited a group of African Americans to Niagara Falls, Canada, to form an organization that would stand in opposition to Booker T. Washington. For Du Bois and many others, Washington's public message of accommodation could not be reconciled with the continuing attacks on African Americans and their status in the South. This group of twenty-nine argued that African Americans needed protection from mob violence and that Washington's program of hard work, thriftiness, and patience did not lead to increased tolerance and warm feelings between the races. The events of the following year, including the Atlanta Race Riot and the national responses to the Brownsville Affair, laid plain the need for a more aggressive plan of action among the Du Bois supporters. These two crises can be seen as a watershed marking a shift in anti-lynching tactics, as well as an increase in interest in the anti-lynching movement and in interracial cooperation to fight against mob violence. The Niagara Movement dissolved by 1908, but it laid the groundwork for a new national organization to fight against racial bias.

The idea for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was sparked by the 1908 race riot in Springfield, Illinois. In 1909, a multi-racial group of liberals called for a national conference to discuss the recent outbreaks of mob violence, black disfranchisement, and racial discrimination. Three African-American activists who were involved with the formation of the NAACP—W.E.B. Du Bois, Mary Church Terrell, and Ida Wells-Barnett—brought with them a history of anti-lynching organizing and ensured that lynching would be at the top of the group's agenda. The platform of the NAACP attacked all areas of discrimination, from legal segregation and disfranchisement to access to equal edu-

cation and enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. During its first year, the association called for more protection of African Americans in the South and an end to racial bias and lynching. Unlike many of the post-Reconstruction black organizations, the NAACP was able to capitalize on the experience and networks of its members. In addition, the organization, through its publication *The Crisis*, was able to engage with the increasingly literate and professional African-American population on the issue of lynching.

The NAACP used every available resource to publicize outbreaks of mob violence, including collecting its own statistics, providing information to newspapers, conducting its own investigations of mob violence, organizing lectures and conventions, and performing dramatic interpretations of famous cases. Both James Weldon Johnson and Walter White, two of the most important leaders of the association, began their careers investigating lynchings as field secretaries for the organization. By 1921, the organization could claim 400 branches throughout the United States. Although the NAACP program attacked racial discrimination on a variety of fronts, one of the main tenets of the NAACP was the use of the courts to bring about racial equality. In the early years of the group's existence, the NAACP's Legal Defense was one of the most successful departments in the organization.

Between 1901 and 1920, fifteen measures were introduced against the lynching of foreign nationals. Although these victims' dependents received almost $1 million in compensation, there was no discussion about African Americans who suffered at the hands of lynchers. The majority of congressional representatives exhibited concern only when there was an increase in the numbers of white victims of mob violence. During this same period, sixteen bills were introduced to investigate and prosecute those who participated in lynchings; all sixteen perished in committee. The first major anti-lynching bill to be seriously considered by Congress was the 1922 Dyer Bill, introduced by Representative Leonidas Dyer (R-MO). Dyer was a strong advocate for the passage of federal anti-lynching legislation and had proposed measures as early as 1911. Moved by the 1917 race riot in his home state, Dyer once again introduced anti-lynching legislation in 1918. The bill, which defined lynching as the murder of a United States citizen by a group larger than three people, set forth to punish not only the mob participants but also the law officers who failed to carry out their assigned duties. Thus, sheriffs who failed to protect their prisoners or failed to arrest the mob participants faced a fine up to $5,000 and up to five years in prison, and those convicted of colluding with the mob faced sentences of five years to life imprisonment. In addition, the bill charged the federal government with responsibility for prosecuting those who participated in the lynching in the event that the state apparatus failed to do so. Finally, compensation of $10,000 would be provided to the victim's dependents by the county where the lynching occurred. The legislation received support from both the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) and the NAACP. The association drew upon the relationship forged between African Americans and the U.S. government during Reconstruction and envisioned federal intervention and a national solution, rather than local and regional solutions. This difference produced a deep divide between the NAACP and other groups based in the North and southerners who opposed lynching and favored states' rights.

Anti-Lynching Activism Among African-American Women

In anticipation of the bill, the Anti-Lynching Crusaders, a female-based offshoot of the NAACP, organized a campaign to enroll 1 million female members and raise $1 million to push for the passage of this legislation. The underlying goal of this group, led by Mary B. Talbert, board member of the NAACP and president of the NACW, was to motivate women to participate in the anti-lynching campaign. Several hundred black women, all volunteers, fanned out across their respective states, handing out anti-lynching pamphlets and calling on religious and community leaders to take a public stance against lynching. Talbert herself traveled across the United States to raise funds and support.

One of the most shocking points for the female audience was that women were the victims of lynching along with men. The crusaders tapped into preexisting women's networks, and they succeeded in securing endorsements from prominent white women, including the executive committee of the National Council of Women. The Anti-Lynching Crusaders failed to create an interracial organization with southern white women, but the group was successful in publicizing the anti-lynching campaign in both the black and white press. Although these women did not openly challenge the mythology behind mob violence, later activists would follow the path laid out by the crusaders, using religion, as well as traditional ideas

of respectability and womanhood, to call for an end to lynching.

Initially, African-American and Northern-based interracial associations were optimistic about passage of the Dyer Bill. Yet, while the legislation successfully passed through the House of Representatives, it succumbed to a Democratic filibuster in the Senate. Using the power of the polls, African Americans in the North were able to express their displeasure by voting against opponents of the bill in the 1922 election. The measure would come up for consideration again in 1925 but was again defeated by Southern Democrats. Although the Dyer Bill was finished, the ideas encapsulated in the legislation continued to be put forth time and time again during the next decade.

Federal legislation was so difficult to secure in part because southern members of Congress were skillful in their application the states' rights argument. States like Georgia, Tennessee, Texas, and the Carolinas enacted laws to protect prisoners, compensate victims' families, and punish lynchers. This wave of post-Reconstruction anti-lynching legislation was a result of the struggle between the remaining African Americans in state governments and southern white Democrats fearful of interracial unity among the remaining Republicans, Populists, and groups like the Knights of Labor and the Farmers' Alliance. Across the region, laws were enacted to protect prisoners and punish the instigators and participants in mob violence. These laws coincided with the disfranchisement of African Americans. Those opposed to federal anti-lynching legislation used these laws, though seldom enforced, as proof that white southerners were not unsympathetic to the plight of African Americans; to refute these arguments, those who supported federal intervention pointed to the fact that these laws were rarely applied.

Commission on Interracial Cooperation

Between 1917 and 1921, a wave of mob violence erupted that extended from Texas to Illinois and reflected the post–World War I intolerance of blacks and political radicals. African-American-sponsored organizations sprouted up rapidly to combat what they perceived to be an attack on black communities across the nation. Many of these organizations had ties to either the Socialist or Communist Party, as more blacks began to integrate a class analysis into their understanding of the persistence of racial hatred and violence. The African Blood Brotherhood, founded in 1919 by Cyril V. Briggs, included the end of lynching and mob violence among its concerns. Friends of Negro Freedom, organized by A. Philip Randolph, Chandler Owen, and Nevil Thomas, also denounced lynching. Organizations like the Negro American Political League, which later became the National Equal Rights League, held forums, lectures, and debates publicizing the problem of lynching. By 1928, the Communist Party (CP) and its legal wing, the International Labor Defense (ILD), had become active in the struggle for African-American rights. The International CP identified African Americans in the South as an oppressed nation, and as such the Communists in the United States began an intensive campaign to recruit black members for their challenge to the structures of economic, political, and social injustice in the United States. Offering a critique of capitalism, the CP argued that lynching and mob violence were just more ways to subordinate an already exploited black worker.

In 1919, Will W. Alexander and Willis D. Weatherford formed the Commission on Interracial Cooperation (CIC), in the midst of attacks against African Americans, immigrants, and leftists. Believing that lynching was at the heart of racial conflicts, the commission campaigned for an end to mob violence, peonage, and police brutality. At the same time, it sought to address the racial inequities in areas such as education and public service. Underlying the foundation of the commission was a strong belief in religion and the fellowship of Christians regardless of race. Its goal was racial peace and stability, not racial equity; thus, the CIC had no desire to attack the underlying cause of racial bias or to challenge the established practices of racial segregation. In fact, in its beginning, the group held separate meetings for its black and white members.

To eradicate mob violence, the CIC followed the NAACP in publicizing lynchings, encouraging prominent citizens to influence state and local officials, and rallying support for politicians who spoke out against mob violence. Reaching back to the findings of Ida B. Wells, the Commission agreed that rape was not the root cause of most lynchings. The CIC tried to intervene before hostilities could escalate into violence, and interracial pairs were sent into communities to mediate racial tensions. The group was not afraid to confront those groups, like the Ku Klux Klan, that they considered to bring blight to the region. The commission had the advantage of being based in the South, rendering legitimacy to the claim that indeed some whites in the region did not support lynching

and were willing to work with African Americans to improve relations between the races. The CIC supported state legislation against mob violence and applauded sheriffs who protected their prisoners in the face of an angry mob. Unlike its northern counterpart, the NAACP, the commission refused to support federal anti-lynching legislation as a means to end mob violence. It took the position that the actions of a few should not taint the reputations or affect the wallets of the majority, as they would in the Dyer Bill. Fining entire counties would only serve to increase racial hostility; therefore, interference from Washington would not end the enmity between the races. The commission believed that its goal could be reached only by enforcement of existing state legislation, education, and promotion of tolerance and respect.

In addition to its lobbying efforts and community activities, the CIC published a periodical, *Southern Frontiers*, and numerous pamphlets on the state of race relations and on lynchings. Serving as a clearinghouse for information, the group sent reports of mob violence to newspapers, along with positive depictions of African Americans, featuring heroic acts and intellectual achievements. It was also outspoken about the biased representations of African Americans in school textbooks and encouraged college forums and courses on race relations. Starting in 1925, the commission awarded medals to local law enforcement officials for the successful prevention of mob violence. Most effectively, the organization sponsored the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching in 1930, which published several significant studies, including *Lynchings and What They Mean*, and *The Tragedy of Lynching*. As sociologists and investigators, scholars interviewed local residents to uncover the motivations of mob participants. In these scholarly projects, the CIC promoted research into the underlying economic and social influences at play in episodes of racial violence.

Alliance with White Women

Initially, the CIC and its women's auxiliary, known as the Women's Work Department, were on the same path. Each emphasized gradual reform, a scholarly understanding of lynching, and production of publications. The women's auxiliary offered women an opportunity to take a more active part in the anti-lynching campaign, though they were limited to the role of observers rather than militant activists. The scholarly approach to the lynching crisis allowed the participation of respectable white women, who could take comfort in their educational pursuits. Like their parent organization, the Women's Work Department focused on undermining the myth that lynching was justified because of rape.

The Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching (ASWPL), founded by Jessie Daniel Ames in 1930, was an offshoot of the CIC. In the midst of the Great Depression and an increase in racial violence, Ames believed that another anti-lynching movement was needed to deal a final blow to mob violence. A new group would also allow Ames more control over the direction of an anti-lynching campaign, ending the gendered work of the CIC. Taking a leave of absence as director of the Women's Work Department, Ames created this new volunteer organization that claimed the eradication of lynching as its only goal. Returning to Wells's evidence that most lynchings did not occur as a result of a sexual assault, the ASWPL sought to break down the myths surrounding racial violence. Ames understood that she was fighting against a double standard that characterized white women as fragile individuals who needed to be protected and confined to the home. Meanwhile, under the guise of protecting the virtue of white women, white men could roam with impunity, using the myth of the immoral black woman to engage in unsanctioned sexual relationships and the myth of the black rapist to murder black men without fear of punishment.

By forming an organization limited to white women, Ames avoided the controversies of race and gender equality. The ranks of the ASWPL were made up of respectable, prominent, middle-class, white women who were often involved in a variety of organizations, both religious and secular, including the Young Women's Christian Association (YMCA) and the Methodist Women's Missionary Council. Their profile led Ames to claim that her members were uniquely positioned to challenge common assumptions on the motivations for racial violence.

Membership in the organization grew quickly, and by the 1940s, the ASWPL could claim access to more than 4 million women through their participation in other clubs and organizations. The ASWPL organized around a three-point program that denounced the idea that lynching was essential to the protection of white women; argued that mob violence undermined the Constitution, the legal process, and law enforcement; and insisted that lynching undermined the moral authority of its members' Christian missionary campaigns. Each supporter signed a pledge committing to the prevention of lynchings in their respective communities. The group also offered

A huge crowd in Owensboro, Kentucky, watches Rainey Betha minutes before his execution on August 14, 1936. Like lynchings, public hangings were popular events witnessed by thousands from the late nineteenth century through the mid-twentieth century. *(Brown Brothers)*

a class-based analysis of lynching, turning attention from the poorest members of the community to the most prominent.

The ASWPL supporters were charged with the moral responsibility to eradicate lynching in their communities. Ames argued that mob violence occurred only when communities did not stand in opposition, and it was the duty of respectable, southern white women to lead the way. Like the CIC, the association held lectures, criticized editors for publishing inflammatory stories on black crime and impending lynchings, and lobbied state officials. In addition, supporters were encouraged to write letters and visit local law officers as a way to persuade these men to use their official powers to defuse any potential for mob violence. A telephone tree was implemented so that at the first whisper of trouble, ASWPL women could alert local law enforcement and any other person necessary to defuse a potentially violent situation. Like the NAACP, the association supporters traveled to the scenes of recent lynchings to conduct their own investigations, interviewing both whites and blacks.

For years African-American women in the CIC argued that lynching would end when white women took a prominent position in the movement. However, the ASWPL's racial exclusion was difficult for many to accept. In 1931, the association met with African-American women of the CIC to discuss common problems with their male counterparts. Emerging from this

meeting, Association participants concluded that lynching did not make white women more secure; instead, they were used as political pawns by white men. In addition, the group called for the protection of black women. By 1938, Ames argued that without the vote African Americans were vulnerable to numerous abuses by the local authorities and by the mob. Although Ames had contact with the NAACP's Walter White and the NACW's Mary McLeod Bethune, Ames's attitudes toward the black masses were paternalistic. She spoke publicly on her belief that blacks could not end mob violence. In her opinion, white liberals should be solely responsible for social reform because they could control the speed at which change was adopted.

Ames, as the dominant force in the organization, saw the ASWPL as a regional organization. She refused to support any federal anti-lynching legislation, believing that it was not necessary, and instead she focused her efforts on education and the enforcement of state and local laws to prevent mob violence. Just as the CIC had refused to support the Dyer Bill, the ASWPL refused to support the Costigan-Wagner proposal in 1934. Co-sponsored by Senator Edward Costigan (D-CO) and Senator Robert Wagner (D-NY), this legislation was the second attempt to pass a major anti-lynching bill through Congress. In many ways the Costigan-Wagner Act was similar to the Dyer Bill, with two significant differences. First, there was no specific provision that allowed the federal government to prosecute the members of the lynch mob. Second, federal prosecution of law officers found to be derelict in their duty could take place only if, after thirty days, a state failed to prosecute the officers. This bill gave states some time to marshal their forces, but those who opposed any type of federal intervention still saw this as an infringement on states' rights.

When the NAACP organized support for the Costigan-Wagner Bill, Ames's support as the executive director of the ASWPL was noticeably absent. Rather than support the federal legislation, Ames actively worked behind the scenes to undermine Walter White and the NAACP campaign. Her staunch opposition to federal intervention ultimately caused a split in the association, with the Methodist Woman's Missionary Council siding with the NAACP. Both publicly and unofficially, other ASWPL member organizations moved toward supporting federal legislation. African-American women in the CIC expressed their disapproval of both Ames and the official stance of the ASWPL. Even the commission, which had staunchly opposed the Dyer Bill, came out in support of the Costigan-Wagner Act. Polls taken at the time suggest that 70 percent of Americans and 65 percent of southerners supported federal anti-lynching legislation. Nevertheless, the Costigan-Wagner Bill, in several variations, did not pass.

Although the anti-lynching debate moved forward, Ames and the ASWPL remained mired in her refusal to support federal anti-lynching legislation. The association was disbanded in 1942, with Ames returning briefly to her post as Director of Women's Work in the CIC. In her opinion, the ASWPL had served its purpose, yet Ames failed to see that the civil rights movement was moving on to the next phase.

Conclusion

As the anti-lynching movement built up support for the eradication of race-based violence, it destroyed long-standing myths promoted by white southerners. Although these organizations failed to secure the passage of federal anti-lynching legislation, international attention began to focus on the United States government and its failure to protect the rights of African Americans. The newspaper coverage of segregation, race riots, and lynchings showed how the United States' promotion of international democracy was undermined by its failures to secure democratic freedoms for all its citizens at home. After World War II, the tide slowly turned in favor of civil rights organizations.

Lynching continued throughout the second half of the twentieth century with the murder of Emmett Till in August 1955, the kidnapping and assassination of the three civil rights workers James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner in June 1964, and the dragging death of James Byrd in June 1998. While these were high-profile events, the symbolic significance of lynching had decreased as issues of voting and civil rights became central to the campaigns for racial justice in the United States. There is one coda, however: campaigns against police brutality may bring aspects of the anti-lynching crusade into the twenty-first century.

Prudence Cumberbatch

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Civil Rights Movement 1910–1930

The years between 1910 and 1930 encompass a critical but often overlooked era of civil rights activism in the United States. These twenty years, considered by many as the nadir of race relations in the United States, built the foundations on which a later civil rights movement would thrive. During this time, a varied and crucial group of movements, individuals, and organizations would wrest from white elites the responsibility for initiating activism on their own behalf. Legislative and political victories would be the gains of a later era, but civil rights activists between 1910 and 1930 would provide this later movement with tactics, precedents, and ideologies.

As the first decade of the twentieth century drew to a close, relations between black and white Americans could hardly have been worse. In 1895 Booker T. Washington, in his "Atlanta Compromise" speech, had spoken as the leader of black America in the South. Washington renounced social and political activism, urging blacks instead to adopt a life of industrious work, thrift, and docility. Only after proving their merit to whites would blacks be ready for the responsibilities of political rights such as voting. Essentially, voicing black acceptance of segregation, Washington declared: "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." The next decade would see increased segregation as Jim Crow laws solidified the boundary between blacks and whites.

The economic gains and social calm promised by the compromise failed to appear. Mired in sharecropping, Southern blacks found themselves unable to escape the cycle of debt. Lynching, long a terror in the South, gradually spread across the entire country. At the turn of the century, a rise in lynching began, which by its decline at the outbreak of World War I had claimed more than 1,100 lives. Frustrated with and outraged by Washington's leadership, a group of African Americans, led by the activist intellectual W.E.B. Du Bois, met at Niagara Falls in 1905. The Niagara Movement hoped to take from Washington the leadership of the African American community. In the process, the Niagara Movement aimed to redirect energies from occupational training toward a movement that would acquire for African Americans the political and social equality they deserved. The Niagara Movement would soon disappear, but Du Bois and others would redefine black life in America.

The NAACP

In August 1908, a riot erupted in Springfield, Illinois. A white mob lynched two African American men just miles from the resting place of Abraham Lincoln. Racism and violence could no longer be said to be limited to the South. Dismayed by the dismal state of race relations, a group of progressive white Americans, including journalist Mary White Ovington and Oswald Garrison Villard (a descendant of abolitionist William Garrison), called for a conference in 1909 with the goal of gaining equal rights for African Americans. This group made sure to invite the radical Du Bois, a leading advocate of anti-Washington sentiment, to the conference. The attendees agreed to form a permanent organization to fight for the cause of civil rights. By 1910, this organization was incorporated as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Du Bois, renowned for his academic scholarship, became the director of publicity and research. The only African American among the NAACP's officers, Du Bois described himself as a propagandist and took charge of *The Crisis*, the official NAACP magazine, which documented the organization's achievements and, increasingly, Du Bois's own civil rights agenda.

The NAACP began its civil rights efforts by exposing injustices and violence done to African Americans. The organization soon launched a dual crusade

W.E.B. DU BOIS (1868–1963)

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois was born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, amidst the turmoil of Southern Reconstruction. Over the next hundred years Du Bois would shape the civil rights movement in the United States and African identity worldwide. Devoting his life to the social, political, and economic liberation of African Americans—and later all Africans—Du Bois pioneered a historical and scientific approach to solving the problem of race. As an undergraduate, Du Bois attended Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, and then Harvard University. His education continued at the University of Berlin in Germany and again at Harvard, where he would earn a Ph.D. in history. Helping to pioneer the discipline of sociology in the United States, Du Bois accepted a professorship at Atlanta University.

In 1903, Du Bois published *The Souls of Black Folk*, a collection of essays in which he declared that "the problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color line." *The Souls of Black Folk* established Du Bois as the leading African-American intellectual of his time and pitted him against the reigning leader of the race: Booker T. Washington. Rejecting Washington's doctrine of accepting political disfranchisement and social segregation in exchange for economic progress, Du Bois demanded immediate and full equality for African Americans.

To this end, Du Bois founded the Niagara movement in 1905. Five years later, he left Atlanta University to help found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in New York City. Aside from the militant Du Bois, the group's only African-American officer, the NAACP consisted of white intellectuals sympathetic to the African-American cause. Du Bois became the director of publicity and immediately began production of the NAACP's official magazine, *The Crisis.* In this position Du Bois had an outlet that allowed him to communicate with black and white America. When monthly circulation of the magazine reached 100,000 in 1918, Du Bois had already succeeded Washington as the leader of African America.

Du Bois's writings in *The Crisis* varied from news items to art criticism to political polemics to personal quarrels. Each word aimed at guiding white and African Americans toward his vision of civil rights: full equality and total freedom. As Du Bois's reputation ascended around the world, his vision of black freedom broadened as well. Increasingly, Du Bois advocated Pan-Africanism, the solidarity of purpose and identity among all the Africans of the world. In 1919, Du Bois began a series of Pan-African Congresses that advocated the colonial liberation of the African continent.

By the mid-1930s, Du Bois grew frustrated with the NAACP's tactics and leadership. He quit the organization and returned to Atlanta University. Having already completed two careers of remarkable achievement, Du Bois continued to achieve new heights of brilliance. In 1935, he published *Black Reconstruction in America*, a masterful work whose thesis—that the African American was the central actor of Reconstruction—defines today's historical interpretation of that era.

As progress in racial relations failed to keep up with his leadership, Du Bois moved further to the political left. As an advocate of international causes, including the antinuclear and peace movements, Du Bois embraced Communism as the means of uplifting the African people. Du Bois left the United States in 1961, personally manifesting his goal of Pan-Africanism by relocating to the newly independent African nation of Ghana. There he worked on his lifelong dream of an *Encyclopaedia African*—an epic reference book of the African diaspora. Du Bois became a citizen of Ghana where he died in 1963 and remains interred.

Paul Rubinson

to defend African Americans deprived of their legal rights and to oppose lynching. The earliest victory for the organization occurred in 1911 when it successfully lobbied to have William H. Lewis restored to the American Bar Association (ABA). Lewis had been thrown out of the all-white ABA when its members discovered that he was black. In 1914, the NAACP presented the White House with a petition of 20,000 signatures protesting segregation within the federal bureaucracy. After the presentation, the Treasury Department began to reverse its segregationist policies. The organization also successfully lobbied against segregationist bills in the U.S. Congress in 1915.

Legal battles proved the most effective of the NAACP's early tactics. The first legal challenge from the NAACP resulted in the U.S. Supreme Court decision in 1915 in favor of the NAACP. *Guinn* v. *United States* centered on the constitutionality of the so-called grandfather clauses in Southern states. Ex-Confederate states promulgated these clauses during the late 1890s and early 1900s to prevent African Americans from voting, and in 1910 Oklahoma passed

Prolific scholar, author, historian, and editor, W.E.B. Du Bois helped launch the Niagara Movement and found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the early twentieth century. His militant stance on race relations directly challenged the accommodationist position of Booker T. Washington. *(© Underwood Photo Archives, Inc.)*

a permanent one. The *Guinn* ruling overturned Oklahoma's grandfather clause, declaring such clauses to be in violation of the Fifteenth Amendment. The NAACP celebrated an important victory, though the victory was mostly symbolic, as Southern states had allowed grandfather clauses to lapse long before and had found other ways to prevent African Americans from voting.

During the early 1910s, many cities enacted segregation ordinances that prevented blacks from moving into white neighborhoods. With African Americans prevented from relocating, ghettos emerged in cities across the nation. The NAACP challenged a Louisville, Kentucky, ordinance of 1914 and in the 1917 *Buchanan v. Warley* decision the U.S. Supreme Court ruled again in favor of the NAACP, declaring such ordinances to be in violation of the property rights of both white and black Americans. The third celebrated victory for the organization came when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled on the *Moore v. Dempsey* case. The NAACP alleged that a 1919 Arkansas trial resulting in the death sentence for six blacks had been unfairly influenced by mob domination. In 1923, the Supreme Court ruled in favor of the NAACP that federal courts must review claims of mob-dominated trials. The *Moore* decision resulted in greater scrutiny of state criminal trials by the Supreme Court.

NAACP antilynching efforts originally focused on state governments. After an NAACP activist was attacked in Austin, Texas, while lobbying the state government, the organization's leaders decided in 1911 that only a national antilynching law could confront the widespread antipathy to blacks in Southern states. Accordingly, the organization began lobbying the federal government in 1921 on behalf of Missouri Representative L.C. Dyer's antilynching law. Appearing at congressional hearings, NAACP members lobbied effectively enough that the Dyer bill passed the House of Representatives. Filibustering Southern senators thwarted the bill, but the organization declared a moral victory, since the Dyer bill had gotten farther in Congress than any civil rights legislation in the twentieth century. Relative success with the tactics of court challenges and legislative lobbying would ensure their adoption as standard NAACP methods in the following decades and would result in resounding success during the 1950s and 1960s.

The Crusade against *Birth of a Nation*

The NAACP did not limit its activism to court cases and lobbying. The crusade against the film *Birth of a Nation* proved that the organization could mobilize against any event or situation. Released in 1915 and instantly redefining the motion picture industry, D.W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation* proved more popular than any movie to that point. The epic film was so successful that, by one historian's judgment, its gross revenues were not surpassed until the 1980s. The film contained a virulent racism commensurate with its success. Focusing on the Reconstruction era, Griffith portrayed blacks as brutish, savage, and libidinous heathens intent on destroying civilization; only through the heroic efforts of the Ku Klux Klan is the South saved. Far from creating this vision of Reconstruction, Griffith merely presented it in a captivating new genre. President Woodrow Wilson uttered after a private viewing, "It is like writing history with Lightning. And my only regret is that it is all so terribly true."

Alerted by its office in Los Angeles, where *Birth of a Nation* premiered (under its early title of *The*

Clansman), the NAACP mobilized against the film's appearance in New York. The nascent film industry in 1915 was subject to censorship laws, and the NAACP hoped to take advantage of these laws. Basing its argument on the fact that a stage production of *The Clansman*, a stage production of the Thomas Dixon novel on which Griffith based his film, resulted in riots, the NAACP won some cuts from the censorship committee. The film nevertheless premiered to huge crowds and great acclaim. NAACP activists marched and distributed pamphlets against the film, though some felt their efforts only increased public interest in the film. Other civil rights activists, including Booker T. Washington's protégé Emmett Scott, insisted that African Americans' energies would be better spent creating films of their own. The NAACP continued to fight *Birth of a Nation* well into the 1930s, arguing that the film was not art but rather mob incitement. By the 1930s, the organization had met little success in its campaigns against the film. In later decades, NAACP efforts would shift to lobbying Hollywood studios for more substantial roles for African Americans and better portrayals of black people.

Du Bois and *The Crisis*

As the NAACP waged legal and political battles on behalf of African Americans, W.E.B. Du Bois symbolized to many the civil rights movement itself. While connected to the NAACP through *The Crisis*, Du Bois adopted a militant stance and often clashed with the leadership of the organization. In the pages of *The Crisis*, Du Bois attacked his enemies, pressured political and social elites, and most importantly attempted to guide the opinion of African Americans to his vision of civil rights and black identity. Espousing full political and social rights for blacks (and women), Pan-Africanism, and Socialism to some extent, Du Bois soon replaced Washington as the most prominent African-American leader in the United States. In 1915, the year of Washington's death, circulation of *The Crisis* averaged some 30,000, and by 1918, it soared to 100,000 a month. Black and white readers delighted in Du Bois's polemics, which raged against racism in education, counseled blacks on presidential elections, and decried lynching, to highlight just a few of the issues on which he wrote. One reader was buried with a copy that he had not had time to read before his death. By 1921, the NAACP counted 400 branches. Thanks largely to James Weldon Johnson, the organization's first African-American executive secretary, many branches even began to appear in Southern cities.

As lynching and low wages drove African Americans away from the South, the National Urban League appeared to aid them in their transition from the country to the city. Formed in 1911, the Urban League eventually set up branches in every industrial Northern city. The Urban League fought discrimination in labor unions, federal programs, and the military. It boasted a magazine entitled *Opportunity.* African-American newspapers in Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore voiced the concerns of a growing black population.

World War I and the Fight for Democracy

Congress approved Woodrow Wilson's request for a declaration of war against Germany in April 1917, bringing the United States into World War I. Inspired by patriotism and the hope of gaining political equality and social acceptance, blacks responded with gusto. Because Wilson framed American entry into the war as a fight to make the world "safe for Democracy," many African Americans felt that by fighting—and dying—for their country, white America would no longer be able to deny them their rights.

Early activism focused on the right of African Americans to take part in the war effort. Racism and discrimination barred African-American participation from the beginning. The NAACP had to lobby Secretary of War Newton D. Baker merely to include African Americans in the conscription act passed in the spring of 1917. African Americans soon discovered that the military had no plans to train them as officers. Agitation began which divided civil rights activists between those who lobbied for separate training camps and those who felt separate camps would inhibit postwar social equality. In October 1917, the military opened a separate training facility for African-American officers in Des Moines, Iowa. Despite this, African Americans would primarily fill labor positions during the war rather than be given fighting roles.

Hostility from white citizens and insults from white superiors made life in the military exceptionally difficult and tense for African-American soldiers. In August 1917, residents of Houston, Texas, began harassing African-American soldiers. The soldiers then erupted and killed seventeen whites. After a cursory trial, thirteen soldiers were hanged. After another incident in South Carolina, the military soon sent the black regiments overseas rather than face another riot. In October 1917, Secretary Baker appointed Emmett

Five police officers and a soldier patrol a Chicago neighborhood after days of violence racked the city. The summer of 1919 ushered in the bloodiest wave of racial disturbances the nation had ever seen. Some twenty-five riots broke out across the country, the most serious one in Chicago, where thirty-eight people were killed, more than 500 injured, and more than 1,000 families left homeless. *(Chicago Historical Society)*

Scott as special assistant to the secretary of war. Scott's role consisted of advising Baker on matters involving African-American servicemen and investigating racial issues in the military.

Once overseas, African-American soldiers proved themselves excellent fighters when given the chance. Members of the 369th Infantry, nicknamed the Harlem Hellfighters, distinguished themselves by spending 191 consecutive days under fire, the longest of any U.S. troops. After the armistice, the French Army

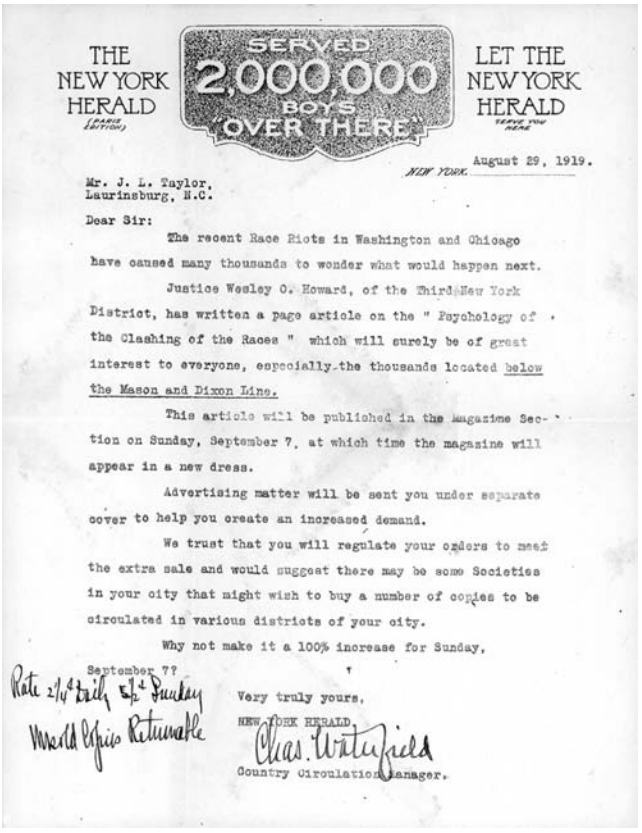
asked the Hellfighters to lead them into German-occupied territory. Two African-American soldiers were honored with the *Croix de Guerre* after capturing a German patrol. Astoundingly, U.S. officials nevertheless prohibited the Hellfighters from marching in the Allied victory parade through Paris.

The Homefront

As the war raged in Europe, the battle over civil rights continued at home. The contrast between the war for democracy and the conditions of African Americans became frighteningly magnified in the city of East St. Louis, Illinois, in early July 1917. Whites, angered by competition for jobs from blacks, erupted in violence after suspicious blacks shot at an unmarked police car. After four days of rioting, thirty-nine African Americans and eight whites lay dead. On July 28, Du Bois led the NAACP Silent Parade through New York City. Between 8,000 and 10,000 African Americans marched, with women dressed in white and men in black. The demonstrators marched silently to the rhythm of muffled drums. Banners asked, "Mr. President, why not make America safe for democracy?" and "Mother, do lynchers go to heaven?" Widely publicized, the Silent Parade demonstrated the NAACP's size, strength, and ability to mobilize quickly. Race riots also erupted in Chicago and some two dozen other cities throughout the nation.

Although most African Americans supported the war, few could overlook the hypocrisy of the U.S. claim to fight for democracy while a huge segment of the population languished without voting rights and in fear of lynching. A segment of the African-American population questioned the value of fighting on behalf of a government that denied them basic human rights. Du Bois had recently written an article castigating the European powers for starting the war based on the colonial carving of the African continent. Du Bois then shocked many Americans when, in the July 1918 issue of *The Crisis*, he published his now-infamous "Close Ranks" editorial. The usually militant Du Bois declared, "Let us, while this war lasts, forget our special grievances and close our ranks shoulder to shoulder with our white fellow citizens and the allied nations that are fighting for democracy. We make no ordinary sacrifice, but we make it gladly and willingly with our eyes lifted to the hills."

In 1919, Du Bois journeyed to Paris hoping to influence the proceedings surrounding the Treaty of Versailles. He spent most of his time investigating the conditions of African-American troops in Europe. Many had been ill-treated, he found, suffering baseless charges of incompetence and rape. Du Bois amassed countless pages of evidence for a planned book on African Americans in World War I. As he returned to the United States, African Americans anticipated seeing their participation in the fight for democracy abroad result in newfound freedoms at home.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NEW YORK, August 29, 1919.

Mr. J. L. Taylor,
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Dear Sir:

The recent Race Riots in Washington and Chicago have caused many thousands to wonder what would happen next.

Justice Wesley O. Howard, of the Third New York District, has written a page article on the " Psychology of the Clashing of the Races " which will surely be of great interest to everyone, especially the thousands located below the Mason and Dixon Line.

This article will be published in the Magazine Section on Sunday, September 7, at which time the magazine will appear in a new dress.

Advertising matter will be sent you under separate cover to help you create an increased demand.

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The Great Migration

World War I also helped spark the widespread migration of African Americans out of the South and into the North. This exodus, known as the Great Migration, transformed the fundamental nature of life for many African Americans. Migrants left farms for work in urban industries and in the process escaped the rigid social hierarchy of the Jim Crow South. African Americans expressed profound joy at earning good money and voting for the first time. This sharp increase in population in Northern cities provided the civil rights movement with a mass base that awaited

mobilization in cities like Chicago, Detroit, and especially New York. The Great Migration also shaped the social, economic, and geographic patterns of African Americans for most of the twentieth century. Bursting with promise, the Great Migration allowed millions of African Americans to experience wealth, community, equality, and education, helping them to realize the promise and vision of America that they had long been denied.

The Numbers

Out of the roughly 8 million African Americans living in the United States in 1910, about 7 million of them lived in the South. Between 1916 and 1930, more than 1 million African Americans left the South at a rate of 500 per day. Those who remained behind stood agape as entire neighborhoods and even towns were left abandoned. At the end of the line for these migrants lay the great modern cities of the North, beckoning them with a seemingly endless amount of well-paying jobs. The African-American populations of these cities skyrocketed almost overnight. During the decade ending in 1920, the African-American population of Detroit, Michigan, jumped from a mere 5,741 to 40,838—an increase of more than 600 percent. The population in Cleveland, Ohio, grew by some 300 percent; in Chicago, Illinois, it grew by almost 150 percent. Newark, New York, Indianapolis, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati each saw the Great Migration increase their African-American populations by more than 50 percent. Migration lagged during the years of the Great Depression, but only by 1960 did it really cease, after some 5 million African Americans had relocated in the North. By the time the Great Migration ended, African-American life had been as drastically altered as it had after Emancipation.

The Impulse

With Emancipation, African Americans took the first step in their search for equal status in America. The Great Migration continued this quest, spurred by several different factors. Despite the promise of the New South, by 1910 the former states of the Confederacy remained isolated and rural. Northern industry had managed to spur some activity in the urban centers of the South, but agriculture continued to dominate the region's economy. Most African Americans earned their living as farm laborers on cotton farms. In 1910, however, a boll weevil infestation began that ruined much of the South's cotton crop. Since cotton was the primary crop of the region, many farm owners could no longer afford to hire laborers. Other farmers began to switch from agriculture to livestock, which required less labor. Out of work, some African Americans looked to the North for jobs. Many, however, moved to the cities of the South, where burgeoning industry held some promise of work.

Between 1910 and 1920, African Americans swelled cities like Atlanta, Norfolk, Baltimore, and Houston. When they arrived, they soon learned that there was little work for them to do. Although it proved true that the nascent industries needed workers, white supremacy ensured that the best jobs went to white laborers. When African Americans did find jobs, they were usually the most unpleasant and lowest paying. The African Americans already living in Southern cities and working as artisans also found that industrialization ended their livelihood; the billowing smoke of the factories quickly made their craft obsolete.

At the same time, black and white relations reached despairing levels. Jim Crow laws rigidly enforced a racial hierarchy, leaving African Americans economically powerless, socially subservient, and politically silent. Brutal lynchings punished anyone who stepped outside of the caste system. African Americans had their freedom, but racism prevented them from attaining the status that was their right as Americans. A song from the time expressed the feeling that they had every reason to leave the South: "Boll weevil got the cotton/ Cut worm in the corn/ Debil in the white man/ We's going on." The North, where abolition had begun and the Underground Railroad had headed, beckoned as a better home.

Despite these factors, millions of African Americans might not have headed North if there had not been plenty of jobs available. The outbreak of World War I in 1914 created the final impulse. Just as Northern industries increased wartime production, European immigration slowed to a trickle. Since immigrants provided the main labor source for urban factories, owners had to look elsewhere for workers. They looked South and saw African Americans looking North. Thus began the African-American transformation from rural agricultural worker to urban industrial worker.

Making the Move

Northern companies directly encouraged migration. Companies hired agents to roam the South and advertise jobs in Northern factories. For each worker eventually hired by the company, the agent received a small fee. Agents found entire African-American communities eager to board trains bound for the

North. More than just publicists for a company, the agents spread the word to hundreds of thousands of African Americans that the North eagerly awaited their arrival.

The Great Migration was primarily a family event. Migrants who found work up North would tell their friends and families, who would soon join them. Once they relocated, the Urban League and other voluntary associations helped families get settled, find work, and build communities. The African-American press, most notably the *Chicago Defender,* also encouraged the Great Migration. The *Defender* blared headlines urging African Americans northward and at the same time printed advertisements from industries seeking workers.

White Southerners at first rejoiced as African Americans departed. Many felt it would end the so-called Negro Problem. Soon, however, some Southerners began to worry about the loss of such a huge segment of the population. Some authorities tried to arrest the agents of Northern industry and prevent African Americans from leaving, though this had little effect on the exodus.

While relocating to Northern urban-industrial centers, African Americans settled into vibrant neighborhoods bursting with culture. This massive influx of people sparked artistic and political movements, including Black Nationalism and the Harlem Renaissance during the 1920s. In time, however, Northern racism disillusioned African Americans about the Great Migration. The vibrant communities of the 1920s would later grow into ghettos as white Northerners resisted integration. Poverty would menace black ghettos during much of the twentieth century, and some African Americans actually moved South during the Sunbelt migration of the 1970s.

Black Nationalism

Another aspect of civil rights activism during the 1920s focused on black nationalism, also called Pan-Africanism or Negro Zionism. Black nationalists espoused a separatist doctrine, declaring that whites had proven untrustworthy and a hindrance to black progress worldwide. Instead of striving toward equality, black nationalists advocated the solidarity of the African diaspora, the freedom of Africa from colonial rule, and an eventual return of Africans worldwide to Africa.

During the antebellum era, some abolitionists advocated the creation of an independent African state where blacks could live. When the West African nations of Sierra Leone and Liberia were established in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, respectively, a modest number of blacks relocated there. After Emancipation, however, African Americans anticipated and worked for full political and social rights. As their plight worsened, African Americans again became receptive to the idea of a return to Africa. In 1915 Alfred Sam, from Ghana, led a small group of African Americans from Oklahoma to Ghana, although conflict with British authorities quickly ended his endeavor.

Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association

Born in Jamaica, Marcus Garvey would become the most renowned advocate of black nationalism. After a time studying in London, Garvey returned to Jamaica convinced that blacks must rely only on themselves for progress. He later recalled his epiphany:

> I asked, "Where is the black man's government?" "Where is his King and his kingdom?" "Where is his President, his country, and his ambassador, his army, his navy, his men of big affairs?" I could not find them. . . . My brain was afire. There was a world of thought to conquer. . . . All day and the following night I pondered over the subject matter of that conversation, and at midnight, lying flat on my back, the vision and thought came to me that I should name the organization the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities (Imperial) League. Such a name I thought would embrace the purpose of all black humanity.

Garvey founded his visionary organization—usually known simply as the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA)—in Jamaica in 1914.

Modeled loosely after Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute, the UNIA in Jamaica focused on teaching trades to blacks. Frustrated there, Garvey moved to New York, the heart of black America, in 1916. New York's blacks regarded Garvey with suspicion at first, but after a triumphant speaking tour across the country, he returned to New York lauded by the city. A charismatic and impassioned speaker, Garvey appealed to New York's large community of West Indian blacks as well as the large numbers of working-class African Americans recently arrived in New York. Garvey gave many blacks a sense of pride in their race, equating their color with strength and beauty. Darker-skinned blacks, who felt alienated by the lighter skinned, seemingly aristocratic blacks of

the NAACP, felt particularly uplifted by Garvey's message.

Garvey's doctrine left many others aghast, however, because it overturned many conventions of African-American intellectual thought. He scoffed at so-called benevolent whites, declaring his affinity for the overt racists of the U.S. South, including the Ku Klux Klan. Bald and honest racism, Garvey argued, drove blacks to form their own institutions, ideas, and identity. Oppression, according to Garvey, only encouraged empowerment. Garvey thus turned the intellectual impetus of the NAACP on its ear, winning the hearts and imaginations of the black masses as he alienated the African-American cultural elite.

By 1919, more than thirty branches of the UNIA had been established in the United States, with hundreds more forming around the world. The movement in the United States published its own newspaper, *The Negro World*, as well as most of the trappings of an independent nation: a flag, a medical organization, a military, and a shipping line. The Black Star Line aimed to establish an all-black commercial endeavor and, it was hoped, eventually return blacks to their ancestral African homeland. Elaborate, regal costumes resembling the raiments of imperial Europe clothed the leaders of the movement, offering a challenge to traditional notions of political power and race. A constitution dictated the political structure of the eventual nation, with Garvey as the provisional president-general of Africa. The movement called for a unity of purpose, culture, and religion among the world's blacks, expressed in the UNIA's slogan "One God, One Aim, One Destiny." Garvey's popularity soared, particularly among blacks disillusioned with Du Bois and the NAACP's support of American involvement in World War I. At the movement's height in 1923, Garvey estimated his legion's numbers at 6 million; the more recent assessments place the number in the hundreds of thousands, although millions worldwide surely heard Garvey's message and embraced his spirit.

Living and agitating so near to each other, a conflict between Du Bois and Garvey seems to have been all but inevitable. Garvey reached a large percentage of African Americans, creating the first true mass movement among African Americans in the United States. African Americans sent the UNIA hundreds of thousands of dollars during the 1920s in order to finance the organization's various ventures. Stock had to be sold to get the Black Star Line running, and money had to be provided for an arrangement between the UNIA and the Liberian government. Garvey's popularity allowed him to challenge Du Bois for leadership of African Americans, igniting a bitter feud between them.

Du Bois and Pan-Africanism

A rivalry between Du Bois and Garvey ruined what might have been a remarkable partnership. Garvey had called on Du Bois upon his arrival in New York in 1916, but the editor of *The Crisis* was out of town and made no followup effort to contact the young man. Despite their personal enmity, the two leaders shared strikingly compatible views on the role of Africa in African-American life. Foreshadowing Garvey's message, Du Bois stated in 1919 that "Amelioration of the lot of Africa tends to ameliorate the conditions of colored peoples throughout the world." The two nevertheless pursued their own avenues toward Pan-Africanism.

As the NAACP engaged in legal battles, Du Bois forged his own way toward black nationalism independent of the organization. Since at least 1900, Du Bois had envisioned a civil rights movement encompassing blacks beyond the borders of the United States. In 1919, during the conference ending World War I, Du Bois journeyed to Paris to attend the first of six Pan-African Congresses. The fate of colonial Africa formed the main subject matter of these summits, although squabbling between delegates marred many of the sessions. The representatives of French colonies in Africa made loyalty to France a sticking point regarding many of the agreements.

At the second Pan-African Congress in 1921, Du Bois crafted a declaration that intoned that the world must fully assimilate blacks with complete equal rights, or remove all colonial bonds from Africa, leaving the continent free and independent. The Congress eventually drafted a manifesto directed at the League of Nations. The manifesto asked the League to address the needs of black workers, assign a black member to the League's Mandates Commission, and formally declare "the absolute equality of races." The League produced minimal action on these demands. Nevertheless, Du Bois had begun a concerted political effort to unite blacks around the world.

As Du Bois enlisted the black elites of many nations for his vision of Pan-Africanism, Marcus Garvey mobilized the black masses. Du Bois scoffed at Garvey's ostentation and expressed skepticism at his separatist philosophy. Du Bois's perceived snobbery angered Garvey, creating a rivalry unseen since the days of the Washington–Du Bois split. Although the previous power struggle had been over the mantle of

African-American spokesmen, this new cleavage centered on the mobilization of an entire race. Garvey's actions would soon end the rivalry, resulting in his organization's demise.

The Demise of Garvey

As the UNIA rose in popularity, government scrutiny of the organization increased as well. The centerpiece of the UNIA, the Black Star Line, invited investigation. Having raised over $600,000 in stock share sales in just one year, the shipping line never materialized into the strong business Garvey had promised. The line featured a paltry three ships only barely in seaworthy condition. Incompetence, mismanagement, and a casual atmosphere plagued the company's finances. In 1922, the government indicted Garvey and other Black Star Line officials for fraudulently using the mails to solicit money for the company. Acting in his own defense, Garvey was found guilty and was sentenced to five years in prison in February 1925. Deported to Jamaica in 1927, Garvey died in London thirteen years later.

Garvey's movement flickered just a short while, but it presaged a number of later black movements. Although African Americans proved reluctant to move to Africa because America was, after all, home, millions of blacks worldwide embraced their connection to the African diaspora. His message of "African redemption" and African fundamentalist religion was absorbed into the Rastafarian faith. In 1930, W.D. Fard established the Black Muslims, a black nationalist religion that identified the Islamic faith as the medium through which blacks would attain justice from whites. Future leaders Malcolm X, Louis Farrakhan, and Stokely Carmichael drew heavily on Garvey's philosophies of Black Pride and separatism. The differing ideologies, actions, and attitudes of Garvey and Du Bois anticipated some of the conflicts of later civil rights eras.

Socialism, Communism, and African-American Labor

By the 1920s, African Americans had long decried the American labor movement's refusal to support them. They believed that the forces of capital had long pitted African-American workers against white workers, using the former as scabs. Resentment continued in the twentieth century when blacks began to compete with whites for jobs. African-American leaders, including Du Bois, pondered the merits of socialism in helping blacks gain equal rights. The American Socialist Party, under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs, displayed little inclination toward courting African Americans as members. Rebuffed by the American radical left and inspired in part by the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and Vladimir Lenin's declaration of support for them, African Americans formed a burgeoning Socialist movement of their own.

A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen in 1917 founded *The Messenger*, a publication devoted to the goals of radical socialism and black freedom. A year later the African Blood Brotherhood (ABB) appeared, a militant, black nationalist organization. Advocating armed defense against lynching, equal rights, and an end to segregation, the Marxist ABB eventually merged with Marcus Garvey's UNIA. By the end of the 1920s, the Communist Party of the United States of America openly sought black membership; Du Bois himself visited the Soviet Union in 1926 and expressed admiration for that nation's social system. The most influential outgrowth of this relationship with the far left appeared in 1925 when Randolph organized the first major African-American labor union—the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP)—which mobilized African-American employees of the Pullman rail company. Although African-American efforts toward socialism would wax and wane in later decades, the BSCP and Randolph would ascend to preeminence in the labor and civil rights movements.

The Harlem Renaissance and the "New Negro"

Universally hailed as a glorious artistic movement, the Harlem Renaissance has recently been the subject of reinterpretation, placing it near the heart of the social and political debate of the 1920s. The explosion of talented African-American novelists and poets spurred further definition of the civil rights movement and the role of the arts in African-American life. Although many African Americans would see the Renaissance as a celebration of aesthetic achievement, some civil rights leaders, Du Bois most notably, would press for a more purposeful goal for the artistic movement.

At first Du Bois and the NAACP heartily backed the movement, as did other civil rights organizations. Du Bois attended a March 1924 ceremony sponsored by the National Urban League's journal *Opportunity* celebrating African-American writers and poets. Many point to the *Opportunity* ceremony as the birth of the Harlem Renaissance. Both *Opportunity* and

Du Bois's *Crisis* encouraged the movement by publishing the latest essays, short stories, novels, and poems by African Americans. Du Bois himself often provided criticism of recent works. Soon *The Crisis* offered cash awards for the best works. James Weldon Johnson exemplified the connection between the civil rights movement and the Harlem Renaissance by simultaneously working as the NAACP's executive secretary and becoming one of the greatest writers of the Renaissance.

Rooted in the social upheaval of the Great Migration, black writers found themselves in Harlem, where black culture thrived and evolved thanks in large part to Marcus Garvey's cultural revolution. Dubbed "the New Negro," a new generation of African Americans created a new and vibrant social world during the 1920s, as did much of America. Claude McKay, Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, and Zora Neale Hurston, among many others, led the revolution of black letters. For Du Bois and Charles S. Johnson, the editor of *Opportunity*, the artistic achievements of African Americans, though culturally pleasing, would help attain the most essential goals of political and social equality. Financial support of the movement created a new front on which to wage the battle for civil rights. Du Bois posited that if white America accepted the African American on artistic terms, social acceptance could not be far behind.

Du Bois's political definition of the movement irritated many artists. Many of the Renaissance's artists believed that art was for its own sake, but Du Bois refused to tolerate any diversion of energies from the cause of civil rights. Du Bois also maintained a seemingly snobbish allegiance to "higher" art forms as the Harlem Renaissance grew to include what he saw as a *declasse* musical fervor. By 1926, Du Bois grew weary of the movement and its failure to embrace a political dimension. The novels of the late Renaissance, he argued, presented to white readers a caricature of the black lower class rather than reality. A novelist in his own right, Du Bois decried the lack of a commercial market for the free thoughts and experiences of African Americans. As the decade progressed, more and more whites began visiting Harlem to see the sensual new movement for themselves. Lacking a political purpose, Du Bois saw the Renaissance devolve into what he felt was bawdy entertainment for gawking whites.

End of an Era

At the close of the 1920s, Du Bois grew increasingly frustrated. *The Crisis* had entered a period of decline in readership and influence; Du Bois himself had seen his stature challenged by upstarts like Marcus Garvey. Frequent clashes with the leadership of the NAACP eventually led to his retirement from the organization he helped guide. "The world will not give a decent living to the persons who are out to reform it," he counseled in 1929.

A great many African Americans, however, beamed optimism at the end of the decade. The Great Migration had provided them with jobs and communities in Northern cities and saved many from the lynching terror of the South. The Harlem Renaissance enlivened the race, and the various movements for equal rights had found tactics, direction, and support. The NAACP continued its lobbying efforts, thwarting the federal appointment of a racist North Carolina judge in 1930. Soon, however, the country would be riven by the Great Depression, creating new challenges, new needs, and new directions for the civil rights movement.

African-American activism would yield greater results in the future. The tactics, leaders, and philosophies of the later movement all demonstrate a direct descent from an earlier civil rights era. NAACP efforts would produce the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954; protest marches would secure civil and voting rights acts; and economic clout would result in several successful boycotts. The phrases "Black is beautiful," "Freedom now," and "By any means necessary" echo the urgency of the years between 1910 and 1930.

Paul Rubinson

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Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association Movement

Much criticized in its own day and often reductively referred to as a "Back-to-Africa" movement, the Garvey movement was arguably the most influential grassroots black movement of the twentieth century. The movement sprang out of the activities of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) and had strong international appeal among peoples of the African diaspora. The UNIA was based at its height in the early 1920s in headquarters in New York and later in Kingston, Jamaica, and London, England. The movement achieved a high public profile in the years immediately following World War I, largely through the dynamism of its founder and leader, Marcus Garvey, and the popular attraction of his message of pride and Pan-Africanism to disenfranchised people of color. The strength of that message, and the controversies it engendered, garnered backlashes from African Americans of the left and the intellectual elite, as well as political suppression on the part of the U.S. government and colonial officials. Despite this repression, the influence of Garveyism was profound—in the United States, the Caribbean, and Africa.

Founding and Heyday

The UNIA, with its unique and complex economic, cultural, spiritual, and political platform, was the brainchild of Marcus Garvey, who was born in Jamaica in 1887 and died in London in 1940. Under Garvey's leadership and dominance, the movement had both radical and reactionary elements. Garvey was strongly influenced by the intellectualism of his peasant father, the oratorical skills of powerful Jamaican pastors, and the political apprenticeship in unionization and organizing he obtained while working as a young man in the printing trade. After working in Central America and studying and meeting African intellectuals in London, he formed the fledgling UNIA in Kingston in 1914 along with his then-girlfriend (and later first wife) Amy Ashwood. She shared his interest in racial uplift and oratory, and remained throughout her lifetime a supporter of the Pan-Africanist cause.

Garvey originally planned the UNIA as a benevolent and educational association. Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute served as an inspiration, as did the tradition of black neighborhood associations and the lessons of collective action of the trade union movement. The organization was radically reformulated, however, in 1916–1918, when Garvey traveled to the United States and was welcomed into the highly energized postwar New Negro scene of Harlem. Garvey was mentored in New York by fellow West Indian activists and leftist intellectuals, including Cyril Briggs, W.A. Domingo, and Hubert Harrison. Garvey readily took on the mantle of New Negro militancy. He drew crowds as a street speaker and urged identification with Zionist, Irish, and Indian nationalist movements. His message of defiance, with its emphasis on black manhood, self-defense, and authority, had particular resonance for blacks who wished to react boldly to the postwar climate of racial violence, including former African-American soldiers who had fought to protect democratic rights in Europe that they themselves did not have at home.

Garvey quickly proved himself an able showman and organizer, as well as a master of propaganda. Annual UNIA conventions and frequent parades and demonstrations, complete with marching men and women in uniforms, helped the Garvey movement achieve a recognizable presence in Harlem. Garvey spread the word through weekly mass meetings at New York's Liberty Hall and through the *Negro World* newspaper, which featured front-page Garvey editorials and reprints of major speeches, as well as international news and coverage of UNIA programs and activities. The paper soon reached an international

distribution and served as the organ of the Garvey movement for many years. French- and Spanish-language pages were added for a time, and the paper reached audiences throughout the Afro-Caribbean and many regions of Africa.

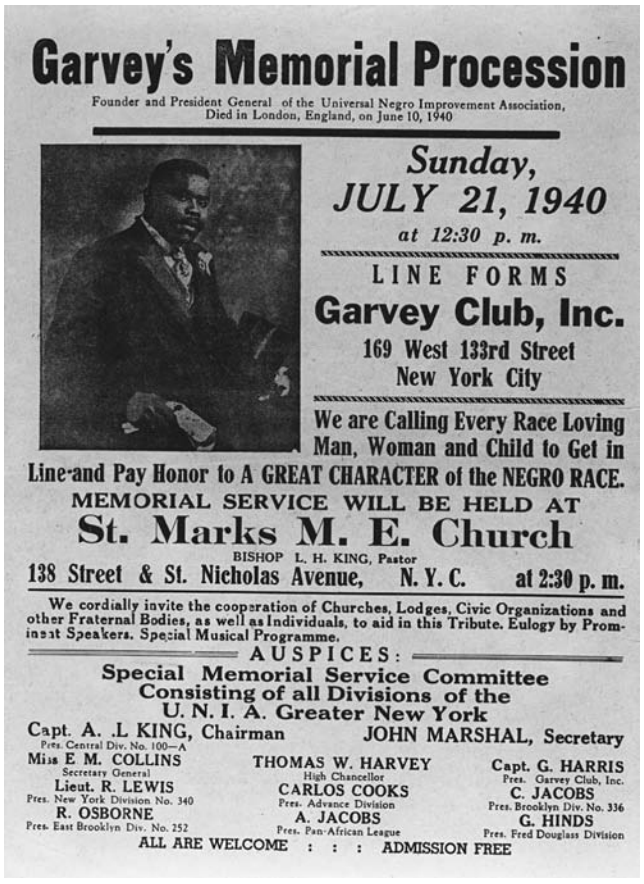
Garvey assembled around him a group of colleagues and advisers who served as national and regional UNIA officers, including Henrietta Vinton Davis, who was instrumental in building a national following for Garveyism in early organizing tours. Together, these leaders built a multifaceted program. Black business enterprise was fostered through the founding of several small businesses through the commercial wing of the UNIA, the African Communities League (ACL), and the Negro Factories Corporation. Meanwhile, the UNIA's highly ritualized meetings and social functions, along with elaborate titles and uniforms, borrowed much from the black Masonic tradition. Self-culture was promoted among members, many of whom did not have the benefit of advanced formal education, and an Afrocentric curriculum was manifested in the many different educational efforts the organization undertook over the years. Afrocentricism was also encouraged in religious faith as Garveyite meetings functioned on a model familiar to followers active in the black church, including the use of prayers and anthems. Garvey encouraged the recognition of black heroes and of a black Madonna, and spoke of the future liberation of Africa from white colonial domination ("Africa for the Africans" was a familiar UNIA refrain). The Black Star Line, the UNIA and ACL's shipping company, was conceived to help create black-controlled trade of products and resources between the Caribbean and the United States, and eventually, it was hoped, to supply passenger transportation and trade to Africa. Like other UNIA businesses, it was also seen as a potential employer of a skilled black labor force, with opportunities for black managers and leadership. Most importantly, it functioned as a powerful propaganda and fundraising tool, as thousands of black people of meager income invested in Black Star Line stock, and thus shared in the dream of black global enterprise and repatriation to Africa.

Hundreds of local UNIA divisions were founded in the United States, the West Indies, and abroad, including in strongholds of British and European colonialism. The movement attracted women as well as men, and UNIA auxiliaries, including the uniformed Motor Corps, Universal African Legion (male) and Black Cross Nurses (female), and juvenile divisions of children, all of which were based on military models, offered opportunities for UNIA activism. The UNIA convention in 1920 marked an early apex of the movement, when mass parades of Garveyites wound their way through the streets of New York and crowded meetings at Madison Square Garden while Black Star Line vessels plied the waters of the Atlantic and offered excursions on the Hudson River. At that convention, the UNIA proclaimed a radical anticolonial platform in its landmark Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World. Over the next few years, the UNIA engaged actively in international diplomacy. UNIA delegations held negotiations with Liberia over potential colonization plans there and went to the League of Nations to petition on behalf of African independence.

Repression and Decline

The Garvey movement succumbed slowly to a combination of internal and external forces. Garvey jealously guarded power. The movement was rife with charges of corruption and splintered by factionalization. Differences sometimes blossomed into violence, as in the 1923 assassination of James Eason, a former Garvey lieutenant turned rival. A continual problem with undercapitalization doomed Garveyite businesses, including the Black Star Line, which sank into disrepair and bankruptcy, leaving employees unpaid along with an organization saddled with steep debts for operating costs and unfulfilled purchase payments. Garvey was also attacked politically by black leftists who believed he was defrauding working people, and by W.E.B. Du Bois and other Talented Tenth leaders, a group who disagreed with his segregationist tactics and separate institution building. Relations with Liberia soured, as the Liberian leadership came to doubt Garvey's intentions and succumbed to lucrative counteroffers of development deals from the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company.

Meanwhile, there was the constant fact of political repression. From the beginning, the UNIA was subjected to intensive surveillance, and Garvey soon became a particular target of J. Edgar Hoover, who worked with State Department officials and within what was then known as the Bureau of Investigation. The distribution of the *Negro World* was suppressed in Africa and banned in areas of Central America and the Caribbean. Undercover agents regularly reported on Garvey's activities and UNIA functions. Restrictions were placed on Garvey's ability to travel to Africa, and attempts were made to bar his reentry into the United States when he went to the Caribbean in 1921. Things came to a head



Garvey's Memorial Procession

Founder and President General of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, Died in London, England, on June 10, 1940

Sunday, JULY 21, 1940 at 12:30 p. m.

LINE FORMS

Garvey Club, Inc.

169 West 133rd Street
New York City

We are Calling Every Race Loving Man, Woman and Child to Get in Line and Pay Honor to A GREAT CHARACTER of the NEGRO RACE.

MEMORIAL SERVICE WILL BE HELD AT

St. Marks M. E. Church

BISHOP L. H. KING, Pastor

138 Street & St. Nicholas Avenue, N. Y. C. at 2:30 p. m.

We cordially invite the cooperation of Churches, Lodges, Civic Organizations and other Fraternal Bodies, as well as Individuals, to aid in this Tribute. Eulogy by Prominent Speakers. Special Musical Programme.

AUSPICES:

Special Memorial Service Committee
Consisting of all Divisions of the
U. N. I. A. Greater New York

Capt. A. L KING, Chairman — Pres. Central Div. No. 100—A
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Capt. G. HARRIS, Pres. Garvey Club, Inc.
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ALL ARE WELCOME : : : ADMISSION FREE

Promoter of racial pride, black nationalism, and the "back-to-Africa" movement, Marcus Garvey attracted tens—perhaps hundreds—of thousands of adherents in the 1920s. The notice above urges attendance at a memorial service in Harlem, New York, after his death on June 10, 1940. *(Manuscripts, Archives, and Rare Books Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library)*

when Garvey was arrested on mail-fraud charges stemming from the sale of Black Star Line stock in 1922. Free on bail, and in an apparent effort to politically appease government officials, he responded by taking the UNIA on a decided turn to the right. Eschewing coalition politics with other black organizations, he scheduled a meeting with leaders of the Ku Klux Klan in Atlanta in the summer of 1922 to discuss mutual opposition to race mixing and the integrationist policies of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This earned him additional ire from black activists, who joined in a "Garvey Must Go" campaign.

Garvey was tried and convicted in 1923. Denied appeal in 1925, he was imprisoned in Atlanta Federal Penitentiary. His second wife, Amy Jacques Garvey, the former manager of UNIA headquarters in Harlem, was instrumental in the leadership of the movement in these years, as well as in the lobbying and public relations efforts for his release. It was through her that the two influential volumes of the *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey* were produced and distributed (in 1923 and 1925). President Calvin Coolidge commuted Garvey's sentence in late 1927, and Garvey was subjected to immediate deportation, whereupon the Garvey movement entered a new phase.

Latter Years

Soon after his release, Garvey embarked on a speaking tour of England and France and entered the political arena in Jamaica. He founded the People's Political Party there and ran for office under its reform auspices. He built a UNIA cultural center in Kingston, but it failed financially with the deepening Depression, and in 1934 he relocated to London, where he produced and published the *Black Man* magazine. Meanwhile, the UNIA dwindled in these years but continued to function in local divisions. Garvey presided at conventions held outside U.S. borders in Jamaica and Canada. The Garvey movement's last major controversies came in the latter half of the 1930s with the Italo-Ethiopian War (Garvey published editorials critical of Haile Selassie and his policies, while UNIA activists in Harlem rallied to Ethiopia's defense) and, in 1938, with the UNIA's massive grassroots petitioning support for the Greater Liberia Bill, repatriation legislation sponsored by the rather infamous Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi.

Garvey, who in his final years expressed admiration for rising Fascist leaders, died in relative obscurity in 1940. His bold nationalist and Pan-Africanist legacy has far eclipsed the controversies that embroiled his movement in his time, and in 1964 he was proclaimed Jamaica's first national hero. The philosophies of the Garvey movement in many ways set the stage for resurgent waves of black nationalism in the latter part of the twentieth century, and helped shape Rastafarian and Black Muslim belief. Garveyism also served as direct inspiration to successful leaders of anticolonial independence movements. The cultural impact of the movement, especially its emphasis on racial pride and identification with Africa, has proven pervasive.

Barbara Bair

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Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

A. Philip Randolph and Milton P. Webster organized the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP) in 1925. The BSCP remained an independent union for its first three years, eventually affiliating with the American Federation of Labor (AFL) in 1928. Randolph remained president of the BSCP until 1968; in 1978, the BSCP merged with the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks. Over the course of its fifty-year history, the BSCP and A. Philip Randolph voiced the concerns of black workers nationwide. Randolph never relented in pressuring the AFL to best represent the interests of its black members, despite much resistance on the part of the AFL leadership.

Randolph and other BSCP members spearheaded many of the major civil rights battles of the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. Randolph, for example, organized both the 1941 and 1963 Marches on Washington, the first of which resulted in the creation of the Fair Employment Practices Committee and the second of which became one of the defining moments of the civil rights movement. E.D. Nixon, a member of the BSCP, helped organize the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955. The boycott not only ended the practice of segregation in Montgomery's public transportation system, but it also helped launch the career of Martin Luther King Jr., one of the foremost civil rights activists of the twentieth century.

Members of the BSCP launched movements in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s that formed part of an important economic and social movement for the rights of people of color. The black men and women working on the railroads as porters and maids suffered discrimination, low wages, and long hours and were always treated as subservient to white patrons. The BSCP, therefore, not only represented an economic movement to gain better working conditions for its members, but it also embodied a social movement designed to dismantle the racist assumptions upon which the job of "porter" had been based.

Pullman Sleeping Car Porters

Railroad magnate George Pullman officially created the occupation of "porter" in 1867. Just two years after the end of the Civil War, Pullman founded the Pullman Palace Car Company. Pullman considered that passenger comfort was the key to the company's profitability and success. A porter's mission, as conceived by Pullman and described by historian William Harris in his book, *Keeping the Faith: A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters* (1977), was to "insure that passengers arrived at their destinations in the best physical and mental condition." With his customers' comfort in mind, Pullman decided to employ black men and women to attend to the needs of white passengers. Playing upon prevalent racial stereotypes of the era, Pullman contended that black men should be employed as porters because of "the elegance whites were said to experience in having black servants; the fact that blacks were cheap labor; and the accepted social distance between the races." George Pullman's philosophy contributed to the company's great success. By 1914, Harris finds, the company employed 12,000 porters, becoming the largest employer of black men in the country and, according to Harris, the "word porter became synonymous with black."

Working at Pullman provided black men with a steady income and the opportunity to travel across the country, but the assumptions upon which the job was based contributed to great resentment among porters. A. Philip Randolph voiced the porters' feelings throughout the 1920s—some sixty years after Pullman created the job. Randolph argued that because subservience was essential to the job and black men and women were consciously hired to wait on white passengers, the workers essentially became an extension of the "servant-master relationship that existed during slavery." Although Pullman countered that the company purposefully employed black men and women out of a concern for their welfare, porters

responded by pointing out that they were not hired for any other job. Few, if any, black men were employed in the repair shop, as engineers, or as conductors, and few white men worked as porters. Further evidence of Pullman's differential treatment toward black employees can be found in how he set up his famous "model town." Pullman built his model town to provide housing for his white employees and expose them to his idea of a proper lifestyle; the community included churches and schools, and people's behavior was closely monitored. Pullman's overbearing paternalism came back to haunt him when his white workers went out on strike in 1894 to protest cuts in wages, raises in rent payments, and the general lack of control they were allowed to exert over their lives.

Subordination of Pullman's Black Workers

White workers, whether or not living in Pullman's model town, used their membership in the powerful railroad unions to make demands of Pullman; black porters, without a union, had no equivalent recourse. Although the railroad industry gave rise to the strongest labor unions in the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, none of the "big four" (the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, and the Order of Railway Conductors) admitted black workers as rank-and-file members. The nationally based American Federation of Labor (AFL), created in 1886, had by 1900 become what Harris calls, "a bastion in the development and maintenance of racism in the United States." Randolph and fellow organizers Milton P. Webster and Ashley Totten faced an enormous uphill battle when in the 1920s they embarked on a concerted organizing campaign to improve the wages and working conditions among black porters.

A Strategy for Change

Most black porters readily acknowledged that working conditions were unacceptable. In addition to working for long hours at low wages, black porters were forced to remain on call for several hours per day without pay. Moreover, porters performed conductors' work at wages considerably below standards and had little bargaining power or job security. Despite substandard treatment, few porters agreed on a strategy to improve working conditions. To complicate matters, the Pullman Company instituted an in-house office known as the Employees Representation Plan (ERP) designed to address and quell worker grievances. ERP was formed by the Pullman Company to compete with the Pullman Porters and Maids Protective Association (PPMPA), formed in 1920. The ERP contended with the PPMPA for the support of workers. In the short-term, ERP proved more effective because it could resolve worker grievances with the company's support. Although most porters supported the PPMPA's demands, they also benefited somewhat from the increased representation ERP provided. Nevertheless, it was clear that ERP was, as Harris describes, a company union like many that emerged in the 1920s to prevent more radical employee-driven unions from gaining footholds in various industries throughout the United States. In 1924, frustrated porters decided to demand that ERP petition the company for a raise to $100/month (from an average of $67.50 for 400 hours of service). ERP responded by offering a much smaller, $5 wage increase. ERP served the company well: it allowed Pullman to assert that it was responsive to employee needs, even if the modest gains were on company rather than worker terms.

Forming an Independent Union

Although most porters accepted the agreement, a significant number still believed in developing a "real" union rather than continuing to rely on ERP. Porters' hours remained long. On average, workers traveled over 11,000 miles per month and were not paid while waiting in terminals. Moreover, Pullman deducted the cost of required uniforms and shoes from worker pay in addition to meals. Even after working at Pullman for fifteen years, the most a porter could earn was $94.50 a month (according to government estimates from 1926, the average family required $2,088/year, or $174/month, to live adequately). If any significant changes were to occur, porters realized they needed their own employee-run union.

In 1925, Ashley Totten, a disgruntled porter who worked for ERP, listened to a speech by A. Philip Randolph and immediately asked him to work on organizing a "real" union for porters and maids at Pullman. Randolph agreed. A series of secret meetings were held in New York, culminating in the establishment of the National Committee to Organize Pullman Porters into the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Officers were elected. Randolph became the committee's general organizer, W.H. Des Verney (who had worked as a porter for thirty years) assisted Randolph, and Roy Lancaster (a former ERP official) took the job of secretary-treasurer. The new committee worked

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH (1889–1979)

Born in Crescent City, Florida, on April 15, 1889, to a preacher and his wife, A. Philip Randolph moved to New York City in 1911 and worked during the day while attending the College of the City of New York at night. He read modern economic and political writers, including Karl Marx, which led him to believe that the black working class was the hope for black progress. In 1917, he and a friend established the black magazine *The Messenger*. As a writer and editor, Randolph criticized black and white leaders alike while further developing his interest in the labor movement. In 1917, he organized a small union of elevator operators in New York City. A member of the Socialist Party, he ran for public office several times but was never elected.

After the war, he devoted his energies to organizing the Pullman car porters, a group of black workers he had tried to organize earlier. He was elected president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters when it was formed in 1925. Despite bitter opposition by the Pullman Company, Randolph won recognition for the union, pay increases, and shorter hours in 1937. An untiring fighter for civil rights, in 1941 he organized the March on Washington Movement to protest against job discrimination in the defense industry. This effort, although it did not culminate in a march, worried President Franklin D. Roosevelt enough that he established the Fair Employment Practices Committee during World War II. Using a similar technique, Randolph also succeeded in the fight against segregation in the armed forces. His election to a vice presidency of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) in 1955 was, in part, in recognition of his efforts to eliminate racial discrimination and fight against communism in the organized labor movement.

In 1963, Randolph was director of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, one of the largest civil rights demonstrations ever held in the United States. He hoped to obtain government sponsorship of black jobs through the march, but it was overshadowed by the demands of the Southern civil rights movement and Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech. Within a year, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was signed.

Randolph and others founded the A. Philip Randolph Institute in 1964 to serve and promote cooperation between labor and the black community. His understanding of the economic plight of urban blacks predated the riots of the 1960s that drew the nation's attention to them. Randolph retired from the presidency of the union in 1968, although he continued in his position as a vice president of the AFL-CIO. He died on May 16, 1979, in New York City. Though very successful in achieving his goals of integration and civil rights, his aloof and intellectual style kept him from becoming as well known a black leader as the more charismatic King or Malcolm X.

James G. Lewis

closely with black Socialist Frank Crosswaith, who had organized the Trade Union Committee for Organizing Negro Workers (TUC) earlier that year.

Randolph and the Committee, with Crosswaith's support, organized a rally in Harlem to launch the brotherhood. According to historian Philip Foner in *Organized Labor and the Black Worker, 1619–1973* (1974), the rally "was hailed by the *Amsterdam News* as 'the greatest labor mass meeting ever held of, for and by Negro working men.' " Those who attended generated a list of demands: recognition of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, as opposed to the ERP, as the sole bargaining agent for porters; an increase in wages to $150 per month; a significant decrease in hours; and payment for the time spent preparing the train cars. Foner's *Organized Labor and the Black Worker* includes Frank Crosswaith's recollections of the rally eleven years later:

> The soldiers of labor's cause must never be permitted to forget that fateful August night eleven years ago, when enveloped by the suffocating heat of a summer's night and the stifling smoke from a hundred cigars, cigarettes, and a few pipes, several hundred Pullman porters defiantly threw down the gauntlet of battle to the nation's mightiest industrial monarch.

A Budding Movement

Although some porters supported the BSCP, others feared they could not win a fight against Pullman, which was still the largest employer of black men in the county. Support from black communities across the nation was also slow to emerge. Local black leaders in Chicago, for example, were reluctant to support the nascent movement, arguing that the Pullman Company was a great benefactor of the Negro people and that—having employed so many black workers—

the company should not be attacked. The Pullman Company made sure all of its porters were made aware of the sentiment among black leaders opposed to unionization. For its part, the Pullman Company stated that the BSCP was spearheaded by a group of "derelicts," "morons," and "gripers," and that the organization was led by Randolph, an "outsider" and a "Communist agitator."

The Movement Gains Support

The BSCP gained much needed publicity when Perry Howard, who supported the company, challenged Randolph to a debate for the purpose of "blasting and demolishing the Brotherhood and its leadership once and for all." But this tactic backfired as Howard was booed off the stage by the attendees. The debate was reported in *The Messenger* and generated a great deal of publicity for the budding BSCP. Shortly thereafter, Ashley Totten and A. Philip Randolph traveled the country to explain the case for an independent union for porters in Salt Lake City, San Francisco, Minneapolis, Kansas City, Oakland, St. Louis, and other cities. The two leaders noted that the ERP, a company-dominated organization, could not meet the needs of workers and that an independent union of black sleeping car porters would greatly benefit their interests. The movement had begun. Randolph and Totten's tour generated a number of converts as work-

Members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters—the largest and most influential predominantly African-American union in the 1930s—march in support of integration, civil rights, and labor reform. *(Brown Brothers)*

ers decided that supporting BSCP efforts to form an independent union was worth the risk of losing their jobs.

Initially, the Pullman Company thought the BSCP would be short-lived. Once it was clear that more and more porters were interested in the union, the company hired thugs to attack BSCP organizers and fired porters active in the union—some who had worked for Pullman for twenty years or more. Pullman went so far as to pay black newspapers to write derogatory articles about the BSCP. The Chicago *Defender*, for example, advised readers, according to historian Philip Foner, "to 'align themselves with the wealthier classes in America' as their only hope of salvation." The Pullman Company also placed ads in the St. Louis *Argus*, a struggling newspaper that quickly rebounded as a result of Pullman's support. To counter this negative publicity, the BSCP organized conferences and labor institutes in major cities throughout the United States—especially in the North, where union activists discussed the benefits of organizing a bona fide union. To counter the BSCP's growing popularity, the Pullman Company granted porters an 8 percent increase in 1926 and began hiring Filipino, Chinese, and Mexican men to replace black porters.

By 1927, the company's anti-BSCP efforts seemed to be working, and many of the local chapters of the BSCP that had opened in various cities throughout the United States began to close. In the nick of time, large labor unions that had historically antagonistic relationships with Pullman and other railroad companies provided much needed support. Unions representing workers in the needle trades, the Chicago Federation of Labor, and even top officials from the AFL sent money to BSCP and publicly spoke out in support of the fledgling union. The BSCP also gained the support of leading civil rights organizations, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Colored Women's Economic Council, and the National Urban League (NUL). Emboldened, the BSCP attempted to use the government's Railway Mediation Board to force the Pullman Company to recognize the BSCP as the porters' sole bargaining agent. The attempt failed.

Once again, the BSCP's future looked bleak. Perhaps out of desperation, the BSCP threatened to wage a strike against the Pullman Company to demand that it finally recognize the union. Porters voted 6,053 to 17 to walk off the job, and yet, despite overwhelming support and great pre-strike publicity, Randolph began to have doubts. In June of 1928, the BSCP leadership called off the strike amid intense criticism from porters, from the black press, and from some AFL-affiliated unions. Nevertheless, according to Philip Foner, Randolph argued that the strike served an important purpose. The strike "had 'reversed the concept of the American public stereotype of a shuffling, tip-taking porter to an upstanding American worker, demanding his right to organize a union of his own, as well as a living wage.' "

Even though the Pullman Company refused to recognize the BSCP, the union nevertheless applied for a charter with the American Federation of Labor. Despite strong opposition from powerful and more conservative national unions, AFL president William Green granted the BSCP a charter in 1928 and thirteen of the BSCP's largest chapters became AFL-affiliates. Although the BSCP had less influence than some of the AFL's more powerful unions because of the type of charter the BSCP was granted, affiliation with the AFL lent the BSCP some permanence and stability.

Pullman Recognizes the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

The Depression created grave challenges for the BSCP. The union barely survived as membership dropped to 658 in 1933. Union-friendly New Deal legislation prompted a resurgence in union membership, however and, just one year later, the BSCP had 2,627 members. All the while, A. Philip Randolph continued to press Pullman to recognize the BSCP. Finally, in 1937, with the support of favorable legislation in the 1934 Railway Labor Act and a series of well-negotiated mediated talks, Pullman finally recognized the BSCP as the sole bargaining agent for its porters and maids. According to William Harris, Randolph claimed that he and his fellow BSCP leaders had brought "Pullman to its knees." By 1937, Harris argues that the BSCP had "attained a position of prominence that marked it as a leader among black organizations." For the next forty years, its members, who referred to the BSCP as either "the union" or "the movement," would use their positions in the BSCP to both pressure the labor movement to respond to black workers' demands and to wage numerous civil rights struggles.

Lisa Phillips

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Civil Rights Movement 1930–1953

As the United States entered the Great Depression, racial segregation remained "the law of the land" in all Southern states as well as some areas of the North. Both the national citizenship rights and due process guarantees of the Fourteenth Amendment (1868) and the voting rights protections of the Fifteenth Amendment (1870), enacted to ensure the civil rights of some four million former slaves, existed only on paper for the great majority of African Americans. In the South at the end of the nineteenth century, upper- and middle-class whites, through their legal arm, the Democratic Party, extralegal terrorist groups like the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), and sympathetic U.S. Supreme Court decisions, had moved toward a policy of disenfranchisement and segregation—a policy that destroyed the agrarian reform-oriented Populist Party's attempt to build an economic alliance of poor Southern white and black tenant farmers and sharecroppers. By the first decade of the twentieth century, de jure segregation had triumphed everywhere in the former Confederate states.

The new century saw increased pressure for blacks to leave the economically stagnant South for the North. The exodus was accelerated by mounting violence in the form of race riots and lynchings of African Americans who stayed in the South. The formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) by progressives and Socialists, both white and black, in response to the spread of such violence in 1908, was one important expression of a developing civil rights consciousness. The black scholar W.E.B. Du Bois emerged as editor of the NAACP newspaper, *The Crisis,* which campaigned against racist defamation and exposed racist violence. Du Bois had earlier challenged Booker T. Washington's formal acceptance of racial segregation and disenfranchisement in exchange for financial support from white philanthropy for black vocational education and low-level patronage from the national Republican Party. Spearheading campaigns against segregation in federal offices in the Wilson administration and against the virulently racist film *Birth of a Nation* (1915), which glorified the KKK of Reconstruction, the NAACP emerged as the nation's major national civil rights organization by the end of World War I.

Segregation and Global Expansion

African-American involvement in segregated units and in Northern defense industries during World War I produced a schizophrenic response among U.S. government agencies. On the one hand, they sought to mobilize blacks for the war effort, and on the other, they kept them under surveillance as a potentially subversive factor, especially black troops in France, whose fraternization with the French population was a cause of great fear among military leaders. In the immediate postwar era, the Red Scare of 1919 launched against Socialists, Communists, and Anarchists in the wake of the Russian Revolution merged with a "Red Summer" of race riots against black urban populations, which saw seventy blacks lynched and thousands burned out of their homes as demobilized black troops returned to a segregated society in the midst of major strikes, rapid inflation, and both hopes and fears of revolutionary upheavals.

In the aftermath of the Red Scare and Red Summer, a number of trends that would influence the development of a civil rights movement after 1930 became visible. First, the outmigration of Southern blacks to the North, which began to gather force at the turn of the century and accelerated during the war, continued to grow rapidly. In the period 1920–1930, 749,000 blacks left the South. Whereas 93 percent of the black male workforce in 1890 had been in the agricultural sector, only 42 percent of black males were in agricultural work in 1930. With the shift from the South to the North and to urban areas even within

the South, a black working class and a larger middle class living in cities with a much higher level of group solidarity and social organization were coming into existence. The working class and middle class (thrown together by residential segregation, with the middle class dependent entirely on the businesses of the working class) were keenly aware of the conditions they had escaped in the rural South and of the role of Southern segregation in serving as the political and ideological foundation for the oppression of African Americans everywhere, just as Southern slavery had served as the basis for institutional and ideological racism everywhere in the antebellum period.

Meanwhile, important national and global developments had made the questions of racism and colonialism more central to the post–World War I era. Although the colonial empires were reshuffled after the war, with England and France taking control of Turkish possessions in the Near East and German colonies in Africa, powerful anticolonial movements sprang up in India and China, and anticolonial activity grew in Africa. In the United States, a Communist Party was founded in fits and starts out of the left wing of the Socialist Party and the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW).

Blacks and the Communist Party

Inspired by the Russian Revolution and serving as the left wing of the international Socialist movement, Communists on the world scene established a Communist International (CI) centered at Moscow and made organizing among the nonwhite peoples of the colonial world and oppressed nationalities and minorities a central task. The fact that a potential great power and revolutionary state was actively supporting antiracist and anticolonialist policies globally influenced such diverse non-Communist anticolonial fighters in the interwar era as the Indian Jawaharlal Nehru, the Ghanaian Kwame Nkrumah, and, initially, the Kenyan Jomo Kenyatta in a socialist direction and encouraged a much higher level of militancy among colonized peoples and oppressed minorities.

The Communist Party USA would soon take a position emphasizing the interdependent struggle against racism and colonialism. The party saw the "Negro question" as central to the liberation of the working class of the United States; in contrast, its Socialist Party competitors saw class in "color-blind" terms—that is, no working-class group had special needs, and all problems would be solved by socialism. Alone among the political groups, the Communists, from the 1920s on, made organizing work among African Americans and against racism among white workers a very high priority.

Black radicals who formed the African Blood Brotherhood in the postwar period were to come into the ranks of the Communist Party, as were people drawn from both the marginalized poor and middle-class intellectuals in the campaigns party activists would launch. Among these campaigns were those against peonage in the South and lynching throughout the country, and for integrated unions through such early organizations as the Trade Union Educational League, the Trade Union Unity League, and the American Negro Labor Congress. In addition, A. Philip Randolph, active in the Socialist Party before the war and a lifelong opponent of Communism, would organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in the 1920s and connect trade union work with general civil rights activity in both the American Federation of Labor and the larger society.

At the same time, Marcus Garvey, a West Indian, emerged as the leader of the most significant Black Nationalist movement in U.S. history, mobilizing millions of blacks in parades and demonstrations under the banner of a Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) with a back-to-Africa message that many contemporaries saw as Black Zionism. Garvey soon lost many of his left radical supporters when he sought to organize a black capitalism, eschewed alliances with labor, and even ask for some support for his back-to-Africa project from the KKK. Nonetheless, many of his grassroots supporters subsequently agreed to involve themselves in militant civil rights campaigns after the Coolidge administration largely destroyed Garvey's movement by prosecuting him for business fraud and deporting him to the West Indies in the mid-1920s.

Finally, the 1920s saw a wave of black artistic and intellectual ferment, symbolized by the Harlem Renaissance and the concept of a "New Negro." This cultural flowering would produce a generation of poets, musicians, novelists, journalists, historians, and social scientists with a much broader worldview than the assimilationist black bourgeoisie that had supported Booker T. Washington in the past and that in the 1920s was represented in both the conservative wing of the NAACP and various small-business and fraternal associations. These intellectuals, as liberals and radicals, would become important spokespersons for movements redefining "the Negro" individually and collectively and defining and demanding equality after 1930.

The work of Communists and those they mobi-

lized was a key factor in both radicalizing and expanding civil rights activities during the Depression. In the summer of 1930, Communists organized grassroots unemployed councils to fight for work relief and home relief (public jobs and what today is called welfare) and against evictions in urban areas. Organizing white and black supporters to fight against the evictions of black families particularly was part of the campaign of the unemployed councils, which encouraged other left groups, the Socialist-supported Workers Alliance of America and Christian socialist A.J. Muste's American Workers Party, to undertake similar campaigns. Communist-led Hunger Marches involving white and black unemployed, as well as other forms of integrated protests for jobs and relief, became common in urban areas and were often met by extensive police violence. When three black youths, for example, were killed by police in such a demonstration in Chicago in the early 1930s, thousands of whites joined blacks for their funeral, a phenomenon never before witnessed in the history of Chicago or any other American city.

Outside of the African-American press, the Communist newspaper, the *Daily Worker*, its regional version, the *Southern Worker*, and various Communist-published factory "shop papers" highlighted the oppression of blacks in the South and actively criticized forms of racial discrimination in the workplace. Communists organized a black Share Croppers Union (SCU), centered in Alabama. In 1931, Socialists were active in establishing a Southern Tenant Farmers Union (STFU), which, though predominantly white, had both black and white members and leaders.

The formal Communist position favoring the right of African Americans (if they so chose) to live in a "black state" within the "black belt" (the large plantation region that cut across several Deep South states) as part of a larger Socialist America had limited interest for blacks. The Communist movement made a qualitative breakthrough when its workers' legal defense organization, the International Labor Defense (ILD), took the case of nine black youths and young men accused of raping two white women at Scottsboro, Alabama, in 1931. The Scottsboro case became the most important civil liberties/civil rights case of the 1930s and the first case involving African Americans that, rivaling the Sacco-Vanzetti case of the 1920s, saw international protests from Hamburg to London, Paris to Capetown, Moscow to Shanghai.

The case also led the NAACP, which had shied away from rape cases in the past, to involve itself in the Scottsboro defense and to broaden its general civil rights activity. Finally, the campaign for the Scottsboro boys, as they were commonly referred to, helped spark a national antilynching movement, which included both the ILD and the NAACP, and represented a precursor of the informal alliances between liberals and radicals that would characterize the New Deal period.

The New Deal, War, and Segregation

In the 1930s, the New Deal government of President Franklin D. Roosevelt marked the first time that a Democratic administration reached out to African Americans on the national level. Among the most prominent was Mary McLeod Bethune, an educator whom Roosevelt appointed administrative assistant for Negro Affairs and director of the Division of Negro Affairs in the National Youth Administration. Civil rights advocates became increasingly active, as nationalist radical and liberal black militants, with Communists taking the most important initiative, established the National Negro Congress (NNC) in 1936, which sought to create an organization that would advance the struggle for civil rights by coordinating support for the labor movement and the New Deal government among blacks and support for civil rights issues within the New Deal government and the labor movement. It would be a casualty of global politics in the aftermath of the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact of 1939, when members divided sharply over Communist support for the Soviet position. The NNC was in part an attempt to bring to the United States an organization similar to the anticolonial Indian National Congress of Mohandas Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru and the African National Congress of South Africa, to both raise the consciousness of blacks and create an alliance among blacks, labor, and the New Deal. Adam Clayton Powell, the Harlem minister who would lead boycotts against employment discrimination at Harlem stores and would later become the first black elected to Congress from New York and only the third black congressman since Reconstruction (and the most influential congressperson in drafting Great Society legislation in the 1960s) worked closely with the National Negro Congress.

A. Phillip Randolph, the National Negro Congress's first president, while denouncing its Communist leaders and withdrawing from the NNC in 1940, drew on its commitment to national political action when he threatened a national march on Washington to protest discrimination in the war production industries in 1941. Randolph's threat spurred President Roosevelt, who had failed to support antilynching

MARY McLEOD BETHUNE (1875–1955)

Mary Jane McLeod was born on July 10, 1875, in Mayesville, South Carolina, and was the daughter of former slaves. She began her life picking cotton, but a scholarship to Scotia Seminary in North Carolina in 1888 launched her long and distinguished career as educator and activist. She graduated from Scotia Seminary (now Barber-Scotia College) in 1893 and attended the Moody Bible Institute in Chicago in 1894 in hopes of becoming a missionary in Africa. Rejected for that position, she became a teacher and held a succession of positions in the South. She married Albertus L. Bethune in 1898 and settled in Savannah, Georgia.

In 1904, Bethune moved to Daytona Beach, Florida, where, in October, she opened a school of her own, the Daytona Normal and Industrial Institute for Negro Girls. Over the next two decades she worked tirelessly to build the school into a leading institution. She also helped lead a voter registration drive that proved unpopular with local whites but demonstrated her resolve to overturn Jim Crow laws. In 1923, the school was merged with the Cookman Institute for Men, then in Jacksonville, Florida, to form what from 1929 was known as Bethune-Cookman College in Daytona Beach. Bethune was president of the college from 1923 to 1942 and again from 1946 to 1947. Under her administration, the college won full accreditation and grew to an enrollment of more than one thousand.

An activist, Bethune mobilized thousands of black women as leader and founder of the National Association of Colored Women and the National Council of Negro Women. A national figure, she first advised Presidents Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Hoover on child welfare issues. Bethune's efforts on behalf of education and improved racial relations led to her appointment in 1936 by President Franklin D. Roosevelt as administrative assistant for Negro Affairs (her title changed in 1939 to director of the Division of Negro Affairs) of the National Youth Administration, a post she held until 1944. In 1935, she founded the National Council of Negro Women, of which she remained president until 1949, and she was vice president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People from 1940 to 1955. She was an adviser on minority affairs to Roosevelt and assisted the secretary of war in selecting officer candidates for the U.S. Women's Army Corps (WAC).

President Harry Truman sent her to San Francisco where she consulted with organizers of the United Nations (UN) about the concerns of black Americans and people of color from Europe, Africa, and the Caribbean. Along with W.E.B. Du Bois and others in her contingent, she argued for increased attention to the plight of minorities worldwide in the wake of colonialism. Although the white members of the UN ignored their ideas, Bethune did not waver. Afterward, she continued working for the needs of black Americans until her death in Daytona Beach, Florida, on May 18, 1955.

Through her efforts to promote full citizenship rights for all African Americans and her feminist perspective, she came to symbolize the dual role black women played as activists for the rights of blacks and women.

James G. Lewis

legislation or to give Southern unionists in textiles and agriculture the support his government had provided for Northern industrial workers, to issue an executive order barring discrimination in war production industries and establishing a Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) to supervise the antidiscrimination policy. The subject of intense controversy during the war, the FEPC would be abolished in 1945 but would return in 1964 in the form of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), a vital part of the Civil Rights Act of that year.

The National Negro Congress also sparked the Southern Negro Youth Congress (SNYC), a Communist-led youth group with a broad, nonsectarian political approach that brought together black religious and fraternal organizations around campaigns to enact antilynching legislation and social legislation to assist the poor. At its New Orleans meeting in 1940, the SNYC instituted a regional voter registration campaign and focused its energies on individual cases of police brutality against blacks in the South. The SNYC also organized African-American art exhibits and poetry readings by Langston Hughes and others, and it established, in the tradition of the Works Progress Administration (WPA)'s Federal Theater, "people's theaters" in Richmond, Birmingham, and New Orleans, as well as roving political puppet shows throughout the rural South.

An important precursor of the mass civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, the SNYC fought discrimination at army bases in the South during the war around the slogan "Fight Fascism Abroad and K-K-K ism at Home." Although it would be a casualty of both the Cold War and a postwar segregationist

backlash (at its last annual conference in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1948, delegates were subjected to relentless harassment and arrests under the orders of Birmingham chief of police Eugene "Bull" Connor), the SNYC was the first political activity for many later black Southern civil rights activists.

At a time when mainstream media, movies, and radio portrayed the United States as a lily-white society and were filled with demeaning racist stereotypes, Communist-led cultural publications like *The New Masses* and New Deal projects like the WPA's Federal Theater and Federal Arts Project, along with labor theaters and book clubs, helped bring a new generation of politically conscious African-American writers and artists to a wide multiethnic audience.

In pro–New Deal newspapers like the *New York Post*, *Philadelphia Record*, and *Chicago Sun Times*, sympathetic portrayals of black struggles against discrimination began to appear by the late 1930s. Black cultural figures participated in campaigns to raise funds to aid Republican Spain, and the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, the American volunteer group fighting on the side of the Spanish Loyalists, became the first fully and formally integrated military force in American history.

The Harlem of the 1920s that housed the Cotton Club became the Harlem of mass protests against Benito Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia in 1935, boycotts against discrimination, labor organizing, and the election of Adam Clayton Powell to the House of Representatives and African-American Communist Party leader Benjamin Davis to New York's City Council during World War II. Through the work of WPA photographers like Dorothea Lange, both the suffering and dignity of black and white Southern sharecroppers began to reach large audiences. Such images could sometimes even be found in *Life* magazine. In addition in these years, the WPA was to help train the great African-American social realist painter, Jacob Lawrence.

Whereas African-American culture had served as an exotic, separate, and sexually liberating alternative to mainstream America in the 1920s (itself a deeply condescending expression of racism), black artists were in the forefront of the struggle against exploitation and oppression, which concerned the growing number of people in the larger society in the 1930s.

Professional baseball remained segregated, and professional football, relatively new and minor at the time, had become segregated by the end of the 1920s. Paul Robeson, for example, had been a professional football player before the game was segregated in the early 1920s. However, the changes produced by the center-left politics and the urban-liberal-labor world of the 1930s could be seen in professional boxing. Before World War I, heavyweight champion Jack Johnson had been demonized and had become the target of sports promoters' crusades to find a "great white hope" to bring back the championship to "the white race." In stark contrast, Joe Louis met with Franklin D. Roosevelt at the White House before he fought the German Max Schmeling in 1938, and Lewis's victory was universally seen as a symbolic victory for the United States against Hitler's Nazism. When Louis fought the Irish-American boxer Billy Conn in 1941, this was seen as a battle between two champions, both representing "common man" values, rather than as a battle between a white and a black.

Richard Wright was often at odds with his fellow Communists on artistic and cultural matters, and subsequently, like his party colleague Ralph Ellison, he left the Communist Party and repudiated its politics. Wright's *Native Son*, published in 1940, sold 250,000 copies in three weeks and became a Book-of-the-Month Club selection. Not since the abolitionists had promoted the narratives of escaped slaves in the antebellum period had politically significant work by an African-American writer reached such an audience. Bigger Thomas, the central character of *Native Son*, came to symbolize for a generation the social cataclysm that the dehumanizing system of segregation and the ideological racism that sustained it might bring.

In the late 1930s, the NAACP also began to mount a set of legal challenges to Southern segregation, first attacking the fraudulent nature of its "separate but equal" doctrine in circumstances where the per capita funding of segregated public facilities was always grossly unequal. In *Gaines v. Missouri* (1938), the U.S. Supreme Court ruled against Missouri's failure to provide law school facilities for black citizens under the system of school segregation. African-American lawyers such as Charles Hamilton Houston and his protégé Thurgood Marshall played a major role in the early assault on racist laws in the South.

The liberalizing of the federal judiciary that the Roosevelt administration would begin as it struggled against the conservative-dominated Supreme Court in the late 1930s would eventually produce a Supreme Court that would reverse *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) and enact a series of decisions in the 1950s and 1960s that would assert and protect the civil rights and civil liberties of political dissenters and religious and ethnic minorities. In that sense, a Supreme Court and a fed-

CHARLES HAMILTON HOUSTON
(1895–1950)

Born on September 3, 1895, in Washington, D.C., Charles Hamilton Houston litigated and participated in the resolution of critical civil rights cases in U.S. history, including the *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) decision that ended the legal practice of racial segregation in public schools. Houston graduated Phi Beta Kappa from Amherst College in 1915. He then entered the U.S. Army during World War I, where he became an officer in the Black Army Corps and was commissioned a second lieutenant. The discrimination and contempt that Houston experienced as a black officer in the segregated U.S. Army were a primary motivation for him to pursue a legal career as a civil rights activist. He would later write, "The hate and scorn showered on us Negro officers by our fellow Americans convinced me that there was no sense in my dying for a world ruled by them. I made up my mind that if I got through this war I would study law and use my time fighting for men who could not strike back."

Houston then entered Harvard University in the fall of 1919 where he went on to become the first African American to edit the *Harvard Law Review*. After graduating from Harvard University in 1922, Houston joined the faculty of Howard University Law School in 1924 and became vice-dean in 1929. Houston played a critical role in educating young African-American law students. At Howard, he cultivated, encouraged, and inspired African-American law students who would go on to renowned legal careers.

Houston was the primary legal architect and tactician who organized the *Brown* legal team before the U.S. Supreme Court for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). This case was initially several separate civil rights cases ultimately combined into the historic *Brown* decision. Houston died on April 26, 1950, shortly before the decision was rendered, but at a point in time when eventual victory seemed certain. Between 1935 and 1948, Houston won seven of eight cases he argued before the Supreme Court. Leading academics, lawyers, and judges recognized Houston's crucial role. A year before his death, Houston's position as a civil rights leader was commended by Harvard Law School Dean Erwin Griswold, who awarded him the NAACP's Spingarn Medal for his legal contribution to the cause. Houston is considered to be the legal inspiration behind subsequent civil rights–era legislative and judicial decisions. In 1993, Federal Circuit Judge A. Leon Higginbotham Jr. wrote: "You must understand this: without *Brown* there would have been no civil rights movement, no civil rights act, and no voting rights act. Without Houston there would have been no *Brown*."

Immanuel Ness

eral judiciary forged in large part out of the struggles of the 1930s would become the most important government ally of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s.

World events in the 1930s would help shape the American civil rights movement. The victory of Adolf Hitler's Nazi Party in Germany in 1933 saw the establishment of a dictatorship committed to an ideology and policy of extreme racism, nationalism, and militarism. Segregating and terrorizing Germany's Jewish religious minority—using it, in effect, as a guinea pig for its policies of dominating "non-Germans" by brute force based on the pseudoscientific theory of Aryan superiority—the Nazi movement both inspired its right-wing imitators throughout the world and stimulated a coalition between liberal and radical forces internationally dedicated to fighting the Fascist state and increasingly attacking racist ideas in education and racist institutions.

At the 1936 Olympics in Berlin, U.S. Olympic Committee chief Avery Brundage attempted to appease Nazi leaders and to vent his own prejudices by removing Jewish-American athletes from key events and seeking, unsuccessfully, to downplay the contribution of African-American athletes. In the late 1930s, rightist enemies of the industrial union drives condemned the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and the New Deal as dominated by Communists, Jews, and "Negroes." And in the late 1940s, the House Un-American Activities Committee routinely asked its unfriendly witnesses whether or not they opposed laws in the South against miscegenation. But Nazi Germany's growing threat of world war and the growing connection between domestic racist ideology and policies with opposition to the New Deal and its urban-liberal-labor coalition (a connection that became more significant by 1938 as many segregationist Southern Democrats joined Republicans in a conser-

vative congressional coalition) undermined the legitimacy and normality of racist ideas and practices for millions of Americans.

War, Segregation, and Inequality

Where the United States was on civil rights questions on the eve of World War II can be better grasped when we look at where the nation was on the eve of World War I. Whereas the Wilson administration had intensified segregation and the president himself had been used in advertising that praised *Birth of a Nation* in 1915, Eleanor Roosevelt, in a highly publicized event in 1939, resigned from the Daughters of the American Revolution when that conservative group refused to rent Constitution Hall for a concert featuring African-American singer Marian Anderson. Mrs. Roosevelt was instrumental in arranging a concert for Anderson at the Lincoln Memorial, where many thousands of blacks and whites in effect protested racism.

In 1914, blacks were demonized in the South politically and were invisible everywhere else, except as crude caricatures in minstrel shows, newspaper cartoons, and on food and other commercial packaging. In 1939, the Democrats in particular were developing outreach programs to Northern blacks, the new CIO industrial unions had been founded on nonracist, inclusionary principles, and campaigns for state and local antidiscrimination legislation and commissions were being mounted by liberal and labor forces in Northern urban areas.

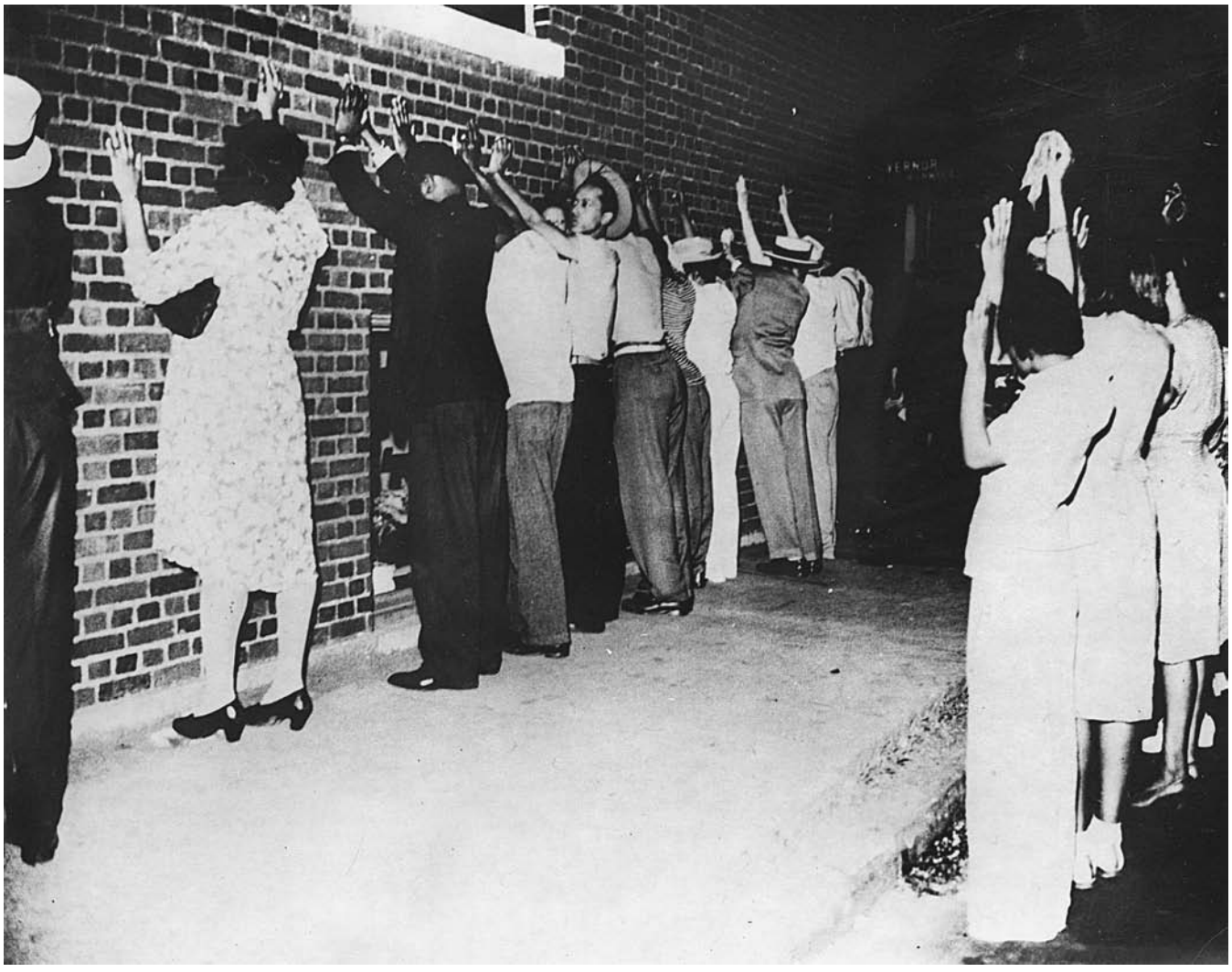
During the war years, the most important radical movement of the time, the Communist movement, was committed centrally to antiracist policies. Although the combined membership of the Communist Party USA (CPUSA) and the Young Communist League (YCL) peaked at only about 100,000 in 1939 (significantly less than the prewar Socialist Party), the institutional influence of Communist-oriented radicals, through alliances with New Deal liberals in reform and social protest movements, in which such radicals routinely fought racism, was far greater than that of any other radical movement since the antebellum abolitionists.

The German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact of 1939 weakened the Communist movement and undermined the liberal-radical alliances that had characterized progressive politics in the late 1930s. The Communists pointed to Neville Chamberlain's appeasement of Hitler at Munich in 1938 and his complete failure to join the Soviets in supporting the Spanish Republic against Generalissimo Francisco Franco's Fascist forces as evidence that the European non-Fascist capitalist states were appeasing Nazi Germany in order to allow Hitler to destroy the Soviet Union, thus necessitating the pact. Communist opposition to Roosevelt's military preparedness program around the slogan "The Yanks Are Not Coming" destroyed Communist credibility among many New Deal liberals. The CPUSA's position also led to a wide variety of attacks on Communists in the unions and on many of the organizations in which they had played leading roles as organizers and activists, like the National Negro Congress.

Nonetheless, the Communists maintained their focus on antiracist campaigns in the unions and communities and, in line with Communist parties throughout the world, became more militant critics of global colonialism. (In the late 1930s, Communist campaigns against colonialism in Europe and North America had been muted as Communists worked to build support for anti-Nazi collective security alliances with the British and French empires, the largest colonial empires in the world.). As the war began in the autumn of 1939, early Axis victories accelerated the New Deal's rearmament program, leading Roosevelt to provide aid to an encircled Britain after the German conquest of Western Europe, institute the nation's first peacetime draft, and define U.S. policy so as to transform the United States into an "Arsenal for Democracy." By the winter of 1941, as Roosevelt had established a lend-lease program to provide direct aid to keep Britain in the war, A. Philip Randolph's threatened March on Washington led to Executive Order 8802—abolishing discrimination in the new defense industries and establishing the FEPC.

Blacks in the North

Black migration to the North, which dipped from its 1920s highs to 349,000 in the 1930s, now rose sharply again as the war industries began to open. Of the 1.5 million blacks who came north in the 1940s, more than three-fourths would settle in the industrial Northeast, Middle West, and California, whose industrial base and population grew rapidly during and after the war. More than 500,000 of these migrants were to become members of the new, inclusive CIO industrial unions. As the war and Cold War economies strengthened conservative politics generally and the Republican Party particularly, African-American voters in the urban North were to become crucial to the success of the Democratic Party, making Franklin D. Roosevelt's policy of juggling the interests of Northern liberals and Southern segregationists impossible to sustain in the long run. In the process, the



After being gassed from their homes by police, black residents line up against their apartment building in Detroit. The city's race riot of June 1943 proved the bloodiest domestic uprising of World War II, leading to thirty-four deaths. President Franklin D. Roosevelt declared a state of emergency and sent 6,000 soldiers to restore order. *(Brown Brothers)*

combined labor movement, which had fewer than 3 million members in 1933, reached nearly 15 million in 1945, a fivefold increase. Black membership, which was about 150,000 at the start of the New Deal, had reached 1,250,000 by the end of the war, a nearly tenfold increase.

More than 3 million black males were to register for the draft, and more than 500,000 were to be stationed abroad, serving in a military that remained segregated, as it had been since free blacks were barred from joining the army in the administration of George Washington. More than 1 million black men and women entered industrial labor, producing most dramatically racist wildcat strikes among white workers, particularly white migrants from the South. In 1943, as war production mounted, more than 250 wildcat strikes and violent outbreaks of whites attacking blacks took place. In Detroit, a major riot occurred in June, which cost the lives of twenty-five blacks and nine whites. In Philadelphia in 1944, a wildcat strike on the cities' streetcars against the introduction of black conductors led the administration to send 5,000 troops to defend the rights of the black employees and keep the public transportation system working.

Yet, the fierce racist backlash, and the polls showing that large numbers of Northern whites were indifferent to segregation and believed that blacks were responsible for their own problems, belied important

wartime progress. First of all, civil rights protests against "normal racism" were growing, from condemnations of the Red Cross policy of separating blood donations by race to the organization of support groups made up of servicemen's wives, both white and black, to oppose discrimination on military bases. In the industrial unions of the CIO, left militants fought more actively to promote blacks into leadership positions, contending that only an integrated leadership could seriously reflect an integrated membership and eliminate long-established racist practices. These campaigns initiated in limited form the ideas and policies that would be picked up by the civil rights movement in the 1950s and would come to be called affirmative action.

New Deal for Whom?

Membership in the NAACP, which had been only 50,000 in 1940, grew to 450,000 by the end of the war, marking a spectacular increase in the direct involvement of blacks in civil rights activities. In 1942, a new, more militant civil rights organization, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), was established, committing itself to the tactics of "nonviolent direct action" associated with Mohandas Gandhi and the Indian national independence movement. Launching sit-ins at de facto segregated theaters and restaurants in the North, CORE was initially sponsored by the Fellowship of Reconciliation (a Christian pacifist social action group led by the Reverend A.J. Muste, the Christian Socialist and pacifist active earlier in Depression protests). Although the group remained small and was to suffer from the reaction against all forms of militant political action in the early Cold War years, CORE would become a major force in the Northern civil rights movement of the 1960s. The tactics it pioneered were to be developed by Martin Luther King Jr. in leading the main battle against Southern segregation in the 1950s and 1960s.

The "Double V" campaign, which the African-American newspaper the *Pittsburgh Courier* declared in early 1942, reunited the liberals and radicals of the 1930s on a program to "defeat Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito by Enforcing the Constitution and Abolishing Jim Crow." A two-front war against the Fascist Axis abroad and American racism at home made powerful sense, since racism was clearly a major part of the enemy's ideological arsenal. One cartoon set in a redneck Southern byway summed it up perfectly: "Hitler doesn't like Negroes either."

In the South itself, New Deal politician Ellis Arnall was elected governor of Georgia, a state previously dominated by the race-baiting Tallmadges, and the militant labor liberal politician Claude Pepper of Florida served as a harbinger of possible alternatives to conservative coalition segregationist politicians. In *Smith v. Allwright* (1944), the U.S. Supreme Court, in response to civil rights challenges, abolished the white primary, thus establishing the possibility that blacks in areas of the upper South who had sustained the right to vote could now influence the Democratic Party. Also, blacks joined with white Southern opponents of segregation to form the liberal Southern Regional Council, committed to reform the oppressive aspects of Jim Crow policy and gradually remove segregation from Southern life.

It is true that most Southern New Deal politicians avoided direct opposition to segregation, as did Roosevelt himself. Roosevelt associated segregation in the South with economic backwardness, and so he looked to the region's economic development, stimulated by the expansion of such programs as the Tennessee Valley Authority, as the long-term solution to all of its problems.

Yet the president's many concessions to powerful Southern Democrats during his administration undermined even this policy. State differentials in minimum wages and unemployment benefits, largely tolerated to enable such legislation to get through congressional committees chaired by Southern Democrats, kept Southern labor cheap. Although the Southern labor movement made significant gains in the 1930s and 1940s, it lagged well behind the national labor movement, given both the lower level of industrialization and urbanization and the force of both segregation and right-wing Bible Belt religious influence in supporting both police and vigilante violence against union organizers and strikers.

The contradictions within New Deal policy could be seen most forcefully when the conservative coalition in Congress forced the resignation of Farm Security Administration (FSA) director Clarence Benham "Beanie" Baldwin for allegedly permitting FSA funds to be used to help blacks and poor whites pay their poll tax. Baldwin, an ardently antiracist Southern white and a champion of labor–civil rights alliances, became the director the CIO's new Political Action Committee, which had been established to fight against the conservative coalition's attempt to use the war situation to undermine the gains made by both the New Deal and labor.

As the war entered its final phase, moving toward the total defeat of the Fascist Axis, the war against Jim Crow and its supporters remained far more

problematical. Franklin Roosevelt, who had de-emphasized New Deal social commitments in favor of a "win-the-war" unity policy, seemed to return to Depression-era militancy when on the eve of the 1944 presidential campaign he called for a "new bill of rights." Dubbed the Economic Bill of Rights by the press, this legislation would provide employment, education, housing, and health care as fundamental citizenship rights.

Meanwhile, an alliance of Northern machine and Southern conservative Democrats struck at the New Deal by seeking to oust from the national ticket in 1944 Roosevelt's vice president, Henry A. Wallace, who had spoken against the 1943 riot in Detroit and had clearly made civil rights, along with strengthening labor and maintaining cooperation with the Soviet Union, central to the administration's postwar policy. Although both the CIO and the NAACP strongly supported Wallace, with Roosevelt's reluctant approval, he was replaced with Senator Harry Truman of Missouri, a compromise candidate whose record made him acceptable to all factions, including regular Democrats, labor, and civil rights supporters. (Truman, a machine Democrat, had cultivated African-American support in his Senate campaigns.)

Before he left the vice presidency to assume the position of secretary of commerce, Henry Wallace reflected a common theme among New Dealers that the war was revolutionizing the world and that the United States could not safely move right while the rest of the world was moving left. Seeing the revolutionary movements struggling for social justice as worthy of support, Wallace warned that a policy of "force without justice"—a return to the old imperialism abroad and pre–New Deal politics at home, which conservative publisher Henry Luce had called for in 1941 in his advocacy of an "American Century"—"would make us into everything we have hated in the Nazis."

American Racism on a World Stage

Revelations in 1945 that the Nazis' racist anti-Semitism had resulted in genocide—the murder of more than 6 million European Jews, nearly two-thirds of Europe's Jewish population and more than one-third of the Jewish population of the world, stood as stark testimony to the effects of institutional and ideological racism. Although England and France sought to reestablish their colonial empires as far as they could, greatly expanded resistance movements in the colonies along with the colonial powers' economic and political decline made that impossible. France withdrew from its Near Eastern colonies by the end of the war and began a policy of withdrawing from its African colonies, although it fought long, disastrously unsuccessful colonial wars in Indochina and Algeria in the postwar era. By 1947, England withdrew from India, its most important, and the world's largest, colony, and over the next two decades it would relinquish its Near Eastern and African colonies as well. After initially attempting to restore their Indonesian empire, the Dutch withdrew in 1948. In its wake, colonialism left wars without end between Jewish settlers and Arabic populations and states in Palestine; Muslim separatists and defenders of a united India on the Indian subcontinent; and fierce conflicts between those elites installed by the retreating colonial powers and their rivals. However, the doctrines of European and white supremacy, and the interrelated "scientific racism" that had remained respectable in the prewar era, were now at least in the open; these sentiments were associated with fringe elements, neo-Nazis, colonialist diehards, and white settler dictatorships in Rhodesia and South Africa, and American segregationists by the middle 1950s.

Although the U.S. government's involvement in fighting the Cold War would make many of these groups its unofficial allies, the Cold War pushed U.S. policy in two contradictory ways—toward supporting and strengthening rightist racist elements in the South and internationally in the name of global anti-Communism, and toward recognition that the anti-racist credentials of its Soviet and Communist rivals were far more appealing to the world's nonwhite majority than its defense of a "Western free world alliance" of the former colonial and Axis powers, much less its own policies of segregation. Nonwhites, because of the American segregation model, could not be effectively portrayed simultaneously as indivisible and as demonizing minorities in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, where they were the overwhelming majority. By the middle 1950s, the rise of an "Afro-Asian bloc" in the new United Nations, defining itself formally as a loose association of "nonaligned nations" and informally as a "Third World" (outside the U.S.- and Soviet-led European blocs and including both capitalist-oriented nations and the new People's Republic of China), highlighted these problems and provided some political space for a civil rights movement to grow in spite of far-reaching Cold War repression.

The early Cold War years were to set back the movement for civil rights by targeting many of its most militant defenders, black and white, as agents of

the new Soviet and Communist enemy. The right-wing slogan "every liberal is a Socialist, every Socialist is a Communist, every Communist is Moscow's spy" was an example of the mind-set that, with the coming of the Korean War and the emergence of Senator Joseph McCarthy in 1950, would transform the antiradicalism of the post–World War I Red Scare and the conservative coalition's House Un-American Activities Committee into a long-term system of institutionalized political exclusion modeled after segregation.

Blacks in the Anti-Communist Era

As a result, the center–left alliance in labor and government that had nurtured the civil rights movement of the 1930s and 1940s was largely shattered. The first defeat civil rights forces suffered was congressional elimination, with the end of the war, of the Fair Employment Practices Commission, which all civil rights activists fought to make permanent. A wave of lynchings and other attacks against returning African-American servicemen in the South was met by demonstrations in Washington (which J. Edgar Hoover, in reports to President Truman, attributed to Communist activity). When Paul Robeson, a world-renowned scholar, singer, and actor, led a delegation to the White House to protest the racial violence in the South and the elimination of FEPC, he was met coldly by President Truman, who told him that he and all blacks should remain loyal to the "democracy" of the United States and Britain. When Robeson responded that Britain at that very moment was depriving hundreds of millions of Indians of their democratic rights, the president angrily walked out.

Inflation, strikes, and Truman's failing leadership permitted anti–New Deal Republicans to win control of both houses of Congress in 1946, the first time that they had done so since 1928. Over President Truman's veto, they passed the Taft-Hartley Act (1947), a series of amendments to the National Labor Relations Act of 1935, which substantially tilted the act back toward employers and enabled states to in effect enact anti-union shop "right-to-work" laws that would greatly restrict organizing drives. The act also barred Communists from holding union office and called upon all union officials, from shop steward on up, to annually sign an affidavit that they were not members of the Communist Party.

The effect of the Taft-Hartley law, upheld by the courts over the years except for its crudely unconstitutional anti-Communist clause (the Communist Party

PAUL ROBESON (1898–1976)

The son of a runaway slave who became a minister, Robeson was born in Princeton, New Jersey, on April 9, 1898. Only the third black student to attend Rutgers University, he graduated first from Rutgers in 1919, where he was an All-American football player and class valedictorian, and then from Columbia University law school in 1923. He married Eslanda Goode, who urged him to pursue acting.

With a resonant voice and the ability to project a humane spirit, Robeson won roles that were previously off-limits to blacks. He garnered wide acclaim with his creation of the title role on stage in Eugene O'Neill's *Emperor Jones* in 1923; he later starred in the film version (1933). Other outstanding dramatic performances include Crown in DuBose Heyward's *Porgy* (1928) and *Othello* (in London, 1930, and New York, 1943–1944). In 1925, he made his debut as a concert singer. Possessing a magnificent bass voice, he became known especially for his rendition of "Ol' Man River" in Jerome Kern's play *Show Boat* in 1926 (and a decade later in the film) and for his interpretations of spirituals.

Increasingly frustrated with the racism he faced even as a popular entertainer, Robeson turned to political involvement. In the 1930s, he developed an interest in Pan-Africanism. Then, following a series of visits to the Soviet Union, where he first felt free of racism, he formed close ties with American Communists in part because of their campaign for equal rights for black Americans. Robeson's widely publicized criticisms of the Truman administration's Cold War policies, his association with Communist causes, and his winning of the International Stalin Peace Prize in 1952 made him a controversial figure in the United States during the McCarthy-era repression. At one point, the U.S. State Department suspended his passport, preventing him from traveling abroad. He quickly paid the price for his candor and could not find work in the United States. After his passport was returned, he moved to England in 1958 and continued to appear in concerts in Europe and the Soviet Union. He returned to live in the United States in 1963 but remained largely out of the public eye until his death on January 23, 1976.

James G. Lewis

was technically legal, and the affidavit constituted a bill of attainder against its members), was to both contain the labor movement and undermine its relationship to civil rights activists.

In the CIO, the act stimulated anti-Communist purges, which would remove those most committed to integrated inclusionary unionism, both black and white. In addition, Southern states were quick to adopt "right-to-work" laws, and the CIO, which had prepared for an ambitious Southern organizing drive, abandoned that drive in 1948, leaving Southern black and white labor very weak. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) agents now began asking government employees whether they owned Paul Robeson records, and anyone who was a member of a civil rights group was placed on the lists that the HUAC, the FBI, and a variety of business and veterans organizations were circulating and cross-referencing. As a result, black militants in labor and their white radical allies found themselves fighting to defend their own civil rights to engage in political action as much as to extend civil rights in the larger society. As an example of the changing political climate, Coleman Young, who had distinguished himself as combat pilot in the segregated army air corps flying unit the Tuskegee Airmen during the war, found himself a victim of the Taft-Hartley-induced purge of radicals in the Michigan state CIO in 1948. Decades later, Young would become Detroit's first African-American mayor. Overwhelmingly, African-American activists were disproportionately the targets of the labor purges and blacklists. Although many would continue to struggle and eventually make comebacks, in the 1950s they constituted a "political lost generation" unable to provide direct and open leadership to the new civil rights movement they continued to support.

The early postwar era saw a significant erosion of black economic gains. During the war, as the incomes of the general workforce increased sharply, per capita black income rose from 40 percent of white income in 1940 to 60 percent in 1945, only to drop significantly in the postwar era. Twenty years later, at the dawn of the Great Society's War on Poverty and civil rights legislation, it was 54 percent of white income.

Yet, some gains would be sustained. By 1946, there were more than two dozen blacks serving in various Northern and even some border state legislatures. Truman continued Roosevelt's policy of appointing some blacks to high-profile positions, most importantly William Hastie, who was appointed U.S. governor of the Virgin Islands in 1946. Ralph Bunche, a founder of the National Negro Congress, served in State Department and United Nations capacities for the U.S. government. Furthermore, the president established a national commission to study race relations. Strongly influenced by antiracist ideals and staffed by both African-American and white social scientists, the commission's 1947 Report, *To Secure These Rights*, was the most advanced statement in defense of equal citizenship rights ever taken by an official U.S. government group. In the South, with border state and upper South communities playing the leading role, the number of blacks registered in the South rose from 2 percent in 1940 to 12 percent in 1947.

Black teachers in Florida, Alabama, Virginia, and Arkansas had also won decisions in federal courts, overturning unequal public school pay schedules for black and white teachers in segregated school systems. The huge increase in unionized black workers went hand in hand with a substantial increase in the funding of black education, and black school attendance improved significantly. As early as 1946, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that segregated interstate bus carriers, mandated by state law in the South, were not constitutional.

Conservative Forces

In the early postwar period, it was possible, but very difficult, to launch major attacks against both de jure and de facto segregation in the economy and the larger society through protests, union actions, and legislation. African-American activists in the North and their labor and progressive allies were in place to carry forward such campaigns against a collapsing system of Southern segregation in the midst of a global antiracist upsurge. The purges in labor and in the general society inspired by the Cold War would blunt these campaigns for the greater part of a decade and by the mid-1950s would change the nature of civil rights activism by taking leadership away from Northern urban labor and political activists and giving it to Southern black ministers.

The story of Coleman Young's struggle to continue to fight for civil rights generally and to defend himself from McCarthyism was repeated thousands of times in the late 1940s and early 1950s as trade union and mass protest activists found themselves on a variety of blacklists and as an anti-Communist political consensus took a heavy toll. Except for the end of segregation in the military, the U.S. government would not implement any recommendation of Truman's special commission until the 1960s.

By the end of 1947, Communists, other radicals, and alienated popular front liberals launched a campaign to challenge the Truman administration, its Cold War orientation, and its failures to advance New Deal policies domestically, outside of the Democratic Party.

This campaign resulted in the creation of the Progressive Party, which ran former vice president Henry Wallace and Senator Glen Taylor of Idaho for president and vice president, respectively. The Progressive Party actively challenged segregation in the Deep South, as its members braved assaults and arrests for holding integrated meetings. Many observers believe that in response to the Progressive Party, which made full racial equality a major campaign issue, the liberal Democrats were able to put a strong civil rights plank into the Democratic Party platform in 1948. This move sparked a walkout by Southern segregationists, who proceeded to nominate Governor Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Governor Fielding Wright of Mississippi for president and vice president, respectively, and made the constitutional defense of segregation their major campaign theme. The challenge of the Progressive Party also encouraged the Truman administration to respond to A. Philip Randolph, who, though strongly opposed to the Progressive Party, had created the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training in 1947. With Randolph threatening to lead a march on Washington (as he had against discrimination in the defense industries in 1941), Truman issued an executive order integrating the armed services—an order that would initially be resisted by many in the military, including General and later President Dwight D. Eisenhower, and not really implemented until the Korean War.

The defeat of the Progressive Party, which garnered a little more than 1 million votes, and Truman's surprise election, intensified the political purges and blacklists already in existence and led the administration to largely abandon the domestic program that it had run on, including support for civil rights legislation, in order to gain support for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) military alliance and other policies expanding the Cold War. Although supporters of the Progressive Party were especially targeted by the blacklists and both Henry Wallace and Glen Taylor were driven from political life, Strom Thurmond and many of his Dixiecrat supporters would be welcomed back into the Democratic Party. By 1952, the Democrats had nominated John Sparkman of Alabama, both a moderate New Dealer and a segregationist, for vice president, and substantially weakened its 1948 civil rights plank.

Civil Rights and Racist Violence

The NAACP supported the Truman administration and, in actively withdrawing from its wartime militancy, lost many of its younger activists. When CORE launched a Journey of Reconciliation to challenge segregation on interstate busses in the South, the NAACP gave it no support and the Freedom Ride of eight whites and eight blacks was harassed by Southern authorities and not publicized in the media. Conservative NAACP president Walter White also barred members of the national staff (a majority of whom supported the Progressive Party campaign) from open advocacy of the Wallace campaign and ousted W.E.B. Du Bois, the organization's most prominent African-American founder, as research director for his support of the Progressive Party in 1948. In the face of mounting racist violence in the North, the NAACP counseled moderation, soft-pedaled criticism of the Truman administration, and focused exclusively on its legal challenges to Southern segregation.

The late 1940s also saw a rising tide of racist violence as KKK organizing grew in the North in response to the black migration. When Paul Robeson, who had been a leading supporter of the Progressive Party in 1948, was alleged to have said at an International Peace Conference in Paris, of which Communists were the most important initiators, that American blacks would not "fight" for the United States in a war against the Soviet Union, he faced a firestorm of criticism in the United States and had his passport seized in 1950. The U.S. government even barred his going to Canada, where a passport was not required. When Robeson sought to sing at a concert to raise funds for the Civil Rights Congress at Peekskill, New York, in 1949, threats of violence forced a postponement. Subsequently, with thousands of members of left-led New York City labor unions working security, the concert was held. However, New York State police barred concert security from protecting the concertgoers, whose busses were attacked by racist mobs as they left. Connecting rabid racism and Cold War anti-Communism, the Peekskill riot, which New York State blamed on the concert organizers, was seen by many as a coming of lynch law, if not Fascism, to the North.

With the coming of the Korean War, attacks against both black and white radicals intensified. W.E.B. Du Bois, the most prominent African-American scholar in the nation for nearly half a century, found himself arrested and handcuffed at the age of eighty-two by federal agents for his involve-

ment in an anti–Korean War organization, which the government considered "an agent of a foreign power" (the Soviet Union). Although international protests finally led the government to drop the charges, Du Bois's passport was lifted and his books were systematically removed from libraries across the country. The African-American press, black colleges in the South, and the NAACP generally supported the purges of black activists, failing to defend either Du Bois or Robeson, and fired suspected radicals within their own ranks. Attempts by blacklisted African-American trade unionists to organize a National Negro Labor Council in 1951 to revive the militancy of the 1930s and 1940s would also become a casualty of Cold War political repression. Perhaps the most telling act of discrimination involved Henry Winston, an African American who was one of the national leaders of the Communist Party convicted of "conspiring to teach or advocate the violent overthrow of the government" under the Smith Act. Winston lost his eyesight when prison officials, ignoring repeated protests from his family and attorneys, denied him medical treatment until it was too late. Benjamin Davis, an African American, former New York City councilman, and another Smith Act political prisoner, was placed in a specially segregated unit at the federal prison at Terre Haute, Indiana, in spite of legal protests.

The history of the Civil Rights Congress (CRC), a Communist-led group created through a merger of the International Labor Defense, the defunct National Negro Congress, and a small National Federation of Constitutional Liberties group in 1946, highlighted the Cold War political climate. Seeking to revive the mass protests of the 1930s, the CRC spent much of its time fighting attempts by HUAC, the FBI, and the Subversive Activities Control Board (created by the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950) to destroy it. In its most famous case, one that was reminiscent of Scottsboro, the CRC launched an international campaign to defend Willie McGee, a Mississippi truck driver accused of raping a married white woman. Although there was important evidence that McGee had been having a consensual affair with the woman, who cried rape when her husband discovered the affair, he was nevertheless executed in the political atmosphere that reigned during the Cold War. The CRC played a more positive role in the defense of the Trenton Six, African-American youths accused of murdering a white secondhand store owner in Trenton, New Jersey.

Although police had held the youths for days without any access to attorneys and had threatened to use "truth serum" and other forms of coercion to force confessions from them, they were convicted and sentenced to death. While New Jersey judicial authorities removed CRC attorneys from the appeals, the campaign for the Trenton Six eventually produced a new trial at which three were acquitted and, in a bizarre Cold War compromise, the others convicted with a jury recommendation for early parole. Disbanded in 1956 in part in response to intensified government harassment stemming from the Communist Control Act of 1954, even in its last year the CRC was to play a significant role in 1955 in mobilizing African-American communities to protest the murder of Emmit Till, a Chicago teenager bludgeoned to death while visiting relatives in Mississippi because he was heard saying "hey, baby" to a white female store clerk.

Disowned publicly by the NAACP, in the early 1950s the CRC filed a study, *We Charge Genocide*, with the United Nations detailing the immiseration and oppression of African Americans. Although mainstream media in the United States either ignored or condemned the study, it was published in many languages and was received sympathetically in many quarters, including non-Communist, nonradical circles, in the countries emerging from colonialism.

McCarthyism was at high tide as the Korean War ended in 1953, and the new Eisenhower administration seemed completely oblivious to civil rights questions—so much so that the U.S. government refused to sign the United Nations Covenant against Genocide, responding to the fears of segregationists that it might somehow be used to interfere with segregation. Both domestic and international developments, however, would soon see a revival of civil rights activities.

Return of Civil Rights Activism

The NAACP's long-term legal campaign against segregation would bear fruit in the U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, which barred school segregation, and, in principle, segregation generally, as inherently unequal. The emergence of the new nations of Africa and Asia made U.S. segregation and racism front-page news and constituted a continuing reproach to U.S. attempts to portray its foreign policy as a defense of "freedom and democracy." Federal court decisions compelled a reluctant Eisenhower administration to "enforce" the law of the land against segregationist obstructionism and violence. The postwar repression had created a political vacuum in many Northern black communities; the vacuum would be filled counterproductively by the

black separatist group the Nation of Islam (Black Muslims), which nevertheless would continue to develop through the 1950s in the North. The growing urban black populations would begin to address such questions as substandard housing and police brutality, with calls for police civilian review boards and demands for the appointment of blacks to police forces and the judiciary.

In 1955, Rosa Parks, a secretary in Montgomery, Alabama, long involved in civil rights activities, would in effect continue the civil rights movement of the 1930s and 1940s when she refused to sit at the back of a segregated bus, sparking what was in effect a mass strike or boycott against the bus system of the city. E.D. Nixon, a veteran organizer for A. Philip Randolph's Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and representing a community without either elected political leaders or an effective labor movement, convinced a young black minister, Martin Luther King Jr., to serve as the rallying point and spokesperson for the boycott. The boycott's success would usher in a revitalized civil rights movement which, within a decade, would not only destroy de jure segregation in the South, but would also stir up a politics of mass protest that seemed to have been dissipated by the Cold War.

Norman Markowitz

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Civil Rights Movement 1954–1970

The years between 1954 and 1970 stand as a legacy in the history of social movements. During these years, the civil rights movement mobilized African Americans on a national scale, wrenching from the federal government ground-breaking legislation and support. African Americans elevated themselves out of second-class citizenship in the United States, winning legal equality with whites and bringing the races closer to social and economic equality than ever before. By 1970, the movement had asserted a positive self-identity for African Americans, grounded in bonds of ancestry and experience. Using political and economic tactics of devastating efficiency, the civil rights movement destroyed legal segregation and discrimination in the United States. Social movements have mimicked its tactics ever since. The movement wrought such great change, especially in the South, that participants and witnesses hailed it as a second Reconstruction.

The numbers and status of African Americans helped make the movement possible. In 1950, the African-American population totaled 15.8 million; by 1960, it was 19 million, just above 10 percent of the entire U.S. population. The slow development of an African-American middle class helped as well: college students made up one of the more innovative and resourceful groups of the movement. The shape of discrimination had also changed. As the 1940s ended, lynchings in the South became less common. Jim Crow laws remained, drawing a barrier between the races which was crossed at one's peril. After lynchings began to disappear, these laws became the primary grievance of African Americans. Discrimination became less wrathful and more institutionalized, giving African Americans legal recourse against injustice. Before 1954, civil rights activism consisted mostly of the ideas and expressions of organizations and individuals. After 1954, events and actions against discrimination crashed like waves upon the United States.

The movement during this most important era consisted of two phases. From 1954 to 1965 the movement, located primarily in the South, sought true integration in the United States, aiming to remove race as an advantage or disadvantage for all people. The movement featured an interracial constituency seeking fairness from state governments, support from the federal government, and moral empathy from the public at large. As demands for equality outpaced social progress, the movement changed. After 1965, African-American activists became more militant, formulating as their goal an empowered African-American identity separate from white society.

The Movement Takes Shape 1954–1960

The *Brown* Decision

Near the middle of a decade often described as bland and conformist, the U.S. Supreme Court announced a landmark decision that helped to spawn the civil rights revolution. Since 1896 segregation had ruled the South, curtailing the political, economic, and social rights of African Americans. Jim Crow laws enforced these restrictions on freedom. Segregation was justified by the Court's ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) that "separate-but-equal" facilities satisfied the demands of the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause. Whites and African Americans used separate water fountains, bathrooms, restaurants, and schools in the South. African Americans enjoyed few, if any, voting rights. The unanimous *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* decision in May 1954 turned *Plessy* on its head, declaring segregation unconstitutional. A combined force of grassroots activists, lawyers from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and federal authority created the watershed decision, anticipating the structure of the mass civil rights movement that followed.

The U.S. Supreme Court case known as *Brown v.*

Board of Education began as five separate lawsuits against segregated schools in various parts of the country. These lawsuits initially argued that the separate, black-only schools compared miserably to much better-funded white schools. During the 1940s, Southern states spent four times as much on white schools as they did on African-American schools. In addition, teachers at white schools were paid 30 percent more than teachers at African-American schools; this disparity in spending severely limited African Americans' education. In Clarendon County, South Carolina, young African Americans had to walk miles to school as the state refused to provide them with a school bus. Once at school, the students crowded into a tiny, dark room. There they awaited their turn for instruction, as only one or two teachers had to teach several classes at once. African-American students across the South faced similarly stifling conditions. Later, the NAACP would focus on *Plessy* and attack the doctrine of segregation itself.

Gradually, African-American communities took action against segregationist school boards. Encouraged by the NAACP, African-American parents in Clarendon braved harassment from local whites and filed a lawsuit to fight for decent schools. In Farmville, Virginia, sixteen-year-old Barbara Johns called for a student strike in protest of the local school board's refusal to provide adequate educational resources. The strike began on April 23, 1951, when Johns lured the school's principal off campus with a diversionary phone call. This spontaneous movement soon turned into another NAACP lawsuit against segregated schools. In Topeka, Kansas, segregation dictated that Oliver Brown send his eight-year-old daughter to an all-black school more than twenty blocks from his house. When Brown tried to register his daughter at the white-only school just seven blocks from his home, she was denied. Brown then sued the state board of education. Later, the NAACP combined these suits and two others from Washington, D.C., and Delaware into the *Brown v. Board of Education* that it presented before the U.S. Supreme Court.

Decades before *Brown*, the NAACP had begun a concerted effort aimed at tearing down school segregation. The organization chose the Fourteenth Amendment as its main weapon. Led by civil rights lawyer Thurgood Marshall, the NAACP first targeted graduate schools. In 1936, Marshall and his mentor, Charles Houston, won a lawsuit integrating the University of Maryland law school. After World War II, the pace of desegregating graduate schools increased. In *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950), the U.S. Supreme Court ordered the desegregation of the University of Texas law school on the grounds that the school's prestige and resources made it vastly superior to—and thus unequal with—any of the black-only law schools hastily built by the state.

With the *Sweatt* ruling as precedent, Marshall and other NAACP lawyers presented the *Brown* case to the U.S. Supreme Court in December 1952. Although past rulings, including *Sweatt*, *had* resulted in desegregated graduate schools, attorneys had avoided challenging the basic premise of *Plessy.* During the *Brown* arguments, however, Marshall charged that segregated schools were inherently unequal, independent of actual resources. To support this claim, NAACP lawyers presented psychological evidence gathered by social scientists, proving that young African Americans in segregated schools suffered low self-esteem.

The Court took no action on the case for nine months. Justice Felix Frankfurter delayed a decision, hoping to eventually produce a unanimous verdict, which he felt would be easier to enforce. Chief Justice Fred Vinson, who Frankfurter considered a barrier to a unanimous decision, died suddenly in September 1953. President Dwight Eisenhower replaced Vinson with California governor Earl Warren who, to the president's chagrin, immediately endeavored to make the *Brown* decision a unanimous one overturning *Plessy.* On May 17, 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled nine to zero, declaring "We conclude, unanimously, that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place."

The Court's decision proved easier to declare than to enforce. The decision ordered states to comply with "all deliberate speed," a vague reference that, combined with Eisenhower's refusal to endorse the decision, resulted in uneven, reluctant, and often elusive desegregation. Schools in Kansas, Missouri, West Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware quickly desegregated, while the states of the Deep South took a stand of "massive resistance" against the ruling. Officials in some Virginia counties chose to close their schools for years rather than desegregate. Although massive resistance was clearly unconstitutional, it was also time-consuming to challenge and overturn. Thus, by the late 1950s, many Southern schools remained segregated in fact if not by law. The ruling nevertheless created momentum to integrate not just schools, but public places across the South. As pressure to integrate escalated, so did resistance, culminating in a military "invasion" of Little Rock, Arkansas. Before this confrontation, two events in the Deep South galvanized African Americans against the injustices of

BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION OF TOPEKA (1954)

The U.S. Supreme Court ruled in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka *(1954) that racial segregation based on the principle of "separate but equal" violated the U.S. Constitution's equal protection and due process provisions. Subsequently, racial segregation in public places was ruled illegal. Though legally not permissible, racial segregation continues through discriminatory practices that evade the spirit of the law.*

The plaintiffs contend that segregated public schools are not "equal" and cannot be made "equal," and that hence they are deprived of the equal protection of the laws. Because of the obvious importance of the question presented, the Court took jurisdiction. Argument was heard in the 1952 Term, and reargument was heard this Term on certain questions propounded by the Court.

Reargument was largely devoted to the circumstances surrounding the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868. It covered exhaustively consideration of the Amendment in Congress, ratification by the states, then existing practices in racial segregation, and the views of proponents and opponents of the Amendment. This discussion and our own investigation convince us that, although these sources cast some light, it is not enough to resolve the problem with which we are faced. At best, they are inconclusive. The most avid proponents of the post-War Amendments undoubtedly intended them to remove all legal distinctions among "all persons born or naturalized in the United States." Their opponents, just as certainly, were antagonistic to both the letter and the spirit of the Amendments and wished them to have the most limited effect. What others in Congress and the state legislatures had in mind cannot be determined with any degree of certainty.

An additional reason for the inconclusive nature of the Amendment's history, with respect to segregated schools, is the status of public education at that time. In the South, the movement toward free common schools, supported by general taxation, had not yet taken hold. Education of white children was largely in the hands of private groups. Education of Negroes was almost nonexistent and practically all of the race were illiterate. In fact, any education of Negroes was forbidden by law in some states. Today, in contrast, many Negroes have achieved outstanding success in the arts and sciences as well as in the business and professional world. It is true that public school education at the time of the Amendment had advanced further in the North, but the effect of the Amendment on Northern States was generally ignored in the congressional debates. Even in the North, the conditions of public education did not approximate those existing today. The curriculum was usually rudimentary; ungraded schools were common in rural areas; the school term was but three months a year in many states; and compulsory school attendance was virtually unknown. As a consequence, it is not surprising that there should be so little in the history of the Fourteenth Amendment relating to its intended effect on public education.

In the first cases in this Court construing the Fourteenth Amendment, decided shortly after its adoption, the Court interpreted it as proscribing all state imposed discriminations against the Negro race. The doctrine of "separate but equal" did not make its appearance in this Court until 1896 in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson . . .* involving not education but transportation.

In approaching this problem, we cannot turn the clock back to 1868 when the Amendment was adopted, or even to 1896 when *Plessy v. Ferguson* was written. We must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life throughout the Nation. Only in this way can it be determined if segregation in public schools deprives these plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws.

Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.

We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in the public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does.

Source: Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 347 U.S. 483-96 (1954).

Jim Crow, providing them with hope that change was possible and with the tactics to bring it about.

Emmett Till's Lynching

To residents of the Mississippi Delta, the historic *Brown* decision might as well have been announced on a different planet. In the Delta, among the nation's poorest areas, a rigid social hierarchy dominated white and black society during the 1950s. If an African-American male so much as glanced suggestively at a white woman, pride and caste dictated that he could expect a white gang to punish him. Mamie Till Bradley, an African American born in the Delta's desolate Tallahatchie County, Mississippi, moved to Chicago sometime before 1941 which, compared to Mississippi, stood as a paradise of equality. In Chicago, large African-American communities allowed young children to grow up free from the subservient nature of the residents of the Delta.

On July 25, 1941, Bradley gave birth to a son, Emmett Till, nicknamed "Bobo." In 1955, after completing the seventh grade, Till journeyed to Tallahatchie County in late August to visit relatives. Staying with his uncle, Moses Wright, the fourteen-year-old Till quickly earned a reputation among his country relatives as a dapper, cocky city-slicker, and the distant worlds of the South and North collided. Till showed his cousins a photograph of a white female, bragging that she was his girlfriend. Till's bravado thrilled and terrified his relatives, since such a willful violation of the color line would surely have meant death for any of them in Mississippi.

Perhaps emboldened by his relatives' amazement, Till accepted a dare that would soon lead to his death. Riding with cousins and friends on August 24 to the town of Money, Mississippi, the group arrived at a small grocery store owned by Roy and Carolyn Bryant, two white residents of the town. With Mrs. Bryant left alone tending the store, Till's friends dared him to approach her and ask for a date. Till accepted the challenge, though accounts vary on what exactly transpired in the store. Mrs. Bryant later testified that after asking for a date, Till grabbed her waist and said, "Don't be afraid of me, baby. I ain't gonna hurt you. I been with white girls before." Mrs. Bryant claimed she fetched a pistol and watched as Till snapped "Bye, baby," and whistled at her as he walked out the door. A witness outside the store claimed Till said nothing but "Bye, baby" during the entire exchange.

The specifics matter little, for Till had in any case violated the mores of the Deep South. Mrs. Bryant initially said nothing about the incident to her husband, Roy, but local African Americans, aghast and perhaps impressed with Till's actions, made sure Bryant found out. The customs of the South demanded retribution. Bryant and his half-brother J.W. Milam set out a few days later to find Till. Arriving at Moses Wright's cabin, they demanded Wright produce the boy. As they left with their prisoner, they threatened to kill Wright if he told anyone about their visit.

Milam and Bryant took Till to an abandoned barn, fully intending to punish and injure—but not kill—him. Till's refusal to cower to their threats, however, infuriated the men. Apparently still boasting of his exploits with white women, Till incurred the fatal wrath of Milam. "Chicago boy, I'm tired of 'em sending your kind down here to stir up trouble. Goddam you—I'm going to make an example of you," Milam yelled. The men drove Till to the Tallahatchie River, where they shot him in the head. Tying a cotton gin to his neck as a weight, they threw Till into the river. Bloated and grotesque, Till's body floated to the surface a few days later, recognized by Moses Wright only because the body wore a ring with Till's initials. A storm of publicity quickly burst over tiny Tallahatchie County.

Till's mother demanded her son's body be returned to Chicago, where thousands attended an open casket funeral. The entire nation thus saw the brutality of the Jim Crow South. "Have you ever sent a loved son on vacation," she erupted, "and had him returned to you in a pine box, so horribly battered and water-logged that someone needs to tell you this sickening sight is your son—lynched?"

While much of the nation reacted with outrage, residents of the Mississippi Delta were surprised to learn that Bryant and Milam would have to stand trial, as most crimes against African Americans went unprosecuted. During September, reporters invaded Sumner, Mississippi, where the trial took place. In a segregated courtroom, an all-white jury listened as Mrs. Bryant described Till's actions, beginning with the date request and ending with the infamous "wolf whistle." The crucial moment of the trial occurred when Moses Wright took the witness stand. Few in the African-American community expected Wright to challenge Bryant and Milam because of their earlier death threat. Wright took the stand nevertheless, and, when asked to identify the men who took Till, Wright pointed at Milam, declared "Thar he," and then pointed at Bryant.

Wright's bold testimony gained the praise of many across the nation, but it had little impact on the trial's outcome. Bryant and Milam's defense attorney

ROSA PARKS (1913–)

Rosa Louise McCauley was born in Tuskegee, Alabama, on February 4, 1913. Memories from her childhood in rural Alabama included such disparate episodes as her mother encouraging her to get an education, and also cowering in her bedroom at night while Ku Klux Klansmen on horseback rode past her house. She graduated from Alabama State Teachers College (now Alabama State University), married Raymond Parks, and moved to Montgomery and made her living as a seamstress because of the few opportunities afforded black women in that era. In 1943, she and her husband became members of the Montgomery (Alabama) chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and Parks served as its secretary until 1956. Parks was still working as a seamstress in Montgomery, a strictly segregated city, when she sparked the civil rights movement.

On December 1, 1955, she was arrested and fined for refusing to relinquish her seat on a public bus to a white man, a violation of the city's racial segregation ordinances. Under the guidance of the Montgomery Improvement Association and the leadership of the young pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Martin Luther King Jr., a boycott of the municipal bus company was begun on December 5. The boycott caused a national sensation and helped launch the civil rights movement. It lasted until December 20, 1956, when the U.S. Supreme Court upheld a lower court's decision declaring Montgomery's segregated seating unconstitutional. For her role in initiating the successful campaign, which brought King to national prominence, Parks became known as the "mother of the civil rights movement."

In 1957, Parks and her family moved to Detroit, where she was employed on the staff of U.S. Representative John Conyers from 1965 until her retirement in 1988. She remained active in public service through the NAACP and the Rosa and Raymond Park's Institute for Self-Development, a youth self-esteem and jobs program she created in 1987. The Southern Christian Leadership Council established the annual Rosa Parks Freedom Award in her honor.

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appealed to the "Anglo Saxon" courage of the all-white jury, urging them to free the accused. The jury complied, returning a not guilty verdict which, a juror commented, would have been returned even quicker had they not lingered over soda pop. After the trial, Moses Wright, fearing for his life, moved to Illinois.

While the acquittal stunned and angered many Northern residents, ensuing events only increased public fury. In January 1956, journalist William Huie published Milam and Bryant's personal account of the evening of Till's death. Huie convinced the men that, since they had been tried and acquitted, they could not be tried again for the murder. For about $4,000 the two men openly told Huie the grisly details of how and why they had killed Till. To many observers, including future activist Anne Moody, the Till lynching revealed the need for a concerted civil rights movement as well as the violence and recalcitrance that would define white resistance.

The Montgomery Bus Boycott

Although the *Brown* decision and the Till lynching ignited mass uproar against segregation, the movement did not arise spontaneously. When African Americans in Montgomery, Alabama, unleashed a successful boycott against the city's segregated bus system in 1956, the movement drew upon established networks of community activism and legal support. In Montgomery, the movement brought together African-American churches, nonviolent tactics, and the charismatic Martin Luther King Jr. Joined during the Montgomery Bus Boycott, these three ingredients shaped the specific leaders and methods the civil rights movement would follow during the first half of the 1960s.

Montgomery's city busses concretely embodied segregation, reinforcing the racist structure of society any time an African American rode the bus. On the busses, front seating was reserved for whites. African Americans sat in the rear and could sit in a middle section until there were no seats left for whites in the front. If this occurred, African Americans were obliged to surrender their seats to whites. The city's laws codified this system of segregation. Nearly all of Montgomery's African Americans relied on the busses for transportation to and from work. E.D. Nixon, Montgomery's NAACP representative, had long hoped to challenge the segregated bus system. In May 1955, when a young African-American woman was arrested for violating the bus segregation laws, Nixon considered filing a lawsuit. He soon scuttled the plan when it turned out that the young woman was preg-

nant; Nixon wanted a plaintiff of unimpeachable moral character.

Nixon soon had his lawsuit when Rosa Parks, a Montgomery seamstress and NAACP secretary, was arrested on December 1 for violating the segregation laws. Parks had often been ejected from busses for the same violation during the 1940s. She had also spent time in Tennessee at the Highlander Folk School, a center advocating social change and racial equality. Parks headed the local NAACP Youth Council, guiding young African Americans to challenge segregated city institutions, including the library and busses. She knew Nixon well and was aware of his wish to launch a lawsuit against Jim Crow. Although Parks probably did not intend to become the plaintiff in Nixon's lawsuit, she was no stranger to civil rights activism. The night of her arrest, Nixon filed a lawsuit with Parks's consent against the segregated bus system.

Meanwhile, a local group of African-American women, known as the Women's Political Council (WPC), took the opportunity to launch an economic attack on the bus system in concert with Nixon's lawsuit. Jo Ann Robinson and Mary Fair Burks worked all night composing and mimeographing leaflets calling for a one-day boycott of the busses on December 5. A budding movement soon grew out of the local churches, reflecting the connections in the South between African-American religious life and social activism. When African Americans founded the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) to coordinate the efforts against segregation, the organization elected the recently arrived preacher Martin Luther King Jr. as its president.

A preacher possessed of a powerful eloquence, King helped inspire the Montgomery community to turn the WPC protest into a year-long boycott aimed at crippling the segregated bus system. At a mass meeting announcing the start of the boycott, King preached "If we are wrong—the Supreme Court of this nation is wrong. If we are wrong, God almighty is wrong!" Nightly meetings at King's Dexter Avenue Baptist Church boosted the morale of the walking residents of Montgomery with powerful sermons and spirituals including "We Shall Overcome," which later became the unofficial theme song of the entire civil rights movement. The nightly meetings also raised money and established tactics for the movement. The MIA organized car pools to get people to and from work. Many chose to walk despite cold days, rainy nights, and the seeming eternity of the boycott. An elderly woman known as Mother Pollard summarized the sentiment of the marchers when she said, "My feets is tired, but my soul is rested."

King based the boycott movement in the philosophy of nonviolence. Although Mohandas K. Gandhi often receives credit for inspiring King's embrace of nonviolence, King actually acquired his conceptions of moral justice and social change from the writings of Reinhold Niebuhr during his seminary studies. More than a mere tactic, King envisioned nonviolence as at once a moral and an economic tool of justice. By actively accepting the oppressor's threats and violence, nonviolent activists hoped to draw moral witness to the inherent wrongs of segregation. White oppressors would see the depravity of their own immoral actions, leading to a moral uplift of the entire society. Any unjust laws, such as Jim Crow laws, could be broken since they lacked moral validity. At the same time, nonviolence had strong economic effects. Empty, ghost-like buses rumbled through Montgomery streets, threatening the economic solvency of the company and some downtown businesses as well.

For a year the boycott continued. The white residents of Montgomery refused to give in to the demands of the MIA, and maneuvered at first through political actions to thwart the boycott. Alabama banned the NAACP from the state in 1956. As the boycott dragged on, Montgomery whites became more confrontational. Montgomery police arrested King at one point, and in early 1956 a bomb exploded outside his home.

In November 1956, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Montgomery's bus segregation ordinances were unconstitutional, and on December 20, the boycott ended. Long disdainful of grassroots activism, some NAACP officials, including Thurgood Marshall, scoffed at the boycott, quipping that the walkers ought to have merely waited for the lawsuit to be settled. Tensions between the NAACP, led by Roy Wilkins, and the grassroots activists of the civil rights movement would grow in the following years. King's leadership of a successful movement made him a minor celebrity; the movement's tireless efforts inspired several boycotts across the South. Nevertheless, after the Montgomery boycott, King faced a crossroads. Skeptics charged that the MIA had not integrated schools, businesses, or local government. Although the boycott worked against busses, King pondered how to apply his nonviolent tactics against other institutions such as restaurants, where African Americans were not even allowed in.

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

(1929–1968)

Martin Luther King Jr. was born in Atlanta, son of the pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church. As a Morehouse College student in Atlanta, Crozer Theological Seminary in Pennsylvania, and Boston University, he deepened his understanding of theological scholarship and Mahatma Gandhi's nonviolent strategy for social change. Ordained in 1948, King received a Ph.D. in theology in 1955 and became pastor of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama. By that time he was married to Coretta Scott.

In December 1955, during the Montgomery bus boycott, King was elected president of the Montgomery Improvement Association and gained national prominence for his oratorical skills and courage. King's house was bombed in 1956, and, along with other boycott leaders, he was convicted of conspiring to interfere with the bus company's operations. In December 1956, the boycott achieved a major victory when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled Alabama's law sanctioning the segregation of buses and other public services unconstitutional.

In 1957, building on the Montgomery victory, King and other black ministers founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), as a base to expand civil rights activities, in the South and nationwide. As president, King emphasized black voting rights. In 1957, King visited Ghana to celebrate the country's independence and then India, to deepen his understanding of Gandhi's ideas of nonviolent resistance. Two years later, King resigned as pastor of Dexter, returning to his father's church in Atlanta, headquarters of SCLC.

King's transformation from spokesman for civil rights to protest did not occur instantaneously. In 1960, King was criticized for not doing more to support black college student sit-ins and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Even after October 1960, when King joined a student sit-in and was arrested, disputes between SCLC and SNCC continued during the movement's campaign of mass protests in Albany, Georgia, during 1961–1962.

After achieving few objectives in Albany, Georgia, King initiated a major campaign in Birmingham, Alabama, against white police officials who discriminated against African Americans. In 1963, clashes between unarmed black demonstrators and police with attack dogs and fire hoses generated newspaper headlines throughout the world. King was arrested and, while in jail, composed his refutation against conservative critics in his classic work, "Letter from a Birmingham Jail." On August 28, 1963, black economic demands and the Southern civil rights movement congealed in a march of more than 250,000 protesters. There, from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, King delivered his famous "I Have a Dream" speech.

The following year, in 1964, King received the Nobel Peace Prize for his leadership in the nonviolent civil rights movement. He then went to Selma, Alabama, to lead a voter-registration campaign, culminating in the Selma-to-Montgomery Freedom March. Despite success and accolades, however, King faced challenges to his leadership from the Black Muslim Movement and other critics. Malcolm X's black nationalist radicalism articulated the anger of Northern urban blacks more effectively than King's moderate position, and in 1966 King was criticized by Stokely Carmichael, proponent of "black power." Shortly afterward, in the summer of 1966, King went to Chicago to launch a slum-rehabilitation and open-housing program that captured the imagination of African Americans. During an uprising, white counter-protesters physically assaulted King, who vowed to return and accomplish his goals.

In 1967, King declared his opposition to the Vietnam War, asserting the United States to be "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world." The position was intended to link the antiwar and civil rights movements, but was criticized by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League. Early in 1968, King initiated a "poor people's campaign" to confront economic problems not addressed by civil rights reforms, calling for national boycotts and a guaranteed family income. However, King's antiwar and economic positions triggered opposition from the Johnson administration, which used the Federal Bureau of Investigation to harass him.

King interrupted his plans for a Poor People's March to Washington for a trip to Memphis, Tennessee, in support of striking sanitation workers. When delivering his last speech in Memphis, he admitted, "We've got some difficult days ahead, but it really doesn't matter with me now, because I've been to the mountaintop." On April 4, 1968, he was shot and killed on the balcony of the motel where he was staying. His death touched off riots in several major cities, an outpouring of grief and anger from the black community that ironically found expression through violence.

After his death, King remained a controversial symbol of the civil rights struggle, revered for his martyrdom on behalf of nonviolence and condemned by others for his insurgent views. In 1986, King's birthday, January 15, became a federal holiday. It is celebrated on the third Monday of January.

James G. Lewis

The Little Rock Nine

Soon after the end of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, a crisis erupted in Arkansas that set a pattern for Southern states resisting integration and a precedent for intervention by the federal government in civil rights incidents. Despite the efforts of "massive resistance," school desegregation was all but inevitable after the *Brown* decision. Moderate Southerners focused on how to implement desegregation with as little turmoil as possible. Across the South, many communities expected the peaceful town of Little Rock, Arkansas, to serve as a model of desegregation.

In 1957, the Little Rock school board began selecting a small group of African-American high school students that would integrate the school system. With the help of Daisy Bates, the president of the state NAACP, nine African-American students enrolled for the fall semester at Central High School in Little Rock. As the beginning of the school year approached, some white residents began to actively oppose integration. White Citizen's Councils (WCC), pro-segregation groups of prominent local leaders growing throughout the South, appeared in Little Rock. Pledging themselves to prevent integration, the Little Rock WCC also challenged Orval Faubus, the moderate governor of Arkansas, to make a stand against federal intervention. The WCC convinced Georgia governor Marvin Griffin, a renowned racist, to visit Little Rock. Threatened by this challenge and hopeful of winning reelection, Faubus shifted his stance and vowed to oppose desegregation.

Claiming that the enrollment of the nine African-American students would cause a riot, Faubus ordered the Arkansas National Guard to Central High on September 4. Daisy Bates brought eight of the students to school, where they were turned away by the National Guard's bayonets. Bates had forgotten to pick up the ninth student, Elizabeth Eckford, who arrived at Central High by herself. A mob quickly surrounded her, threatening to kill her as the National Guard watched. A local woman, observing the scene, helped Eckford onto a nearby bus, rescuing her from serious harm.

For days the Little Rock Nine returned, only to be forced away by a mob. Television cameras carried footage of the events across the nation, giving life to the nascent genre of nightly television news. In Washington, D.C., President Eisenhower wanted to avoid intervening in civil rights issues. Reluctantly, he agreed to meet with Faubus. During the meeting, Faubus seemed to agree that he would allow admittance to the students, but when he returned to Little Rock, Faubus simply removed the National Guard from around the school. On September 23, Bates escorted the students to Central High and hurried them into the school through a side entrance. At the front of the school, an angry throng of whites attacked a group of reporters covering the scene. As the mob grew more intense, local police removed the African-American students from the school. Infuriated by Faubus's duplicity, Eisenhower ordered the 101st Army Paratroopers to Little Rock and nationalized the Arkansas National Guard a day later. Federal troops—the first in the South since Reconstruction—marched the Little Rock Nine into Central High. Faubus's popularity soared.

With the threat of overt physical violence mollified, some fifty white Central High students launched a campaign of harassment and intimidation inside the school. The African-American students suffered insults, minor assaults, and stolen books. One of the Nine was quickly expelled after retaliating against her tormentors. The other eight graduated at the end of the school year.

The Movement and Politics

With the federal intervention at Little Rock, civil rights activists noted that the gross violations of constitutional rights, combined with media exposure, could pressure the federal government into action. With the precedents of overturning segregation in the *Brown* decision, the outrage over Emmett Till, the activist strategies of Montgomery, and federal intervention in Little Rock, the civil rights movement erupted in the 1960s.

Martin Luther King Jr. stood at the center of the movement. To coordinate his efforts at social change, he founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) with Ella Baker as its executive director. Although the small organization struggled at first, King's growing reputation would add prestige and funding to the SCLC. Political leaders began to notice King and the potential African-American votes he might bring them. The 1960 presidential candidates Richard Nixon and John F. Kennedy both courted a King endorsement. King hesitated to commit, but when he was arrested during a 1960 demonstration at an Atlanta department store, Kennedy called King's wife Coretta in a sympathetic gesture. Nixon, even though he was possibly closer to King than Kennedy, remained aloof. In the days before the election, Kennedy campaign workers publicized Kennedy's phone call among African-American communities. African Americans responded overwhelmingly in favor of

ELLA JOSEPHINE BAKER (1903–1986)

Granddaughter of slaves, Ella Josephine Baker was born on December 13, 1903, in Norfolk, Virginia, to Blake Baker, a steamship waiter, and Georgianna (Ross) Baker, a schoolteacher. Due to the absence of schools for African Americans in her hometown of Littleton, North Carolina, Baker went to school in Raleigh, North Carolina, attending Shaw boarding school and Shaw University, where she graduated with a degree in sociology in 1927. In 1927, Baker moved to New York City and soon after became an activist for civil rights, women's equality, and economic justice. In 1930, Baker joined the Young Negroes Cooperative League, a Harlem-based organization seeking to harness the economic power of the black community. She became the national director in 1931. During the Depression era, Baker worked in the Works Project Administration as a literacy teacher and as a labor educator in the Workers Education Project. She later became active as a journalist in local black newspapers.

Baker was at the vanguard of the civil rights movement, rejecting the status quo and embracing the necessity for militancy and direct action to challenge white institutionalized racism in the United States. She became an active member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1940, serving as a field secretary until 1946, when she left the organization, frustrated by the failure of the organization to embrace a more proactive strategy for change. However, in 1954, after unsuccessfully running for the New York State Assembly as a Liberal Party candidate, Baker returned to the NAACP as chair of the New York City branch.

In the late 1950s, as the civil rights movement expanded, Baker found that the mainstream African-American organizations were frequently too complacent and moderate. Again, Baker chose more radical, direct action tactics, such as sit-ins and street protests, both of which were critical to the achievements of the civil rights movement in the 1960s. In the late 1950s, after joining and actively participating in the Southern Christian Leadership Council, Baker chose to join forces with younger, radical forces. In 1960, she became a key adviser and strategist for young students, forming the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a militant civil rights organization. In 1964, she helped launch the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, a grassroots political organization that threatened the established, all-white Mississippi Democratic Party. She was also a close adviser to the Black Panther Party, a militant social justice organization advocating economic equality for African Americans.

From the 1970s until her death on her birthday in 1986, Baker was committed to advancing the cause of racial equality, advising key organizations in the United States, and helping advance the struggle against apartheid in South Africa.

Immanuel Ness

Kennedy, helping him win key states, including Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Illinois, in an election that saw Kennedy win the popular vote nationwide by a razor-thin margin of about 100,000 votes.

The federal government and the American public would learn to take the civil rights movement seriously during the turbulent 1960s. As the decade began, a group of students unleashed a ground-breaking series of demonstrations across the South. Soon after, a volatile mix of activists, white racists, and federal troops exploded across the South.

NONVIOLENCE TRIUMPHS IN THE SOUTH 1960–1965

The Sit-ins

As the 1960s began, direct action tactics took the civil rights movement on a new and powerful course. The sit-in became a potent symbolic and economic weapon against segregation. The first recorded sit-ins took place sporadically between 1957 and 1960, primarily in North Carolina and Oklahoma. African Americans simply entered segregated parks, hotels, waiting rooms, and restaurants, and peacefully demanded service. On February 1, 1960, the movement escalated when students at North Carolina A&T University decided to launch sit-ins at segregated lunch counters in Greensboro.

Legend has it that the North Carolina students began the movement spontaneously. Scholars of the movement, however, have shown that the student movement began as an organized, planned effort against Jim Crow laws. The students involved were active in their local NAACP Youth Council and had direct involvement with leaders of the earlier sit-ins. The NAACP refused to sanction the demonstrations, though by the time the movement began, the sit-in students had a well-established activist network of their own. By April, sit-ins had occurred in over seventy Southern cities, including Durham, Birmingham, Little Rock, New Orleans, and Atlanta. At first, sit-ins

disrupted the economic activity on a small scale. As African-American students took places at white-only lunch counters, white patrons and employees became nervous and confused. Most often, the manager would simply close the restaurant for the day. Sit-ins thus threatened the economic health of the targeted businesses.

The sit-ins swept across the South, but nowhere was their impact more drastic and influential than in Nashville, Tennessee. Building on the social connections between the four African-American universities in Nashville, students formed a network of activism dedicated to destroying segregation. Inspired by the North Carolina sit-ins, local students launched a movement in February 1960 that not only desegregated much of Nashville, but also created leaders and organizations instrumental to the success of the national civil rights movement. The leaders of the Nashville movement made manifest the Gandhian ideal of nonviolence. James Lawson, schooled in Gandhian principles in India, educated the volunteer activists in the meaning and practice of nonviolence. Diane Nash (later Nash Bevel), a student at Fisk University, coordinated volunteers at the downtown demonstrations in the afternoon after sitting through her college courses in the morning. John Lewis, James Bevel, and Marion Barry, soon to become leaders of national prominence, helped lead the movement as well.

As the demonstrations spread, so did resistance to them. Sit-ins in Nashville and most other cities unfolded in predictable ways. Groups of angry whites would surround the demonstrators, taunting and shouting at them, and often burning them with cigarettes or dousing them with ketchup and mustard. In Nashville, Lawson taught the activists not to respond or retaliate if provoked. As the students willfully received insults and blows, their antagonists grew increasingly angry. Often the crowds would attack the students, hitting them, throwing them on the ground, and kicking them. Police then usually arrested the demonstrators. In Nashville, Nash's group coordinated the sit-ins with precision. The volunteers descended on businesses in waves, and as they were removed, harmed, or arrested, replacements would arrive to continue the demonstration.

Inspired by the resolve of the city's youth, adult and community leaders in Nashville exerted pressure of their own on the white establishment. Churches held mass meetings and collected money for the demonstrations, and adults began to boycott the segregated downtown businesses. This economic pressure combined with the sit-ins to force the business owners to concede to African-American demands. With students crowding the city's jails and a boycott and sit-ins slowing the economy, African Americans managed to cripple Nashville's segregated downtown. By May 1960, restaurants integrated their lunch counters, and businesses began to hire African-American workers.

The efforts of the students in the Nashville movement marked a new beginning in the civil rights movement. College students across the nation formed the vanguard of the civil rights movement. Veterans of the Nashville movement, with the help of Ella Baker, the former coordinator of Martin Luther King's SCLC, created the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Rejecting formal leadership and bureaucracy, SNCC would soon harness the fervor of the students into a dramatic force for change in the South. Nash, Lewis, and Bevel helped bring the civil rights movement some of its most dramatic triumphs during the early 1960s. Also inspired by the Nashville movement, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), a small social equality organization, incorporated students into its leadership. Roughly one year after the desegregation of Nashville, CORE began the explosive Freedom Rides, which would lead the movement, the South, and the federal government into a maelstrom of activism and violence.

The Freedom Rides

By 1961, civil rights activists had come to expect some form of violence to occur during a demonstration. Most Americans, however, experienced the violence indirectly through sporadic events that grabbed media attention. The Till lynching, the Little Rock Nine, and the sit-ins exposed to some extent the brutality unleashed on civil rights demonstrators in the South. Still, the movement competed with other events for attention from the general public and the federal government. Crises such as the successful flight of the Soviet satellite *Sputnik* and the Bay of Pigs easily captivated the nation's attention. Civil rights activists began to act not only to change laws, but to draw the nation's attention to the constitutional violations and crimes against African Americans in the South. The Freedom Rides launched in the summer of 1961 publicized Southern violence to an entirely new degree.

This violence was not entirely accidental. Activists knew that images of violence stirred public reaction and the federal government more than any demonstration, protest, or plea. James Farmer, CORE's director, announced in early 1961 that his organization would send seven African-American and six white

volunteers on bus rides from Washington, D.C., to New Orleans, Louisiana. Project Freedom Ride would test legal compliance with the recent *Boynton v. Virginia* (1960) decision, in which the U.S. Supreme Court declared segregation involving interstate transportation unconstitutional. The Freedom Riders planned to stop at bus stations in the Deep South and integrate the waiting and dining areas. At the same time, CORE hoped to spur federal intervention in the enforcement of desegregation. The riders fully expected some resistance and quite possibly violence, which would, they predicted, force the federal government into action in support of civil rights. The rides came at a difficult time for the new president, John F. Kennedy. Initially pledging quick and decisive action on civil rights, Kennedy found himself caught between activist demands and the entrenched Southern wing of the Democratic Party. Any support offered the activists, Kennedy knew, would erode his support in his own party and thus his efforts on behalf of civil rights slowed.

Two buses of Freedom Riders roared out of Washington, D.C., on May 4, 1961. The rides unfolded relatively uneventfully until the first bus arrived in Anniston, Alabama, on May 14. A mob of racists awaited the bus as it pulled into the station. As the riders stepped off the bus, 200 whites attacked, unleashing a minor riot. As the riders retreated to the bus, rioters attacked the bus itself, slashing its tires. The bus pulled off with the mob in pursuit, only to sputter to the side of the road after six miles because of its flattened tires. This time the mob surrounded the bus and set fire to it, trapping the riders inside. An undercover Alabama policeman, planted on the bus earlier in the trip, forced the door open by threatening the attackers outside with a gun. As the riders escaped, the bus burst into flames. News photographers captured the fiery image, which covered the front page of national newspapers the next day. The mob later attacked the second bus as it pulled into Anniston.

On May 14, riders on the second bus were also attacked at Anniston and then again at Birmingham. Earlier that day, Birmingham Sheriff Bull Connor, fully aware that a mob awaited the bus, gave his police officers the day off, ostensibly in honor of Mother's Day. That night the Freedom Riders huddled in the Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth's church as yet another mob menaced on the streets outside. Local African Americans greeted the Freedom Riders as heroes, though many of the riders could not enjoy their adoration. Severely beaten, most of the riders needed serious medical attention, which local hospitals were reluctant to provide. The riders faced a premature death. Officials in the Kennedy administration discussed intervening but refused to use federal troops to protect the riders. Such a move would enrage segregationist state officials, who viewed federal intervention as an invasion. Meanwhile, Greyhound officials refused to supply a driver for the dangerous trip. Exasperated, the president sent Attorney General Robert Kennedy's aide John Seigenthaler to Alabama on behalf of the Justice Department.

Horribly battered (one rider became paralyzed for life as a result of the beatings), the original Freedom Riders flew out of Alabama. In Nashville, Diane Nash and John Lewis of the SNCC recruited volunteers to continue the Freedom Rides. On May 17, eight blacks and two whites arrived in Birmingham, where Connor promptly apprehended them, escorting them to the Tennessee border the next day. Undeterred, the new volunteers sneaked back to Birmingham. Recognizing the riders' refusal to quit, Robert Kennedy worked to make their trip as safe as possible. Kennedy forced Greyhound officials to provide a driver for the Birmingham-to-Montgomery journey, and on May 20 the bus arrived in Montgomery.

Angry whites ambushed the riders at the Montgomery bus terminal, savagely beating them with fists, feet, and anything they could find, including soda crates. Seigenthaler had followed the bus to Montgomery and attempted to protect the riders as the riot erupted, but whites attacked him as well. That evening the riders huddled with 1,200 local African Americans in Reverend Ralph Abernathy's church. King led a mass meeting as the ubiquitous mob assembled outside to menace the African Americans inside. Federal marshals, dispatched by the White House, protected the church from possible destruction by the mob.

The rides continued. The riders begged King to join them, but he refused. Farmer, recently arrived in Montgomery, decided at the last minute to join the ride into Jackson, Mississippi. Kennedy secured a martial escort for the ride out of Alabama, but danger still threatened in Mississippi. Striking a bargain with U.S. senator James Eastland (D-MS), Kennedy promised to allow state officials to arrest the riders to prevent mob violence. Safe from the deadly violence of Alabama, the riders then entered the haunting Mississippi prison system. As Freedom Rides continued, some 400 riders would be arrested in Mississippi. Embracing a "jail, no bail" vow, many riders filled the local prisons, straining law enforcement and draining

government funds to feed and house the prisoners. As the cells filled, some riders were transferred to the Parchman state penitentiary where they suffered abuse and starvation.

Not all riders remained in jail, and bail and court costs slowly drained the CORE treasury. After the emotional and financial drain of the Freedom Rides, CORE nearly dissolved. By September 1961, Robert Kennedy quietly exerted pressure on the Interstate Commerce Commission and state and local officials, resulting in stricter enforcement of desegregation. CORE had helped end segregation in interstate travel by late 1962. After the turmoil, the White House urged civil rights activists to pursue voting rights rather than integration, as the administration faced less political risk and had greater constitutional leverage in that area. To the movement's dismay, the Kennedy administration had shown a preference to act reluctantly and quietly, a response that would repeat itself in Mississippi during the integration of Ole Miss.

Civil Rights in Mississippi

For most of the country, the crisis at Central High School in Little Rock seemed to be the culmination of the *Brown* decision, but in some ways it was a small-scale preview for the final stand of the bastion of segregated education in the South: the University of Mississippi. Ole Miss flaunted a racist attitude and a proud Confederate past, boasting "Colonel Reb" as its mascot. Civil rights advocates had long hoped to integrate the institution but were thwarted time and time again. Ole Miss officials considered the idea of enrollment of African-American students at the school a simple absurdity. When African-American Clennon King applied to Ole Miss in 1958, state officials used this act as proof of his insanity and had him committed to Mississippi's Whitfield Asylum. King was later found sane and released with the aid of his brother, C.B. King, who was active in the Albany, Georgia, movement.

In January 1961, an African-American student at Jackson State named James Meredith contacted the NAACP about starting a lawsuit to gain him entrance to Ole Miss. Meredith, a U.S. Air Force veteran, discussed the lawsuit with Mississippi NAACP field secretary Medgar Evers, as well as Thurgood Marshall. The lawsuit began, and in September 1962 a federal judge ordered Ole Miss to enroll Meredith. Mississippi governor Ross Barnett fully intended to make a stand against forced integration. A virulent segregationist, Barnett, like Orval Faubus in Little Rock, felt that resisting school desegregation would improve his political career. Although some moderate Mississippi whites supported Meredith's enrollment, Barnett appealed to the racists of the state, appearing at football games pledging to resist the tides of change.

Despite his tirades, Barnett understood that he had no legal case against desegregation. He quickly worked to frame the issue as one resulting from the federal authorities' excessive trampling on states rights. Secretly bargaining with President Kennedy on September 30, 1962, Barnett suggested that a military escort draw weapons on him and force him to integrate the university, allowing him to save face with the state's ardent racists. Kennedy refused Barnett's deal and ordered a force of federal marshals to bring Meredith to the city of Oxford and Ole Miss later that evening. A mob, consisting of some students but mostly local whites, surrounded the registration building while federal agents secretly whisked Meredith into a dorm on campus.

As darkness fell, the crowd grew and violence soon followed. Rioters threw rocks and broke windows, threatening the nervous, outmanned, and poorly armed group of U.S. marshals. The violence escalated when Barnett told the state highway patrol, which had been on the scene to keep order, to disperse. As Kennedy gave a speech in Washington claiming that the Ole Miss standoff had been settled, gunshots shattered the night air in Oxford. The marshals fired tear gas to quell the riot. Soon a reporter and a local observer lay dead, victims of random shootings. During the melee, Barnett took to the radio airwaves, declaring, "I call on Mississippi to keep the faith and courage. We will never surrender." Federal officials worried that the mob might soon discover Meredith, with his murder sure to follow.

In the early hours of the morning, Kennedy ordered military units to Oxford. Arriving at about 4 A.M., federal troops smothered the rebellion, and five hours later escorted James Meredith to the registration building. Roughly five years after the Little Rock Nine, federal troops again enforced school desegregation by escorting an African American past a would-be lynch mob. After the outburst surrounding his arrival on campus, Meredith's college career passed relatively peacefully. In the summer of 1963, he graduated from Ole Miss with a degree in political science.

Mississippi African Americans, long despairing of any progress in civil rights, were now filled with new hope as they pondered Meredith's successful integration of Ole Miss. Considered by many as the state most egregiously in violation of civil rights, Missis-

sippi witnessed in the following years a new bout of activism. Medgar Evers consulted with Meredith frequently and helped lead these efforts. In Jackson, Mississippi, students launched a wave of sit-ins at local restaurants in 1963. Although the national NAACP generally disapproved of direct action measures, Evers could not ignore the proven efficacy of such tactics. Evers chose not to take part in the sit-ins but led meetings protesting the arrest of demonstrators. At an NAACP rally Evers vowed: "Freedom has never been free . . . I love my children and I love my wife with all my heart. And I would die, and die gladly, if that would make a better life for them."

On June 12, as Kennedy addressed the nation on civil rights, a white sniper shot Evers in the back outside of his home, quickly killing him. Evers's death came to be described as a political assassination rather than a lynching. After his funeral 1,000 young African Americans marched through downtown Jackson, ending at a tense standoff with local law enforcement officials. The confrontation ended when John Doar, a Justice Department official calmed the crowd. President Kennedy met with Evers's widow and children after his burial at Arlington National Cemetery. The slaying of the well-known Evers inspired many activists to set their sights on Mississippi as a future center of concerted action.

Albany

After the Montgomery Bus Boycott, King felt pulled in different directions. In demand as a speaker, he gave numerous speeches. He journeyed to India to learn from the disciples of Gandhi. In New York City, he survived an assassination attempt while publicizing his book on the Montgomery movement. By 1961, some critics argued that King had done little actual work for the cause of civil rights. Soon King found himself drawn into a budding movement to integrate the town of Albany, Georgia.

In 1961, a drive began against the entrenched segregationist laws of Albany. With the help of SNCC, local students organized protests at bus terminals that had yet to be integrated, and they demanded biracial discussions with the town leaders. After an energetic start, the Albany movement sputtered as demonstrators were arrested and white officials ignored African-American demands. King arrived in December, and the hero of the Montgomery movement helped mobilize a large number of Albany's African Americans.

As King increased the Albany movement's activism, white city officials adapted to meet the rising challenge. Albany Police Chief Laurie Pritchett knew that the activists wanted to be arrested and that by filling the local jails they hoped to create a logistic and economic logjam for the city government. Violent treatment of demonstrators and overflowing jails would make headlines in the North, possibly bringing federal intervention. Pritchett ordered his officers to treat demonstrators gently while arresting them. He also made arrangements with prison officials in neighboring counties to imprison activists, enabling him to avoid crowding Albany's jails.

In July 1962, King went to jail in order to bring greater attention to the conflict in Albany, but city officials set him free, knowing that by being in prison King would only strengthen the movement. After over a year of work, the Albany movement had little progress to show for its efforts. The movement showed signs of strain. SNCC and the Albany students who began the movement resented the intrusion of King and the SCLC. As the Albany movement faded, King began to plan for a project that he would coordinate from the beginning, rather than showing up only as the movement needed outside support. He set his sights on the city of Birmingham, Alabama.

Birmingham

After the Albany debacle, King faced criticism and pressure to re-create his success in Montgomery. Steadily losing momentum, King's SCLC needed a successful movement in order to bring federal and public attention to civil rights. The SCLC chose Birmingham as its next target because of that city's blatant violations of civil rights. The notorious Sheriff Bull Connor, who had allowed thugs to pummel activists during the Freedom Rides, personified the racism of the city. The movement in Birmingham would begin with a boycott during the Easter shopping season, when African Americans usually filled the cash registers of downtown department stores. Demonstrations would complement the boycott, and arrests would fill the jails. King asked SCLC official Fred Shuttlesworth, who had harbored the Freedom Riders in his Birmingham church, to create a plan for the movement, and then embarked on a speaking tour to raise money for the project.

Sit-ins and marches began on April 3, 1963, but the number of demonstrators and arrests fell far short of King's expectations. For a week the movement dragged on. Birmingham police arrested marchers but not in the drastic numbers needed to fill the jails. At the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, King led nightly mass meetings to build support. The actions gained scant attention even within Birmingham, though of-

LETTER FROM BIRMINGHAM JAIL

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. April 16, 1963

Martin Luther King's famous "Letter from Birmingham Jail" to clergymen is emblematic of his dedication to nonviolent civil disobedience. King's letter is cited as a philosophic and strategic turning point in the modern civil rights movement.

My Dear Fellow Clergymen

While confined here in the Birmingham city jail, I came across your recent statement calling my present activities "unwise and untimely." . . .

. . . I am in Birmingham because injustice is here. . . .

Moreover, I am cognizant of the interrelatedness of all communities and states. I cannot sit idly by in Atlanta and not be concerned about what happens in Birmingham. Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. . . . Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly. Never again can we afford to live with the narrow, provincial "outside agitator" idea. . . .

In any nonviolent campaign there are four basic steps: collection of the facts to determine whether injustices exist; negotiation; self-purification; and direct action. We have gone through all these steps in Birmingham. There can be no gainsaying the fact that racial injustice engulfs this community. Birmingham is probably the most thoroughly segregated city in the United States. Its ugly record of brutality is widely known. Negroes have experienced grossly unjust treatment in the courts. There have been more unsolved bombings of Negro homes and churches in Birmingham than in any other city in the nation. . . . On the basis of these conditions, Negro leaders sought to negotiate with the city fathers. But the latter consistently refused to engage in good-faith negotiation. . . .

We will reach the goal of freedom in Birmingham and all over the nation, because the goal of America is freedom. Abused and scorned though we may be, our destiny is tied up with America's destiny. Before the pilgrims landed at Plymouth, we were here. Before the pen of Jefferson etched the majestic words of the Declaration of Independence across the pages of history, we were here. For more than two centuries our forebears labored in this country without wages; they made cotton king; they built the homes of their masters while suffering gross injustice and shameful humiliation—and yet out of a bottomless vitality they continued to thrive and develop. If the inexpressible cruelties of slavery could not stop us, the opposition we now face will surely fail. . . .

Before closing I feel impelled to mention one other point in your statement that has troubled me profoundly. You warmly commended the Birmingham police force for keeping "order" and "preventing violence." I doubt that you would have so warmly commended the police force if you had seen its dogs sinking their teeth into unarmed, nonviolent Negroes. I doubt that you would so quickly commend the policemen if you were to observe their ugly and inhumane treatment of Negroes here in the city jail; if you were to watch them push and curse old Negro women and young Negro girls; if you were to see them slap and kick old Negro men and young boys; if you were to observe them, as they did on two occasions, refuse to give us food because we wanted to sing our grace together. I cannot join you in your praise of the Birmingham police department. . . .

I wish you had commended the Negro sit-inners and demonstrators of Birmingham for their sublime courage, their willingness to suffer and their amazing discipline in the midst of great provocation. One day the South will recognize its real heroes. They will be the James Meredith, with the noble sense of purpose that enables them to face jeering, and hostile mobs, and with the agonizing loneliness that characterizes the life of the pioneer. They will be old, oppressed, battered Negro women, symbolized in a seventy-two-year-old woman in Montgomery, Alabama, who rose up with a sense of dignity and with her people decided not to ride segregated buses, and who responded with ungrammatical profundity to one who inquired about her weariness: "My feets is tired, but my soul is at rest." They will be the young high school and college students, the young ministers of the gospel and a host of their elders, courageously and nonviolently sitting in at lunch counters and willingly going to jail for conscience' sake. One day the South will know that when these disinherited children of God sat down at lunch counters, they were in reality standing up for what is best in the American dream and for the most sacred values in our Judaeo-Christian heritage, thereby bringing our nation back to those great wells of democracy which were dug deep by the founding fathers in their formulation of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. . . .

Yours for the cause of Peace and Brotherhood,
Martin Luther King Jr.

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ficials passed a law outlawing demonstrations. Hoping to galvanize the movement, King willfully violated this injunction and was instantly arrested. King entered a Birmingham prison on Good Friday, April 12. While locked in solitary confinement, King read a smuggled newspaper. One article enraged him. The article described white religious leaders in Birmingham criticizing the movement's demands. The moderate clergy counseled King to patiently wait for justice. On the same newspaper (and on subsequent sheets of paper smuggled inside), King scrawled his "Letter from Birmingham Jail." In the letter, King confronted such criticisms:

> I have almost reached the regrettable conclusion that the Negro's great stumbling block is not the White Citizen's Council—or the Ku Klux Klanner, but the white moderate who is more devoted to "order" than to justice, who prefers a negative peace which is the absence of tension to a positive peace which is the presence of justice, who constantly says "I agree with you in the goal you seek, but I can't agree with your methods of direct action," who paternalistically believes that he can set the timetable for another man's freedom.

King also countered the notion that the civil rights movement needlessly created turmoil and conflict and disrupted peaceful communities.

> Actually, we who engage in nonviolent direct action are not the creators of tension. We merely bring to the surface the hidden tension that is already alive. We bring it out in the open, where it can be seen and dealt with. Like a boil that can never be cured so long as it is covered up but must be opened with all its ugliness to the natural medicines of air and light, injustice must be exposed, with all the tension its exposure creates, to the light of human conscience and the air of national opinion before it can be cured.

The SCLC sent King's letter to religious leaders and publications across the country. Although the letter inspired some activism among American clergy, notably the arrival of a group of rabbis to support the Birmingham movement, King's essay remained relatively ignored until after the Birmingham settlement.

On Easter Sunday King left his prison cell only to find the movement facing collapse. The SCLC leaders pondered a bold move to reignite the movement. With adults reluctant to go to jail, high school children volunteered to march instead. King refused this idea, but James Bevel, a veteran of the Nashville sit-in movement, convinced King that they should be allowed to march, reasoning that segregation affected African Americans of any age. High school students and then even younger children lined up to march on May 2. As their nervous parents watched, the children marched, stunning Bull Connor's men. As police arrested one group of marchers, another made its way toward a protest at city hall. Soon the jail cells were filled with children as young as six years old.

The next day more children—and adults inspired by the sacrifice of the youth—assembled in the Sixteenth Street Church to march. Connor's men surrounded the church, having received instructions to prevent any marches. When marchers left the church, the police unleashed high-pressure fire hoses on the demonstrators, sending young and old bodies tumbling backward on the streets. Snarling police dogs chased children, sinking their fangs into several of them. A picture of a vicious dog, its jaws clamped on a young boy's stomach, landed on the front page of newspapers across the country the next day. The police attacked the demonstrators with clubs, leaving the streets of Birmingham littered with blood and battered bodies.

Connor's brutal reaction to the children's march turned public sentiment toward the movement. City officials worked with Shuttlesworth and King to reach an agreement. Northern industrialists, upon whom city leaders counted on for investment, began to criticize the city government. Demonstrators flooded downtown, ruining the economic health of local businesses. No African Americans spent any money downtown, and many whites, alarmed by the racial disturbances, also stayed away from Birmingham's business district. On May 10, Shuttlesworth announced that "The City of Birmingham has reached an accord with its conscience." City officials agreed to the movement's demands of integration of sitting rooms, restrooms, water fountains, and lunch counters, as well as a biracial committee to investigate the further needs of African Americans in the city.

Violence threatened to destroy the fragile agreement. Alabama governor George Wallace denounced the settlement, and bombs erupted across the city. Angry African Americans threw rocks at police; state troopers responded by beating African Americans. On May 12, President Kennedy ordered army units to the city which eventually calmed the rioting. The dramatic, gruesome scenes from Birmingham shocked the nation and troubled its conscience. Never had the mistreatment of African Americans been covered by

so many media. The conflict troubled John Kennedy as well. Soon after the settlement was ratified, the president announced that he would send a civil rights bill to Congress.

The March on Washington

King's celebrity soared after the SCLC's victory in Birmingham. Numerous periodicals and journals reprinted his "Letter from Birmingham Jail." The man who toppled the most segregated city in the nation became a hero to millions. His popularity transcended the South. In June 1963, King spoke in Detroit as a crowd of 125,000 nearly exploded in adoration. President Kennedy summoned King for a meeting in the White House. In the summer of 1963 the time was right, King felt, for a grand display of the movement's strength.

After a brief discussion with his advisers, King agreed that the display should take the form of a giant march in the nation's capital. Other civil rights organizations, including SNCC and the NAACP, offered their participation. The idea of a march on Washington resonated with the older leaders of the movement. A. Philip Randolph, an elder statesman of the civil rights movement, had proposed a march on Washington during World War II in order to pressure President Franklin D. Roosevelt to integrate the defense industries. When Roosevelt agreed to this integration, Randolph called off the march. In 1963, Randolph planned a march for jobs in Washington, and he agreed to combine this with King's idea of a march for freedom. Randolph later agreed to take charge of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, though most of the organization efforts fell to King's associate Bayard Rustin.

On August 28, 1963, an integrated mass of some 250,000 marchers gathered at the Washington Monument. From there they descended on the Lincoln Memorial, where various civil rights leaders, including Randolph and John Lewis of SNCC, addressed the crowd. The televised march marked a turning point for the American civil rights movement. Speakers, basking in the newfound attention from the federal government, expressed support for Kennedy's civil rights bill. The movement changed symbolically as well. The day before the march, W.E.B. Du Bois died in Ghana. For the first half of the twentieth century, Du Bois had led the civil rights cause as an NAACP founder and one of the country's most prominent and outspoken intellectuals. The day after his death a new generation of civil rights leaders celebrated their ascent into the nation's history.

In the final speech of the day, King gave his most famous oration, expressing themes of interracial harmony and justice grounded in the Bible and the Declaration of Independence. Abandoning his prepared remarks in the middle of his speech, King extemporized:

> I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood. I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice. I have a dream that my four children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character. . . .
>
> And when this happens and when we allow freedom to ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual: "Free at last. Free at last. Thank God Almighty, we are free at last."

Across the nation viewers praised King's eloquence. The dignified behavior of the marchers impressed many whites who had felt that a mass gathering of African Americans would only degenerate into raucous behavior. The march convinced many liberal politicians and average Americans that they could embrace the aims of the movement.

King's SCLC was but one of many organizations directing the movement, but the general public recognized King as its leader. King's stature impressed many, including Kennedy. At the same time, however, Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) director J. Edgar Hoover initiated a program of surveillance against King, suspecting the movement to be a Communist plot. FBI wiretaps recorded King's private meetings and phone conversations, as Hoover hoped to find evidence of Communist infiltration. The Kennedy administration agreed to Hoover's wiretaps, though Hoover never found any ties to the Soviet Union.

The triumph of the March on Washington displayed the size and eloquence of the movement, but violence continued in the South. Just three weeks after the march, a bomb devastated the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, killing four young

I HAVE A DREAM
MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. delivered his "I Have a Dream" speech on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., on August 28, 1963. The speech was crucial in expanding the civil rights struggle into a national movement that could not be ignored in either the South or the North.

Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of captivity. But one hundred years later, we must face the tragic fact that the Negro is still not free.

One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languishing in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land.

So we have come here today to dramatize an appalling condition. In a sense we have come to our nation's capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. . . .

Let us not wallow in the valley of despair. I say to you today, my friends, that in spite of the difficulties and frustrations of the moment, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal." I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slaveowners will be able to sit down together at a table of brotherhood. I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a desert state, sweltering with the heat of injustice and oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice. I have a dream that my four children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day the state of Alabama, whose governor's lips are presently dripping with the words of interposition and nullification, will be transformed into a situation where little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls and walk together as sisters and brothers. I have a dream today. I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together. This is our hope. This is the faith with which I return to the South. With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.

This will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with a new meaning, "My country, 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing. Land where my fathers died, land of the pilgrim's pride, from every mountainside, let freedom ring." And if America is to be a great nation, this must become true. So let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire. Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York. Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania! Let freedom ring from the snowcapped Rockies of Colorado! Let freedom ring from the curvaceous peaks of California! But not only that; let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia! Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee! Let freedom ring from every hill and every molehill of Mississippi. From every mountainside, let freedom ring.

When we let freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, "Free at last! free at last! thank God Almighty, we are free at last!"

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CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964 TITLE VII, SECTION 703

The Landmark Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 bans discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, pregnancy, or national origin. Title VII was originally intended to defeat race discrimination in employment. Ironically, opponents of the ban on racial discrimination included the prohibition of sex discrimination as a means of defeating the legislation.

Unlawful Employment Practices

(a) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer—

(1) to fail or refuse to hire or to discharge any individual, or otherwise to discriminate against any individual with respect to his compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; or

(2) to limit, segregate, or classify his employees or applicants for employment in any way which would deprive or tend to deprive any individual of employment opportunities or otherwise adversely affect his status as an employee, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

(b) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employment agency to fail or refuse to refer for employment, or otherwise to discriminate against, any individual because of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, or to classify or refer for employment any individual on the basis of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

(c) It shall be an unlawful employment practice for a labor organization—

(1) to exclude or to expel from its membership, or otherwise to discriminate against, any individual because of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin;

(2) to limit, segregate, or classify its membership or applicants for membership, or to classify or fail or refuse to refer for employment any individual, in any way which would deprive or tend to deprive any individual of employment opportunities, or would limit such employment opportunities or otherwise adversely affect his status as an employee or as an applicant for employment, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; or

(3) to cause or attempt to cause an employer to discriminate against an individual in violation of this section.

Source: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. *Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Pub. L. 88–352) (Title VII), amended, in volume 42 of the United States Code*, Washington, D.C., 2000.

girls. So many bombs had exploded there that activists nicknamed the city "Bombingham." Two blacks were murdered on the street that same day. In Mississippi whites shot at African Americans who tried to register to vote. Violence seemed omnipresent, culminating in the assassination of John Kennedy in November 1963, which was unrelated to the civil rights movement. With Lyndon Johnson, a Southerner, as president, African Americans wondered what the fate of the civil rights bill would be. As 1964 unfolded, white violence created new tactics and demands in the movement. Once again, the movement descended upon Mississippi to confront the forces of discrimination, hatred, and terror.

Freedom Summer

Lyndon Johnson thrilled civil rights activists when he announced, soon after taking office, his intention to push Kennedy's civil rights legislation through Congress. The federal government thus mobilized behind a bill outlawing segregation in the United States. Dedicating the legislation to the slain president's legacy, Johnson impressed African Americans even further when he vowed not to accept any changes to the bill. Johnson knew the bill faced the block of Southern Democrats in the Senate who might filibuster it to death. He also feared that his actions might turn the Deep South against the Democratic Party, a prediction that proved true in the 1964 presidential election.

Johnson used his considerable powers of persuasion to sway Republican and Democratic congressmen alike to support the civil rights bill. At one point, he courted the support of Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen (R-IL), telling him, "you're worthy of the Land of Lincoln. And the Man from Illinois is going to pass the bill, and I'll see that you get proper attention and credit." The bill passed in the Senate, and on July 2, with King in attendance, Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The act outlawed segregation in restaurants, hotels, and all the other areas targeted by the sit-in movement years earlier.

One month earlier, SNCC and CORE had begun

FANNIE LOU TOWNSEND HAMER (1917–1977)

Born in Ruleville, Mississippi, on October 6, 1917, Fannie Lou Townsend was the youngest of twenty children. By the time she was six, she was working the fields with her sharecropper parents. She dropped out of school at age twelve to work the land full-time with her family.

In 1942, she married Perry ("Pap") Hamer. Her civil rights activism began in August 1962, when she answered a call by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) for volunteers to challenge voter registration procedures that excluded African Americans. On one of her attempts to register, she was shot at by an angry white racist. Her family was forced off the land and lost their work because of her activism. In 1963, she and several others were imprisoned and violently attacked while in their cells for challenging Mississippi's discriminatory voting laws. A young civil rights worker named Andrew Young traveled to Mississippi to bail her out of jail. Young then sent Hamer to Atlanta to meet with Martin Luther King Jr., who referred her to the United States Department of Justice. U.S. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, outraged by what he learned, filed criminal charges against the police officers that had carried out the beatings. An all-white, all-male jury acquitted the lawmen of all charges. She then became a field secretary for SNCC and a registered voter in 1963, and she also began working for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

In 1964, Hamer became vice chairperson of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), established after unsuccessful attempts by African Americans to work with the all-white Mississippi Democratic Party. As the spokesperson of the MFDP, she gave a nationally televised address to the Credentials Committee at the 1964 Democratic National Convention in which she described incidents of violence and injustice suffered by civil rights activists, including her own experience of a jailhouse beating that left her crippled. Although President Lyndon B. Johnson tried to block the telecast by calling a press conference during her testimony, network television executives aired her testimony later that evening, allowing the American television audience to hear firsthand of the horrors inflicted upon blacks in the Deep South. A year later, President Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which ensured that all blacks of eligible age would be permitted to vote.

As a member of the Democratic National Committee for Mississippi (1968–1971) and the Policy Council of the National Women's Political Caucus (1971–1977), Hamer actively opposed the Vietnam War and worked to improve economic conditions in Mississippi. Her bid for the Mississippi State Senate in 1971 failed, but she kept working on behalf of her fellow impoverished blacks. She died on March 14, 1977, in Mound Bayou, Mississippi.

James G. Lewis

Freedom Summer in the state of Mississippi. More violent than any other state, Mississippi was also guilty of the worst violations of African Americans' voting rights. During the 1950s, although African Americans constituted a majority in some areas, only 5 percent were registered to vote in the entire state. To register, African Americans had to take a test reading and interpreting the state constitution; registrars failed them arbitrarily. Attempts to register brought harassment and sometimes murder upon the individual.

Robert Moses and James Forman of SNCC developed a large-scale summer project, called Freedom Summer, to liberate African Americans from Mississippi's oppression. SNCC needed large numbers of volunteers to implement Freedom Summer, and they found recruits among white college students of the North. On June 20, the first Freedom Summer workers arrived in Mississippi; in all over 1,000 students, most of them white, headed South. Freedom Summer focused on increasing the political and educational strength of African Americans. Most volunteers worked to register African-American voters, while many others set up Freedom Schools to alleviate the failings of Mississippi's woefully inadequate school system. At the Freedom Schools, the volunteers taught subjects, including African-American history, literacy, theater, and creative writing, to young and old alike. Volunteers also organized community centers for local African Americans.

White residents and law officials of Mississippi perceived Freedom Summer as an invasion, envisioning Communist, white college radicals commingling with African Americans. This encounter replayed the cultural clash of the Emmett Till lynching on a grand scale. White Mississippians attempted to repel the volunteers with violence. Ku Klux Klan members burned churches that hosted Freedom Schools and bombed buildings where SNCC volunteers worked. Racists

Evicted from her land, jailed, and savagely beaten for trying to register to vote, Fannie Lou Hamer riveted the nation with her life story and description of white brutality. She is shown here speaking at the 1964 Democratic National Convention, where she led a delegation of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which sought to represent the state. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

shot at those attempting to register to vote. The most notorious incident occurred just as the first wave of volunteers arrived. On June 21, civil rights workers James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner disappeared outside the small town of Philadelphia. Mississippi law enforcement officials claimed that the workers were hiding to create publicity, but on August 4 FBI agents discovered the three bodies buried under an earthen dam. By the end of the summer, four volunteers had been killed, 1,000 arrests had been made, and nearly seventy churches, homes, and businesses had been burned or bombed.

Moses had pictured the voting registration campaign as the most important theme of Freedom Summer. Out of 17,000 attempted registrations, only 1,600 were accepted, driving Moses to shift his focus. He then decided to help African Americans in Mississippi create their own political party. With the help of Fannie Lou Hamer, a local sharecropper, Moses created the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), which represented some 80,000 African-American Mississippians. The MFDP elected delegates to the Democratic National Convention that August in Atlantic City. There they presented themselves as the true representatives of Mississippi.

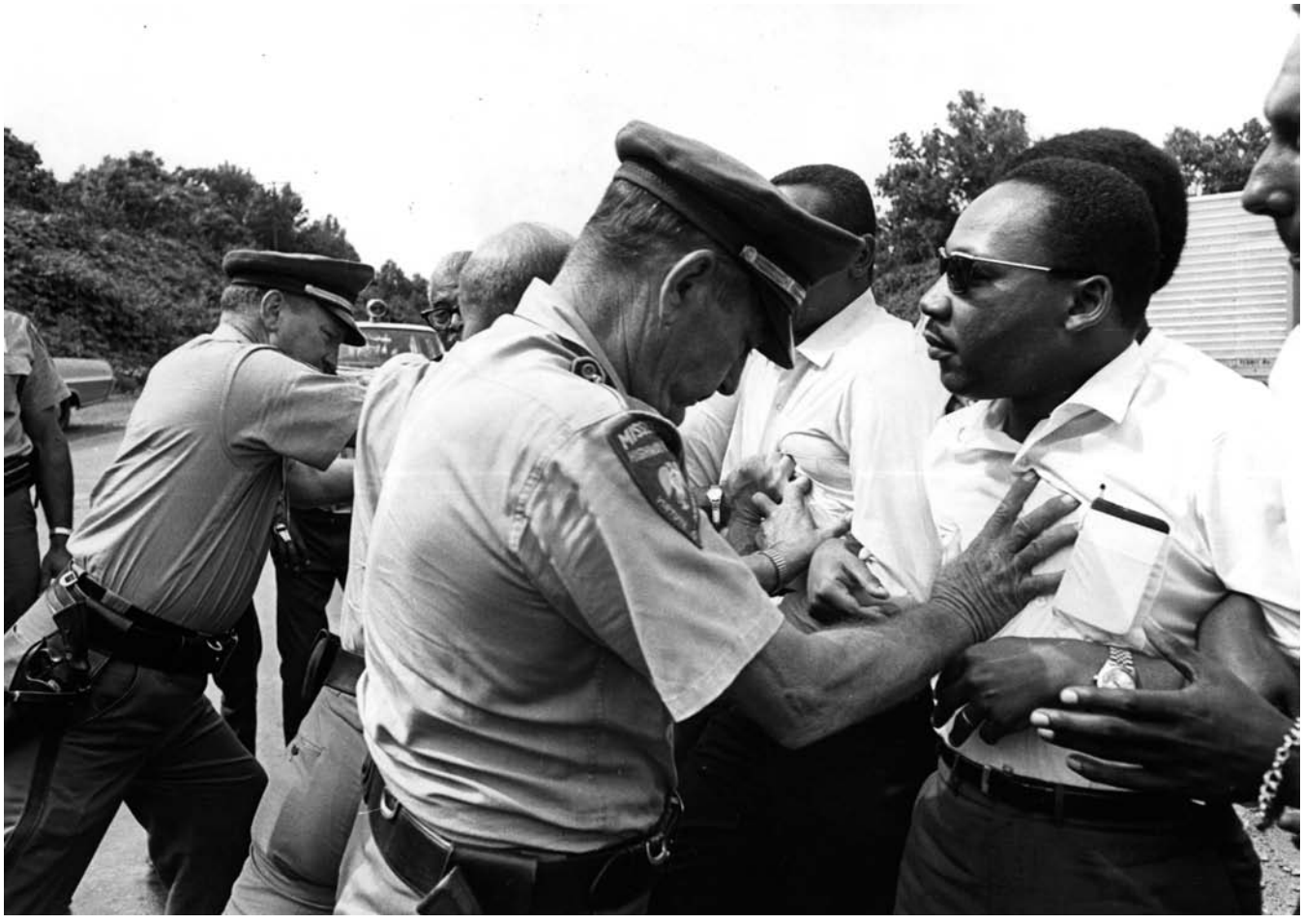
The MFDP quickly caused controversy at the convention. President Johnson insisted on seating the white, Democratic delegates from Mississippi, though many Northern Democrats supported the MFDP. Johnson assigned Senator Hubert Humphrey (D-MN) to reconcile the convention. Humphrey proposed seating the entire delegation of Mississippi Democrats along with two representatives from the MFDP. Outraged and unwilling to associate with African Americans, all but three of the Mississippi Democrats stormed off the convention floor. The MFDP voted among themselves to reject the compromise, and over the next few nights the entire MFDP used borrowed

passes to gather on the convention floor where they led prayer demonstrations and sang freedom songs. By the end of the Freedom Summer of 1964, the civil rights movement had redefined its purpose and its tactics. The Civil Rights Act outlawed segregation, granting the goal of the early activism, but also making its direct action tactics such as the sit-in and the boycott relatively obsolete. At the next major battleground of civil rights, a march for voting rights would again spur the federal government into action.

Selma

After Lyndon Johnson's landslide election victory in 1964, his administration began to consider a voting rights bill. Grassroots activism worked simultaneously to break down barriers to voting and draw national attention to the problem. For years Diane Nash Bevel, an African American civil rights activist, had advocated a voting rights movement in Alabama. SNCC had long been working on a small voting rights campaign in Dallas County, and in December 1964 King announced his intention to visit the town of Selma. As in Birmingham, King led protest marches and demonstrations, leading to violent arrests carried out by Sheriff Jim Clark. King himself was arrested on February 1, 1965; three days later, the Islamic militant Malcolm X arrived in Selma to give a speech.

Over the next two weeks, demonstrations continued. On February 18, a night-time march took place in Marion, a small town near Selma. Police, state troopers, and an angry white mob surrounded the marchers. Suddenly the streetlights went out and chaos erupted. Ordinary civilians and law enforcement officials attacked the marchers. During the brawl, a state trooper shot Jimmie Lee Jackson in the stomach; a week later he died. Friends of Jackson threatened to march from Marion to Montgomery



A police officer forcibly restrains Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., during a demonstration in Mississippi in 1966. *(© Underwood Photo Archives, Inc.)*

where they would present his body to Governor Wallace. Wallace announced that he would use the highway patrol to resist any such march.

King surprised many by endorsing the march. SNCC officials declined to participate because of the threat of violence, though many members including chairman John Lewis took part as individuals. The march began on Sunday, March 7, with King out of the state, having received threats on his life. Six hundred African Americans gathered in Selma and started the 50-mile journey to Montgomery. Marchers noticed the absence of the usual white antagonists. Six blocks from the church, the march approached the Edmund Pettus Bridge above the Alabama River. A sea of blue-helmeted, club-toting state troopers awaited the marchers. When Major John Cloud ordered them to retreat, the marchers bowed their heads in prayer but did not move. The state troopers then turned into a vigilante posse, attacking the marchers ruthlessly. Troopers on horseback clubbed marchers' heads and fired tear gas into the fleeing crowd. Unconscious marchers were trampled in the confusion. At the end of "Bloody Sunday," seventy African Americans were hospitalized.

King returned to Selma immediately, where SNCC activists wanted to attempt the march again. A federal judge issued an injunction against marches, however, and King worried that defying a federal court order might threaten the voting rights bill taking shape in Washington. Relations between King's SCLC and other civil rights organizations, especially SNCC, had always been tense, but during the Selma conflict the two groups became nearly irreconcilable. King encouraged marchers to gather on the following Tuesday but decided that they would not defy the court order against marches. Leading 1,500 African Americans back to the Pettus Bridge, King halted the march even though state troopers stood aside at the bridge. The march broke into song and turned around, returning to the church where the march started. Infuriated SNCC members dubbed the day "Turnaround Tuesday."

In the White House, Johnson watched the events in Selma unfold. Less than a year after risking his political career for a civil rights bill, Johnson again took action in support of African Americans. On March 15, Johnson addressed Congress demanding new federal legislation for voting rights. Referencing the events in Selma, Johnson said; "Their cause must be our cause, too. Because it is not just Negroes, but really all of us who must overcome the crippling legacy of bigotry and injustice. And," he concluded, referencing the movement's most famous spiritual, "we shall overcome." Johnson's speech allegedly moved King to tears, while some SNCC members denounced it as a hollow gesture.

Soon after Johnson's speech, the federal injunction against the march was overturned. Over 4,000 white and African-American pilgrims began the Selma-to-Montgomery march on March 21. Over the next five days the number if marchers swelled to 25,000. Gathering in front of the state capitol, the marchers presented a petition to Governor Wallace asking for the enforcement of voting rights in Alabama. The march had been remarkable for its lack of violence, though as the marchers dispersed, Ku Klux Klansmen killed Viola Liuzzo, a volunteer from Michigan, as she ferried marchers back to Selma. On August 6, Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act into law, allowing Justice Department officials to intervene wherever voting discrimination occurred.

TRANSITION TO MILITANCE 1965–1970

The legislative victories of the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act sent Jim Crow to his grave. By 1967, African Americans had achieved unprecedented political standing: Cleveland elected an African-American mayor, and Johnson appointed Thurgood Marshall to the U.S. Supreme Court. Although these laws brought a freedom to African Americans not seen since emancipation, they also threatened to end the movement. The movement had met its goals and faced a crisis of what to do next. Without specific legislation to demand, the movement began to confront the more insidious and less tangible problems of poverty and racism. Federal legislation could only tear away segregation in the law books of the South; it could not change entrenched attitudes.

Activists and observers alike grew weary of the struggles for change. After countless beatings, arrests, and murders, African Americans began to discard the nonviolent tactics of the movement. Racism and discrimination dominated Northern cities in fact, though not in law, and African Americans raged against this invisible oppression. Moderate whites who supported the Southern movement proved reluctant to help African Americans in the North, feeling that they should be pleased with the new legislation. The years between 1965 and 1970 saw the mainstream movement focus its criticisms against capitalism and the distribution of wealth in the United States. This new criticism often led to direct defiance of the state. The movement's student wing

VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965

The Voting Rights Act, perhaps the most important part of civil rights legislation, was adopted in 1965 and extended in 1970, 1975, and 1982 as a means to give voting rights to African Americans and other ethnic minorities disenfranchised by Jim Crow legislation in the South and other states. The Act enforces the Fifteenth Amendment, which guarantees that no person be denied the right to vote on account of race or color.

AN ACT To enforce the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and for other purposes.
Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress [p*338] assembled, That this Act shall be known as the "Voting Rights Act of 1965."

SEC. 2. No voting qualification or prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice, or procedure shall be imposed or applied by any State or political subdivision to deny or abridge the right of any citizen of the United States to vote on account of race or color.

SEC. 3.

(a) Whenever the Attorney General institutes a proceeding under any statute to enforce the guarantees of the fifteenth amendment in any State or political subdivision the court shall authorize the appointment of Federal examiners by the United States Civil Service Commission in accordance with section 6 to serve for such period of time and for such political subdivisions as the court shall determine is appropriate to enforce the guarantees of the fifteenth amendment (1) as part of any interlocutory order if the court determines that the appointment of such examiners is necessary to enforce such guarantees or (2) as part of any final judgment if the court finds that violations of the fifteenth amendment justifying equitable relief have occurred in such State or subdivision: Provided, That the court need not authorize the appointment of examiners if any incidents of denial or abridgement of the right to vote on account of race or color (1) have been few in number and have been promptly and effectively corrected by State or local action, (2) the continuing effect of such incidents has been eliminated, and (3) there is no reasonable probability of their recurrence in the future. . . .

SEC. 4.

(a) To assure that the right of citizens of the United States to vote is not denied or abridged on account of race or color, no citizen shall be denied the right to vote in any Federal, State, or local election because of his failure to comply with any test or device in any State with respect to which the determinations have been [p*340] made under subsection (b) or in any political subdivision with respect to which such determinations have been made as a separate unit, unless the United States District Court for the District of Columbia in an action for a declaratory judgment brought by such State or subdivision against the United States has determined that no such test or device has been used during the five years preceding the filing of the action for the purpose or with the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color: Provided, That no such declaratory judgment shall issue with respect to any plaintiff for a period of five years after the entry of a final judgment of any court of the United States, other than the denial of a declaratory judgment under this section, whether entered prior to or after the enactment of this Act, determining that denials or abridgments of the right to vote on account of race or color through the use of such tests or devices have occurred anywhere in the territory of such plaintiff. . . .
Approved August 6, 1965.

Source: South Carolina v. Katzenbach (1966), appendix.

fractured into factions of increasingly militant groups, and the concept of Black Power rejected the integrationist goals of the earlier movement. In its place a new black nationalism reshaped the movement into an assertion of African-American identity and cultural change.

The Nation of Islam and Malcolm X

As the mainstream civil rights movement took shape during the 1950s, the Nation of Islam grew as well. Often referred to as the Black Muslims, the Nation rejected the integrationist goals of the civil rights movement. Started in the 1930s, the Nation espoused a racial cosmology in which God was a black man and whites were devils. Led by Elijah Muhammad, the Nation created a new self-image for African Americans, stressing economic self-reliance, a withdrawal from white politics, and the teachings of the Nation's unique vision of Islam. Members opened small businesses, sold copies of Muhammad's newspaper, and

MALCOLM X (1925–1965)

(also known as el-Hajj Malik el-Shabazz)

Born on May 19, 1925, in Omaha, Nebraska, Malcolm Little was the son of a Baptist preacher who was an avid supporter of Marcus Garvey's United Negro Improvement Association. When he was a child, his family moved to Lansing, Michigan. Shortly thereafter his father was killed and his mother was institutionalized. Malcolm dropped out of school after the eighth grade and headed for New York City. Living and working in Harlem, he became involved in drug dealing and burglary, was arrested, and was sentenced to a ten-year prison term in 1946.

He was introduced to the philosophy of the Lost-Found Nation of Islam, popularly known as the Black Muslims, while serving his prison term and converted to its utopian and racist point of view that the white man is the devil with whom blacks cannot live. Malcolm adopted X—symbolic of a stolen identity—as his last name. He became a Muslim minister upon his release in 1952 and quickly became very prominent with a following perhaps equaling that of the Black Muslims' leader, Elijah Muhammad. His controversial denunciations of white society and his call for vengeance polarized the civil rights movement; yet he found sympathy among many white college students who found ugly truths in his condemnations. Malcolm became increasingly frustrated with the Nation of Islam for failing to join the civil rights movement and with Muhammad personally for turning a blind eye to the corruption at the highest levels of his organization. In December 1963, Elijah suspended Malcolm after a speech in which Malcolm suggested that President John F. Kennedy's assassination was a matter of the "chickens coming home to roost."

In 1964, upon a pilgrimage to Mecca he discovered that orthodox Muslims preached equality of the races. He announced his conversion to orthodox Islam and his new belief that there could be brotherhood between blacks and whites. He changed his name to el-Hajj Malik el-Shabazz but remained convinced that racism was still a major problem in the United States. In his Organization of Afro-American Unity, formed after his return in June 1964, the tone was still that of militant black nationalism but no longer of separation. In February 21, 1965, he was shot and killed in a public auditorium in New York City. His assassins were identified as Black Muslims sent by Elijah Muhammad, but this is a matter of controversy. He foreshadowed his own death and martyrdom in *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (1965), which traced his journey from childhood to his conversion to orthodox Islam. Both his book and his rhetoric directly influenced the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's embrace of black power in 1966.

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replaced their surnames with an "X" to symbolize their identity stolen by slavery.

During the 1950s and 1960s, Muhammad's most trusted and talented minister, Malcolm X, spurred the Nation to its greatest growth. Malcolm forcefully advocated black self-reliance and the pursuit of freedom "by any means necessary." Members of the Nation armed themselves for self-defense, creating the perception among many whites that they were preparing for a race war. Malcolm drew thousands of converts to the Nation and quickly became the most visible of the Nation's members. He also criticized the goals and tactics of the nonviolent civil rights movement, arguing that freedom could never be attained without bloodshed.

Malcolm grew frustrated with the Nation's censure of political activism, straining his relationship with Muhammad. When Malcolm commented that the Kennedy assassination was a result of white America's fundamentally violent nature, Muhammad ordered Malcolm to cease public speaking. Malcolm remained the Nation's most recognized figure, however. In 1964, he welcomed the young heavyweight boxing champion Cassius Clay's conversion to Islam. Disturbed by the Nation's refusal to act for social change and disillusioned with Muhammad after allegations of adultery surfaced, however, Malcolm left the Nation of Islam in 1964. After a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Malcolm returned to the United States and rejected the separatism of his earlier philosophy. Instead, he stressed African-American unity and seemed to say that reconciliation with whites was possible.

His feud with Muhammad continued, and on February 21, 1965, assassins from the Nation gunned Malcolm down in New York City. After death, Malcolm's ideas inspired legions of African Americans to reassess notions of their cultural and ethnic heritage. The Nation of Islam thrived during the 1960s, boasting 500,000 members and reaching millions more through its positive reinforcement of African-American identity.

An eloquent and electrifying orator, Black Muslim leader Malcolm X preached racial pride and black separatism. He is shown here at a rally in New York City on July 27, 1963. He was assassinated two years later. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

Chicago: The Nonviolent Movement Dwindles

In 1966, Martin Luther King Jr. took his movement to the North. Hoping to re-create his successes at Birmingham and Selma, King knew that Chicago would be different. Racism existed almost as a part of the city's infrastructure. African Americans lived in ghettos, and Mayor Richard Daley ruled the city like a pharaoh. Unlike Birmingham, the Chicago government featured several African-American representatives. Although these representatives aimed to please the Daley machine, local African-American residents and the press held faith in these officials and felt King's actions would not necessarily help them. The sheer size and diversity of the city threatened to overwhelm the movement. Rival churches and the Nation of Islam, headquartered in Chicago, opposed the SCLC's actions. King's close friend and colleague Ralph David Abernathy later wrote: "We should have known better than to believe we could come to Chicago and right its wrongs with the same tactics we had used in Montgomery, Birmingham, and Selma. We entered a different world when we came to this northern city in 1966, a world we didn't fully understand."

Undeterred, King moved into a Chicago slum to begin a campaign against housing discrimination. King's celebrity assured at least a decent turnout to his meetings. Working with ghetto dwellers, King encouraged them to fight delinquent landlords by refusing to pay rent and spending the money on

improvements to their property. King then demanded that Daley produce a housing ordinance against real estate agents who perpetuated the division of Chicago into racial and ethnic enclaves. Vowing to integrate Chicago's lily-white neighborhoods, King led a march on August 5 where white demonstrators, waving Confederate and Nazi flags, hurled bricks, rocks, and bottles at the marchers. King later commented that the white mobs in Chicago were far more vicious than those in the South.

King pledged to continue the marches, and promised that they would extend into the white suburb of Cicero, famous for a recent murder of an African American in search of a job. Daley and other officials, agreeing that a march into Cicero could turn into a mass murder, agreed to meet with King. On August 26 the two men met, with Daley agreeing to the SCLC's demands of housing ordinances and an end to discrimination. Such an agreement mattered little, since it was only upon Daley's actions that the agreement could ever be enforced. After King left Chicago Daley took no action on his promises. Chicago proved to King that he would have to refocus his efforts.

Riots

The federal government desegregated the South by the mid-1960s but did little to calm the rising aggravations of police brutality, unemployment, and poverty ravaging African-American communities in Northern cities. With no faith in public officials, African Americans felt the oppression of racism more than ever. In the summer of 1964, riots broke out in Philadelphia, Harlem, and Paterson and Elizabeth, New Jersey. By 1966 rioting had spread to thirty-eight cities including Chicago, Cleveland, and San Francisco. The next year 164 riots threatened to tear major cities apart, including Newark and Detroit in July. Observers noted that these were not race riots in the traditional sense. Instead, African Americans destroyed white-owned businesses and property, acting out their rage against the economic and racial oppression suffered by African Americans.

Because the main activity was looting and not killing, observers dubbed these "commodity riots." Johnson dispatched a commission led by Illinois governor Otto Kerner to investigate the causes of the riots. The Kerner Commission found that America was two societies separated by race and poised in direct opposition to each other. The roots of violence, the commission argued, sprang from white racism entrenched in every area of life, including employment, education, and housing. By 1968, however, the Vietnam War had gutted Johnson's Great Society, and most white Americans had no patience for furthering the program on behalf of African Americans whom they feared as rioters.

Black Power

Civil rights activism continued in the South in 1966, and whites continued to mar demonstrations with violence. It seemed that every Southern city would have to be the site of demonstrations and violence before whites accepted African-American civil rights. In June, James Meredith began a March Against Fear from Memphis to Jackson. Along the way a white man fired a shotgun at Meredith, causing minor wounds to his face. The new SNCC chairman Stokely Carmichael erupted at the news. Continuing Meredith's march, Carmichael thundered "The only way we gonna stop them white men from whuppin' us is to take over. We been saying freedom for six years and we ain't got nothing. What we gonna start sayin' now is Black Power!"

To Carmichael, Black Power meant an affirmation of black identity and active responsibility in decision making. Across the nation, young African Americans chanted "Black Power," creating a cultural wave that continues to this day. African Americans came to reject the term "Negro," instead referring to themselves as "blacks." In the process, blackness came to represent the fundamental identity of African Americans. In the political realm, Carmichael and other Black Power advocates criticized the compromises with whites fashioned by the NAACP and SCLC.

African Americans of all social and geographic status embraced Black Power. An expression rather than an organization, Black Power inspired African Americans to embrace their African heritage and create a sense of cultural unity based on that heritage rather than their status as Americans. On college campuses, African-American students mobilized to create Black Studies departments and black student unions, as well as cultural heritage programs and activities. Black Power revolutionized American sports as well. College and professional athletes grew angry at the lack of African-American coaches and managers. Muhammad Ali (formerly Cassius Clay) refused to fight in Vietnam, which he disdained as a white man's war. At the 1968 summer Olympics in Mexico City, African-American sprinters Tommie Smith and John Carlos bowed their heads and raised gloved fists in the Black Power salute as they received their gold and bronze medals.

Black Power reconceptualized the war in Viet-

FLORYNCE RAE "FLO" KENNEDY (1916–2000)

Florynce Rae Kennedy, the second of five daughters, was born on February 11, 1916, in Kansas City, Missouri. Her father was a Pullman porter and later owned a taxi business. He once stood up with a shotgun to members of the Ku Klux Klan who wanted to drive him from a home he had bought in a mainly white neighborhood. Within a few years of graduating high school, Kennedy had opened her own business and became involved in her first political protest, helping organize a boycott when the local Coca-Cola bottler refused to hire black truck drivers. She moved to New York City in 1942 and earned her B.A. at Columbia University. She applied to Columbia Law School but was rejected because she was female. After threatening a discrimination suit, she was admitted and was one of the first black women to graduate in 1951.

After a brief stint at a law firm, she opened her own practice in New York. One of her cases involved representing the estates of the jazz greats Billie Holiday and Charlie Parker to recover money owed them by record companies. Even though she won the cases, she became increasingly disillusioned with the racism she saw in the justice system. She turned to political activism.

After that, Kennedy's legal cases were almost always political. In 1966, she represented H. Rap Brown, the civil rights leader. In 1968, she sued the Roman Catholic Church for what she viewed as interference with abortion. In 1969, she organized a group of feminist lawyers to challenge the constitutionality of New York State's abortion law, an action credited with helping influence the Legislature to liberalize abortion the next year. In 1969, she helped represent twenty-one Black Panthers on trial in Manhattan for conspiracy to commit bombings, among other things. They were eventually acquitted, but during the trial she used them to draw attention to a restaurant that did not admit blacks or Jews.

Broadening her approach, in the 1960s and 1970s, Kennedy spoke out forcefully in many forums on behalf of African Americans but also women, the poor, homosexuals, prostitutes, and minorities. She ignored grassroots efforts, saying they moved too slowly. Her strategy was to go after the biggest targets possible. To fight racism in the media, she founded the Media Workshop in 1966, and she formed the Feminist Party when she grew impatient with the National Organization of Women. Its first act was to nominate Representative Shirley Chisholm (D-NY) for president of the United States.

In the 1970s, Kennedy became particularly active in promoting women's right to abortions. Noted for her often outrageous outspokenness, she published her autobiography, *Color Me Flo: My Hard Life and Good Times* (1976), and worked the college lecture circuit with Gloria Steinem. In 1957, Kennedy married Charles Dye, a writer, who died a few years later. She died on December 23, 2000.

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nam. African Americans blamed the war for bankrupting the Great Society programs that promised a relief from poverty. They also saw the Vietnamese as fighting a war of liberation against the United States; African Americans could empathize with a people fighting for freedom against American oppressors. Many resented the administration's claim of supporting freedom and democracy in Vietnam, since the same government had been reluctant to support freedom and democracy in the Deep South.

The Black Panthers

In December 1966, SNCC ousted its white members; CORE took the same action eight months later. This move alienated moderate African Americans and whites, drying up funding for both organizations. H. Rap Brown, Carmichael's successor at SNCC, advocated militant resistance to police and whites. The Black Panthers, whom Carmichael joined in 1967, quickly became the most visible new organization of the Black Power era. Founded in Oakland in 1966, the Black Panther Party became the most vocal advocate of African-American militancy since Malcolm X. Its founder, Huey P. Newton, formed the Black Panthers to encourage self-defense and self-reliance among Oakland's African Americans. The Panthers formed school breakfast programs for children, clothing and shoes distribution, and a free medical clinic.

The notoriety of the Panthers centered around their self-defense program. Panthers carried weapons for protection, a right protected by law in California at the time. Regardless of its legality, the vision of armed African-American militants patrolling Oakland terrified whites. The Panthers argued that self-defense was an essential right, given Oakland's history of police brutality. In October 1967, Newton was arrested

following a shoot-out with police where an officer was killed. Across the country thousands flocked to the Black Panthers in the "Free Huey" movement. By 1970, most major U.S. cities featured a branch of the Black Panther Party, whose members were constantly arrested, imprisoned, or in shoot-outs with police. Among those who defended them in court was Florynce Rae "Flo" Kennedy, one of the most prominent civil rights and feminist attorneys in the country. By 1973, more than thirty Panthers had been killed. The Panther Party was constantly in disarray. Members argued with each other, and the FBI constantly sabotaged the organization. The Black Panther Party lingered through the 1970s, but infighting and violence had rendered all of the militant African-American organizations politically dead.

The Assassination of King

In the years following his setback in Chicago, King came to believe that the fundamental inequities of American capitalism caused racial injustice. He began to concentrate on the eradication of poverty as the road to freedom for African Americans. King joined others in denouncing the Vietnam War for ruining the Great Society's antipoverty programs. In March 1968, King traveled to Memphis in support of a sanitation workers' strike. The workers wanted recognition of their own, African-American labor union. The usual nonviolent approaches broke down, and violence broke out at demonstrations. On April 4, a sniper's bullet shattered King's jaw, killing the civil rights leader who had often expressed acceptance and serenity at the thought of dying for his cause. Riots erupted across the nation that night in over 130 cities, resulting in forty-six deaths.

Although King's tactics had lost much of their efficacy, he remained the undisputed figurehead of the movement until his death. His charisma, oratory, and willingness to suffer continued to draw many to his demonstrations; after his assassination, the civil rights movement never approached the influence seen under his leadership. Abernathy succeeded King as head of the SCLC and in May launched the Poor People's Campaign. Bringing together a coalition of poverty-stricken minorities, the campaign gathered in Washington, D.C., to pressure Congress into further legislation against poverty. The centerpiece of the campaign was Resurrection City, a shantytown on the national mall that symbolized the plight of America's poor.

Short-sighted planning and a lack of organization hindered the Poor People's Campaign. The hastily built Resurrection City lacked water, sanitation, and electricity. Heavy rains turned the mall grounds into mud. Fewer than 2,500 demonstrators turned out, and many who did bickered and fought between themselves. Although few poor people were drawn to the campaign, the general public exhibited even less interest in the movement. After the perceived excesses of the Great Society and the social strife of riots, no one was very enthusiastic about supporting further government expenditures against poverty. In June, as the demonstrators at the Poor People's Campaign straggled home, the SCLC and the civil rights movement faded from prominence.

A youthful Jesse Jackson, who had been with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the night he was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1968, arrives home in Chicago carrying a copy of the *Chicago Defender*. *(© Robert A. Sengstacke)*

The End of America's Second Reconstruction

After King's death, no African-American leader rose to guide the movement. In 1969, James Forman, for-

merly of SNCC, announced a demand that whites pay reparations for centuries of slavery and racism. An era had ended: instead of appealing to basic biblical and constitutional rights, activists focused on feelings of white guilt to seek redress for past and present wrongs. After 1970, demands for integration continued for a time, primarily in the form of mandatory school busing, but resistance slowed these efforts. Federal actions took the form of preferences and entitlements such as Affirmative Action to counter subtle and invisible forms of discrimination as well as the support network established over centuries of social, economic, and racial oppression giving whites an inherent advantage in business and education.

The civil rights movement spawned volatile progeny. The student movement of the late 1960s drew inspiration and experience from the civil rights movement: many members of the New Left cut their teeth during SNCC's Freedom Summer. Many women felt sexism dominated the civil rights and student movements and initiated a women's movement of their own. Chicanos and Native Americans learned from the civil rights movement the tactics they would use in their own fights for freedom during the late 1960s and 1970s. No social movement before or since the civil rights movement has mobilized moral, political, and grassroots power on such a scale, influencing countless people outside itself, including generations unborn.

Paul Rubinson

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Nonviolent Direct Action

Popularized by African-American activists during the 1960s, nonviolent direct action became the most successful protest strategy in the modern civil rights movement. The sit-in movement and the Freedom Ride epitomized this active form of nonviolent resistance, which dramatized the plight of African Americans and forced white America to confront the reality of segregation and discrimination. Rooted in the pacifist activism of the 1930s and 1940s, the nonviolent direct action campaigns of the 1960s are credited with contributing to the passage of the federal civil rights legislation of 1964 and 1965.

Roots and Early Activism

Although African Americans had responded to discrimination and segregation with nonviolent protest in the past, there was no tradition of nonviolence in the black community at the beginning of the twentieth century. Isolated incidents of nonviolent activism such as boycotts of segregated streetcars or peaceful demonstrations against discriminatory statutes in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries never developed into a black mass movement. In the 1920s and 1930s, several African-American intellectuals became interested in the nonviolent anticolonial struggle in India that civil rights activist Mohandas Gandhi had initiated against Britain. The black press reported extensively about Gandhi's campaigns of civil disobedience, such as the famous Salt march of 1931, and many black intellectuals traveled to India to meet Gandhi and to acquaint themselves with his philosophy of nonviolence. Influenced by Hindu traditions and Western philosophy, Gandhi had formulated his philosophy of *Satyagraha*, which can be translated as "truth seeking." Nonretaliation and positive goodwill toward the opponent were the essence of this approach that attempted to appeal to the conscience of the oppressor by suffering and dramatizing the issue at stake. If this plea failed to bring about meaningful change, protestors would employ strategies of nonviolent coercion such as noncooperation and civil disobedience.

Inspired by Gandhi's philosophy, A. Philip Randolph was one of the first black civil rights activists to suggest that nonviolent activism could be successfully applied to the African-American freedom struggle. Randolph founded and led the all-black March on Washington Movement (MOWM) in 1941, which he considered a modified version of Gandhi's nonviolent principles. Calling his approach "non-violent good-will direct action," Randolph threatened President Franklin D. Roosevelt with bringing 100,000 African Americans to Washington, D.C., if he refused to ban discrimination against black Americans in the defense industry. Afraid of embarrassing the United States in its fight for democracy against Nazi Germany, Roosevelt yielded to Randolph's demands and issued Executive Order 8802, which outlawed racial discrimination in the defense industry. Together with the newly created Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC), the president's measure effectively created new job opportunities for African Americans in the booming industry. Although Randolph's vision of a nonviolent mass demonstration in the national capital would not be achieved until 1963, the MOWM had indicated the potential of collective nonviolent resistance.

Like Randolph, members of the pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) were devout admirers of Gandhi. In 1942, an interracial group of college students, most of whom were FOR members, founded the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), an organization that espoused nonviolent interracial activism to challenge discrimination and segregation. Coming from a primarily white and middle-class background, small groups of CORE activists staged numerous "sit-down" campaigns in several Northern cities in 1942 and 1943, successfully desegregating restaurants and

FRED HAMPTON (1948–1969)

Fred Hampton was born in Chicago and raised in the nearby suburb of Maywood. He was a gifted student and athlete while in high school. Following graduation, he enrolled at Triton Junior College, majoring in pre-law. While in college, he became president of the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in Maywood. As youth director, he built a comparatively large, racially integrated, and well-organized youth group of around 500 members in a community of 27,000. He led a drive for the establishment of more and better recreational facilities and improved schooling for Maywood's black youths, all the while embracing nonviolent activism to achieve his goals.

Coincident with Hampton's activities the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense started its rise to national prominence. Hampton was attracted to the Black Panthers because of their ten-point program of black self-determination. He joined the party and moved to downtown Chicago, where he helped launch the party's Illinois chapter in November 1968. His outstanding organizational skills served him well. He got inner city street gangs to agree to a nonaggression pact. He forged the alliance by emphasizing that racial and ethnic conflict between the white, black and Puerto Rican gangs would only serve to keep its members mired in poverty. In May 1969, Hampton called a press conference to announce that a truce had been declared among this "rainbow coalition," a phrase he coined that was later adopted and popularized by Jesse Jackson.

Hampton also took up the Black Panthers' efforts in community services while reaching out to white radical groups like the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). In April 1969, he noted in a speech that the Panthers' ten-point program was being altered because "we used the word 'white' when we should have used the word 'capitalist.' " Despite such efforts, the Chicago chapter of the Panthers and the SDS split over ideology, and Hampton denounced the more militant faction known as the Weathermen who sought out violent confrontations with police. He saw no purpose in gratuitous violence since it worked against his larger goal of forming a common cause with as many groups as possible. Around November 1969, Hampton learned he was soon to become chief of staff, a high-profile position that would make him a major spokesperson for the Panthers and possibly lead to national prominence.

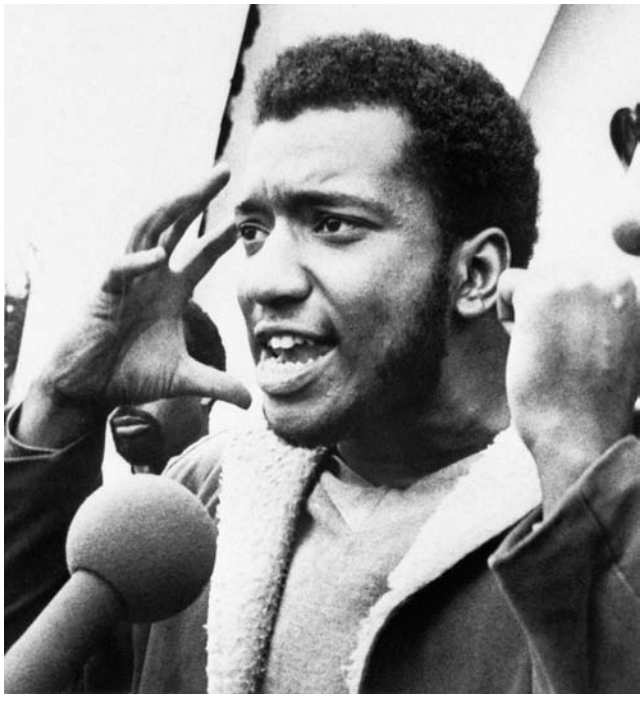
Meanwhile, Mayor Richard J. Daley, the Chicago Police, state attorney Edward V. Hanrahan, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) targeted the Black Panthers and Hampton for surveillance and harassment. Characterizing the Black Panthers as just another criminal gang causing trouble, the police made raids and arrests in an attempt to discredit and destroy them. On December 4, 1969, the police and FBI raided the Panther party headquarters yet again as part of this plan. Working from information provided by an informant, the raid took place at 4:45 in the morning. During the ten minutes of furious gunfire, Mark Clark, a Panther leader from Peoria, Illinois, and Hampton, who had been drugged by the informant and who slept through the entire event, were killed and four others seriously wounded. A special commission investigated the shootout and found that the raid more closely resembled an execution than a legitimate police action. While Hampton had been shot multiple times while in bed, his pregnant girlfriend lying beside him was left unharmed.

Hampton's funeral was attended by more than 5,000 people, and black leaders including Jesse Jackson and Ralph Abernathy, the head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, gave eulogies. The officers involved in the raid were cleared of charges, but the families of the slain men filed civil suits and won a large undisclosed amount of money. Jackson and Abernathy set up a scholarship fund in Hampton's name to help keep his name and cause of social change through education alive. Hampton's son, Fred, Jr., born after his father's death, has followed his father into political activism.

James G. Lewis

public accommodations. Another example of CORE's nonviolent strategy was the Journey of Reconciliation in 1947, designed to test the U.S. Supreme Court's recent *Morgan v. Virginia* decision, which had declared segregation in public transportation unconstitutional. Traveling by bus and train across the upper South, activists encountered less white resistance than expected, but a violent mob in North Carolina eventually stopped the Journey. Although CORE had successfully used the nonviolent direct action technique, the organization together with the MOWM remained the lone spearhead of nonviolent activism in the 1940s.

In fact, chances for a black nonviolent mass



Fred Hampton, chairman of the Black Panther Party of Illinois, was killed at the age of twenty-one in a gun battle, after police entered a Chicago apartment to search for weapons. *(CORBIS)*

movement seemed slim in the aftermath of World War II. Many African-American newspapers severely criticized Randolph's organization, considering his advocacy of nonviolence "suicidal." The majority of blacks doubted that Gandhian nonviolence could be successfully adapted to the specific circumstances of blacks in the United States. While Indian activists had fought their nonviolent battle in their own country against a small British colonial elite, African Americans were vastly outnumbered by unsympathetic whites. Moreover, in a society that cherished masculine qualities of self-defense, nonviolence was an alien concept to both white and black Americans. Pacifist CORE members were usually laughed at or considered insane when attempting to explain Gandhi's concept of nonretaliation, and hundreds of violent racial clashes during World War II served as a reminder that African Americans were far from espousing nonviolent activism. Rather, an increasing number of black Americans—particularly thousands of black soldiers who returned to the United States—refused to accept white violence passively. Many African Americans were determined to fight back when attacked by whites.

Activism in the Early Civil Rights Movement

Only the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955–1956 prepared the ground for the future nonviolent assault against segregation and discrimination. The successful nonviolent boycott against segregated seating in Montgomery's city buses thrust a young minister named Martin Luther King Jr. upon the national stage. Although later considered an icon of philosophical nonviolence, King's espousal of Gandhi was a result of joint efforts by older FOR and CORE activists, who tutored the young minister in the abstract concept of *Satyagraha*. Prior to becoming a national celebrity, King was unfamiliar with Gandhian nonviolence and could hardly be considered an advocate of pure nonviolence. During the early days of the Montgomery boycott, armed black men guarded King's brightly lit house against white terrorists, and visitors were amazed to find pistols and shotguns in the living room. However, under the influence of pacifist activists Bayard Rustin and Glen Smiley, King eventually banned all guns from his house and gradually came to formulate a philosophy of nonviolence that fused Gandhian nonviolence with traditions of a distinct Afro-Christianity. King's emerging philosophy of nonviolence found institutional expression in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), organized by King and other black ministers with the assistance of Rustin in 1957. Dedicated to confronting Southern racial practices with nonviolent direct action, the SCLC became one of the most prominent civil rights organizations of the 1960s.

However, not King's organization but a spontaneous student-led sit-in movement in early 1960 ushered in the heyday of nonviolent protest. Sparked by four black college students in Greensboro, North Carolina, on February 1, 1960, the sit-in movement spread within a few months into almost every Southern state. Effecting the desegregation of lunch counters and restaurants across the South, the student sit-ins epitomized the essence of nonviolent direct action. Beaten and intimidated by vicious white mobs, sit-in protestors did not retaliate when attacked and actively forced a change of the racial status quo by dramatizing the injustice of segregation. That same year, several sit-in leaders founded the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), another organization that was determined to challenge the racial status quo with nonviolent resistance.

On May 14, 1961, white racists set fire to this Greyhound bus in Anniston, Alabama, and then attacked passengers as they escaped from the bus. Some of the passengers were members of the "Freedom Riders" group sponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality. *(© Underwood Photo Archives, Inc.)*

Major Successes in the 1960s

In 1961, CORE staged yet another audacious direct action project: the Freedom Ride. Modeled after the Journey of Reconciliation, the Freedom Riders this time tested the *Boynton v. Virginia* U.S. Supreme Court decision, which had officially desegregated public transportation facilities such as waiting rooms and restrooms. Unlike the 1947 protest, however, the Freedom Ride led activists in the most dangerous areas of the Deep South. White Southerners reacted with an unprecedented level of violence to this challenge of traditional racial practices. In Anniston, Alabama, white mobs bombed one of the buses and beat the Freedom Riders with chains and clubs. The next day, whites in Montgomery besieged the activists in a local church and had to be held at bay by federal troops. Pictures that showed the burning bus and activists covered with blood became front-page news across the world. Nonviolent direct action had exposed American racism in front of the world, a fact that deeply embarrassed the United States in its fight for democracy in the Cold War struggle against the Soviet Union. Although it had severely limited black activism in the 1950s, the Cold War now gave African-American activists enormous political leverage, making nonviolent direct action an even more effective weapon in the black freedom struggle. In an attempt to prevent additional international bad press, President John F. Kennedy ordered an entourage of heavily armed soldiers along with several helicopters to protect the buses.

The nonviolent demonstrations that Martin Lu-

ther King's SCLC staged in Alabama in 1963 and 1965 unquestionably proved the efficacy of nonviolent direct action. Having learned from its failed nonviolent campaign in Albany, Georgia, in 1962, where local police had thwarted activists' efforts with a nonviolent tactic of their own, SCLC had opted to use a different strategy in Birmingham. Assisted by thousands of black teenagers, activists deliberately provoked a violent response by local police, creating a crisis that neither local nor federal authorities could simply ignore. Commanded by Birmingham's police chief, Eugene "Bull" Connor, firefighters fought nonviolent black children with high-pressured water hoses, while policemen arrested and jailed thousands of young protestors. Like the Freedom Ride, the brutality that Birmingham's authorities used to crush the nonviolent demonstrations triggered a national and international public outcry and exposed Southern racism in the eyes of the world. White Americans and international observers were similarly appalled by the pictures of Alabama state troopers who attacked nonviolent protestors with clubs and tear gas on the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, Alabama, in 1965. The subsequent Selma-to-Montgomery march became a tribute to nonviolent activism. The Birmingham and Selma demonstrations along with the nonviolent March on Washington in 1963 contributed to passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Limitations and Demise

Although these carefully planned nonviolent direct action projects had successfully exposed segregation and discrimination, the efficacy of nonviolence was limited. The success of nonviolent direct action depended largely on the wide media attention that these violent crises received. In addition, only federal intervention could restrain white violence against civil rights activists. In the hundreds of small Southern communities, where activists attempted to implement the federal civil rights legislation, violence against African Americans remained virtually unrestrained. Trying to convince blacks in Mississippi, Louisiana, and other states in the Deep South to register to vote, CORE and SNCC activists together with local blacks quickly became targets for a campaign of terror and intimidation. Between 1960 and 1968, white supremacist terrorists—in particular, members of the Ku Klux Klan—shot into black homes, bombed black churches, and murdered dozens of civil rights activists in an attempt to stop civil rights activities. Neither appealing to the conscience of white Southerners nor staging local nonviolent protests could curb white brutality.

Faced with constant violent threats, many local African Americans relied on armed self-defense to protect their communities from white terror. In virtually every local community where CORE and SNCC members were organizing in the 1960s, blacks protected themselves and civil rights workers with pistols, rifles, and shotguns. By 1965, armed protection had become a simple necessity for both local black Southerners and Northern activists. In many Southern civil rights projects, nonviolent protest and armed self-defense worked hand in hand. In fact, for numerous activists, it became common to stage nonviolent demonstrations during the day and to rely on armed protection at night. Their experience in the rural South led many CORE and SNCC activists to question the efficacy of pure nonviolence and contributed to the radicalization of both organizations.

Moreover, nonviolent protest could not affect the wretched condition of poor African Americans in the black ghettos of the urban North. Neither the Civil Rights Act nor the Voting Rights Act had altered the socioeconomic roots of poverty in American cities, a fact that caused much frustration among young blacks in the North and West. Unsurprisingly, many of these black teenagers rejected the nonviolent philosophy of Martin Luther King and felt drawn to the militant message of black nationalist Malcolm X, who had rejected nonviolence as an obstacle to developing an affirmative black identity. The influence of black nationalism along with activists' day-to-day experience in the Deep South and their frustration with the federal government's inaction led most SNCC and CORE members to abandon the ideal of integration and nonviolence. The James Meredith March of 1966 became the stage for the new slogan Black Power, which called for economic and political power for African Americans and the right of armed self-defense. That same year, SNCC and CORE officially embraced Black Power and the concept of armed resistance, thus conspicuously abandoning their nonviolent roots. Only Martin Luther King's organization and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) continued to support nonviolence and severely criticized the new slogan.

In the ensuing years, many African Americans, frustrated with the slow pace of change, opted to use violence to express their anger. Between 1965 and 1968, hundreds of civil disorders rocked black ghettos in American cities, during which African Americans protested their condition by destroying white prop-

erty and battling police. After 1967, black nationalist groups such as the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense and the Republic of New Africa enjoyed a considerable increase in membership. The assassination of Martin Luther King in 1968 marked the definitive end of a decade-long era of nonviolent protest.

Assessment

Nonviolent direct action proved to be the most successful protest strategy in the African-American freedom movement. By exposing and dramatizing discrimination and oppression in the American South, black activists were able to rouse sympathy among white Americans and around the world. For a minority that never constituted more than 12 percent of the American population, nonviolence provided African Americans with a powerful tactic that could be successfully used to pressure local and federal authorities into yielding to activists' demands. The Cold War gave African Americans additional leverage in their struggle for civil rights. Embarrassed by international criticism of American racial practices in their fight for democracy, the American government was forced to ponder how to respond to the numerous crises that black nonviolent protest had provoked. Thus, the nonviolent demonstrations in Birmingham, Selma, and Washington, D.C., contributed to passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

The power of nonviolence was limited, however. Implementing federal civil rights legislation in the Deep South proved far more difficult than lobbying for its passage. Organizing in hundreds of small rural Southern communities, civil rights workers quickly learned that nonviolent protest did little to stop white supremacist violence. Their calls for federal intervention ignored, Southern African Americans had to rely on their own ability to protect themselves. Thus, armed self-defense and nonviolent direct action frequently operated in symbiosis in Southern civil rights projects. Furthermore, nonviolent protest could not challenge the socioeconomic basis of black poverty in the urban ghettos of the north. Frustration with the limitations of nonviolence among African Americans, along with the militant message of black nationalism, led to the gradual abandonment of the nonviolent protest and its demise at the end of the 1960s.

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Congress of Racial Equality

Founded in 1942, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) became one of the most prominent civil rights organizations in the 1960s. Using interracial nonviolent activism, CORE spearheaded some of the most daring nonviolent direct action campaigns, most notably the Freedom Ride in 1961. Although CORE's early members were committed to the nonviolent philosophy of Indian activist Mohandas Gandhi, debates over nonviolence intensified in the mid-1960s. By the end of the decade, CORE had abandoned its moderate nonviolent roots and had embraced black nationalism and armed self-defense.

Early Years

The small group of black and white college students that gathered in Chicago in 1942 to found the Committee of Racial Equality—the name was later changed to Congress of Racial Equality—had deep roots in religious pacifism. The majority of these early members were members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), a pacifist organization that had originated in England. Organized in the United States in 1915, FOR was dedicated to ending warfare and integrating minorities into American society.

The small band of young activists consisted of devout believers in the nonviolent philosophy of civil rights activist Mohandas Gandhi, who had led a nonviolent struggle against Great Britain's colonial rule in India. Activists such as CORE's white first executive secretary George Houser, viewed Gandhi's concept of nonretaliation and redemptive suffering as more than merely a tactic; they considered it a philosophy of life. A. Philip Randolph's nonviolent March on Washington movement in 1941 gave confidence to early CORE that future nonviolent mass-activism was possible in the United States.

Although some members—in particular former black divinity student James Farmer—envisioned CORE to be an interracial mass organization, the organization remained confined to a few chapters in the North and Midwest for almost two decades of its existence, which were characterized by a predominantly white middle-class membership. In the years 1942 and 1943, these small cadres of pacifist activists launched numerous successful "sit-down" campaigns in Chicago, New York, and Washington, D.C., forcing restaurants and public accommodations to end their policy of de facto segregation.

The sit-in movement of the 1960s would propel this form of nonviolent direct action to international prominence. Despite these encouraging beginnings, CORE's early chapters were characterized by instability and financial crises. In addition, persuading white and black Americans of the power of Gandhi's abstract concept of nonviolence proved difficult. Potential recruits responded mostly with contempt or mockery to CORE members' attempts to explain the idea of nonretaliation. Even in some CORE chapters, activists debated whether activists should rely on armed self-defense to protect black homes from white assaults. In a society that cherished traditions of manly self-defense, nonviolence seemed to remain confined to a small elite of committed activists, trained in Gandhian nonviolence.

In 1947, CORE launched its first national project—the Journey of Reconciliation. Testing the recently passed *Morgan v. Virginia* (1946) U.S. Supreme Court decision, which had declared segregation in interstate travel unconstitutional, interracial teams of CORE and FOR activists traveled the upper South by bus and train. Surprisingly, during their trip through Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina, riders encountered less white resistance than expected. However, in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, a violent white mob finally stopped the Journey. Several activists were later sentenced to short jail terms and fines, while black pacifist Bayard Rustin and another white activist had to serve an additional 30 days on a road

gang. CORE considered their campaign a great success, but the American public had barely noticed the Journey. At the end of the 1940s, CORE continued to operate in obscurity but was laying crucial groundwork for future activism. The Journey of Reconciliation would later become a model for CORE's Freedom Ride in 1961.

The first half of the 1950s was the low point of CORE's history. An attempt to establish additional chapters in the South failed, and the anti-Communist hysteria that gripped the United States at the end of the 1940s compounded the organization's problems. Confronted with accusations of being infiltrated by Communists, CORE was preoccupied with defending itself against the mostly unfounded allegations. Only the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955 and 1956 seemed to promise the beginning of a brighter future for the weakened organization. CORE member and long-time pacifist Bayard Rustin assisted the Montgomery movement and tutored young leader Martin Luther King Jr. in Gandhian nonviolence. The successful boycott popularized nonviolent activism, and with the anti-Communist scare waning, CORE was prepared to concentrate on its scheme for a nonviolent mass movement. By the end of the 1950s, CORE had established several chapters in the South.

Expansion in the 1960s

In February 1960, a spontaneous student-led sit-in movement spread quickly across the South and ushered in CORE's heyday. Members of the organization assisted the student movement, offering workshops in nonviolent direct action and forming new chapters in the South. Gradually, the outlines of a mass organization began to take shape. The Freedom Ride of 1961 finally propelled CORE into the national spotlight, and proved the efficacy of nonviolent activism. This time testing the U.S. Supreme Court's *Boynton v. Virginia* (1960) decision, which had extended desegregation to all terminal facilities in interstate travel, two interracial teams of activists set off for the Deep South from Washington, D.C. White mob violence in Anniston and Birmingham, Alabama, served CORE's goal to focus national and international attention on southern injustice. Pictures of the burning bus that white hoodlums had bombed in Anniston became front-page news around the world. As a result, the federal government could no longer ignore the Freedom Ride and dispatched federal troops to protect the Freedom Riders and local blacks from white assaults.

Although CORE had planned to terminate the campaign in Birmingham, young activists from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) took up the Freedom Ride and convinced CORE activists to rejoin. In Jackson, Mississippi, the journey was finally stopped when local authorities arrested the Freedom Riders for violating the local segregation laws, but similar Freedom Rides spread in the ensuing months. In September 1961, the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) finally mandated all interstate travel facilities desegregated. The following year, CORE launched "Freedom Highways," another direct action project that targeted segregation in restaurant chains along major highways. In the aftermath of the Freedom Ride, CORE experienced an unprecedented increase in membership and staff in the North and South. By 1964, CORE had 50,000 members in over 120 chapters across the country.

Radicalization and Demise

The organization used its newly acquired popularity to make new inroads into the Deep South. Working primarily in Louisiana, Mississippi, Georgia, and South Carolina, CORE launched voter registration campaigns and nonviolent direct action projects. Organizers also established numerous new chapters in the former confederacy. But CORE workers quickly learned that redemptive suffering did little to affect segregation and discrimination in the Deep South. Their attempts to implement the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 on the local level were met by a campaign of white violent terror. Especially in Louisiana and Mississippi, the organization's nonviolent commitment was put to the test. The barrage of violent harassment, shootings, and bombings that rained down on CORE members and local activists led many civil rights workers to doubt the efficacy of the nonviolent philosophy. The fact that Southern African Americans not only rejected nonviolence but relied on armed self-defense in the face of white violence triggered additional debates over the nonviolence, and plunged many CORE organizers into moral conflict. By 1963, few members viewed nonviolence as a way of life but adhered to it merely because of tactical considerations. Especially in the aftermath of the murder of three civil rights activists in the summer of 1964 in Mississippi, many CORE members abandoned their belief in pure nonviolence.

Although field workers eventually accepted and even welcomed local blacks' armed protection, the issue of armed self-defense posed a serious predicament for CORE's national office. In particular, the Deacons for Defense and Justice, a black self-defense organization that had come out of a CORE project in

CORE, the Congress of Racial Equality, became increasingly militant during the 1960s. On March 9, 1965, members in San Francisco present U.S. Attorney Cecil Poole with a petition demanding that the Department of Justice indict Alabama governor George Wallace and Selma sheriff James Clark on charges of murder. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

Jonesboro, Louisiana, in 1964, seemed to contradict CORE's professed nonviolent ideal. National director James Farmer assured the concerned national media that CORE would never abandon its long-standing belief in nonviolent activism. However, the organization's doctrine was already crumbling. Many of CORE's new predominantly African-American members came from a working-class background and were unfamiliar with nonviolence. In addition, many Northern CORE chapters were strongly influenced by the militant rhetoric of black nationalists such as Malcolm X. By 1966, both Southern and Northern CORE members had concluded that armed self-defense was a simple necessity in the organization's civil rights projects. That year the organization's annual convention officially embraced the concept of self-defense and Black Power.

Even before calls for Black Power could be heard in the urban ghettos of the North, CORE had paid increasing attention to the plight of poor African Americans in Northern cities. Moreover, although the organization formed numerous Southern chapters in the aftermath of the Freedom Ride, the majority of CORE chapters had remained outside the South. Concerned with the socioeconomic roots of poverty, CORE members in cities such as New York, Chicago, or Los Angeles concentrated on decent housing, job opportunities for blacks, and police brutality. Few African Americans in the North had experienced tangible gains from the civil rights legislation of 1964 and 1965. Similarly, many of them felt that blacks would benefit little from coalitions with whites, who were believed to dictate rather than assist the black freedom struggle. This growing animosity between white and black activists had made CORE a virtually all-black organization by the end of 1966. Responding to this changed mood among its members, national CORE began to advocate Black Pride, black political empowerment, and black economic advancement. Floyd B. McKissick, who had become CORE's new national director in 1966, in particular called for black

capitalism to advance African Americans' economic position.

The organization's increasing militancy, together with its vocal criticism of the United States' role in the escalating Vietnam War, cost CORE much of its white support. Lacking contributions from white sympathizers, the organization's already critical financial situation worsened. Illustrating CORE's ongoing radicalization, the 1967 convention voted to remove the word "multiracial" from the organization's constitution. In 1968, Roy Innis succeeded McKissick as head of CORE and attempted to commit the organization to a more militant form of black nationalism, calling upon blacks to build "a nation within a nation." However, by the end of the 1960s, CORE had disappeared from the forefront of the civil rights movement. The organization still exists today, but it never regained the vanguard position it held in the early 1960s.

Assessment

The Congress of Racial Equality was crucial to the success of the African-American civil rights movement. In the 1940s, CORE pioneered the cautious beginnings of nonviolent activism, introducing Gandhi's protest technique to the American scene. Moreover, experienced in nonviolent protest, CORE members were essential in assisting and guiding new generations of civil rights leaders and activists that emerged in the 1950s and 1960s. Martin Luther King Jr. as well as many student activists learned the essentials of nonviolent direct action from veteran CORE members. Finally, CORE spearheaded the nonviolent movement of the 1960s, exposing Southern injustice in the eyes of the world and inspiring thousands of future civil rights activists.

The organization's rise to national prominence in the early 1960s simultaneously planted the seeds for its radicalization and demise. Thousands of new African-American members who joined CORE in the 1960s felt no deep commitment to nonviolence, let alone redemptive suffering. In addition, CORE's goal to assist local southern movements, rather than dominate them, left national CORE little room to influence protest strategies among its growing membership. When armed self-defense began to complement nonviolent direct action in many Southern projects, CORE confronted a tragic dilemma. Though committed to its local constituents, the organization's national leadership also had to sustain desperately needed financial contributions from Northern white supporters. These contributions dwindled when CORE abandoned nonviolence and interracial activism. Eventually, CORE could no longer endure this balancing act between its local black membership and Northern white supporters. Mirroring the mood of its black membership, CORE's espousal of black nationalism and armed self-defense toward the end of the 1960s was an ironic result of its success.

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Civil Rights Movement 1970–1990

As the 1970s began, the civil rights movement had both expanded and fragmented, spawning and sharply influencing a variety of new social movements inspired by its tangible victories and its ability to mobilize millions. From the mid-1960s, the political slogan "Black Power" and the cultural slogan "Black Is Beautiful" sheltered a variety of new groups, from the Black Panther Party, seeking to adopt strategies drawn from the Cuban and Chinese revolutions, to U.S. slum ghettoes, to champions of "Black capitalism" and entrepreneurs of clothing, hairstyles, art, and furniture drawn from African culture. In large and middle-size cities, a generation of African-American politicians began to emerge, as Irish Americans had at the end of the nineteenth century, as leaders of coalitions of people of color, gaining mayoral and other leadership positions. Vague concepts of cultural pride and identity, community control, and group empowerment influenced Puerto Ricans on the East Coast, Chicanos (Mexican Americans) in the Southwest, Asian Americans, and Native Americans, who organized mass protest campaigns of liberals and radicals, sought to study the history, culture, and art of their various groups, and to share the gains and protections of the civil rights legislation and policies of the mid- and late 1960s.

The upsurge had also expressed itself powerfully among African-American trade unionists who had formed a rank-and-file movement in the United Auto Workers (UAW), represented by the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM) in 1968 and a larger left-led League of Revolutionary Black Workers in 1969. Both organizations were led by far-left militants. With older leaders like A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin supporting the Johnson administration in its Vietnam War policies and turning sharply against the young black labor radicals, militant black trade unionists, both liberals and radicals, established the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, which continues to this day as the major organized civil rights force in the labor movement, out of a conference in Chicago in 1972.

The Electoral Arena

The achievements of the civil rights movement were registered in the count of elected officials. By 1975, the country had 135 black mayors, 82 of whom were in the South. Of the 3,069 blacks holding municipal, educational, and law enforcement positions, 1,702 were in the South. As the number of blacks in Congress increased to eighteen, newly elected members, including former Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) activists William Clay of St. Louis and self-proclaimed Socialist Ron Dellums of the San Francisco Bay area, played the leading role in establishing a Black Congressional Caucus, which would function largely through the Democratic Party. In March 1972, over 12,000 people and a wide variety of black organizations, ranging from moderate liberal to revolutionary nationalist, met at Gary, Indiana, to seek to develop a united political strategy, the largest and broadest political convention of African Americans in U.S. history. Richard Hatcher, the African-American mayor of Gary, Representative Charles Diggs of Detroit, and playwright and critic Amiri Baraka, at the time a revolutionary nationalist, served as cochairs of the meeting, which sought to develop black political independence and influence in U.S. politics and was itself an example of the continued vitality of the radical currents of the 1960s and their influence among African Americans and other minorities.

Education and Student Activism

Civil rights activism had also inspired a variety of university liberal and radical activists to launch student strikes and other actions in the late 1960s for the inclusion of various ethnic and woman's studies programs in the university curriculum and for minority

admission to universities. After strikes led by African-American and Puerto Rican students at the City University of New York (CUNY), the university instituted a controversial open admissions policy in August 1970.

By 1970, these demonstrations had involved feminists, Mexican Americans, Native Americans, Asian Americans, gay men and lesbians, and others who echoed both the civil rights movement's call for equal rights and black radical-influenced calls for "empowerment," community control, and the search for historical roots, group identity, and cultural pride. They had also produced a complex and multifaceted opposition, which conservative politicians sought to manipulate as a "white backlash."

In 1968, for example, an experimental program of the New York City Board of Education to establish community-controlled school districts (a tradition in the United States generally) led to a strike by the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) when the board in one of the three districts, Ocean Hill-Brownsville, an overwhelmingly African-American slum neighborhood in Brooklyn, New York, sought to transfer nineteen teachers seen as disruptive to the community control experiment. The ensuing conflict divided labor and civil rights activists, saw the distribution of crude anti-Semitic leaflets and slurs, which UFT leader Albert Shanker sought through the principle of guilt by association to attribute to the leadership of the district, and eventually led the New York State legislature in 1969 to enact legislation that ended the project.

Although both Jewish-American and African-American teachers united to denounce Albert Shanker's and the general media's attempt to define the dispute in terms of the influence of antiwhite and anti-Semitic black separatists, the conflict became the beginning of and the model for subsequent media portrayals, if not creations, of black-Jewish tensions and conflict in which future generations of whites and blacks saw the two most prominent victims of racism in modern history and, in the United States, the most important allies in the campaigns for civil rights, as bigoted enemies of each other.

When students representing the "Third World liberation front," a broad coalition of African-American, Mexican-American, Asian-American, and Native-American activists, shut down San Francisco State College in 1969, calling for open admissions, a school of ethnic studies, and an upgrading of the black studies program, college president S.I. Hayakawa emerged as a man on horseback who, with the support of California governor Ronald Reagan, used police and the National Guard to suppress the student strike. A Japanese American, Hayakawa emerged as a conservative hero and won election to the U.S. Senate in 1970 as a Republican.

The Right-Wing Backlash

Although civil rights groups continued to proliferate through the mid-1970s, political power had clearly passed to the opponents of the movement, whose campaigns against "compulsory school" bussing, the "reverse racism" of Affirmative Action, and, most of all, "law and order," were portrayed by the mass media as representing the new spirit of the times. As early as 1966, California conservatives had countered a campaign to establish open housing through a state referendum with an anticrime referendum. In 1968, Richard Nixon used the concept of a return to "law and order" as the central theme in his presidential campaign and pledged to appoint a "Southerner"—by which he meant an opponent of civil rights—to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Although the conservative "support your local police" campaigns and attacks on the judicial activism of the Supreme Court, highlighted by the far-right "impeach Earl Warren" campaigns, were a reaction to radical cultural and political movements of all kinds, the classic white American fear of rampaging blacks, highlighted by the urban riots of the late 1960s, stood at the center of these attacks. Although his administration was to extend Affirmative Action for women and, ironically, institute in its Philadelphia Plan for minority set-asides in federally supported construction projects the sort of "quotas" that he routinely condemned, Richard Nixon cultivated anti–civil rights constituencies and helped create a political climate hostile to civil rights and civil liberties.

Nixon's pledge to appoint a "Southerner" to the U.S. Supreme Court was initially thwarted when the Senate rejected Clement Haynesworth and Harold Carswell, his first nominees. Although a number of his appointees, Lewis Powell and Harry Blackmun particularly, were later to be considered liberals when compared to the Reagan and Bush nominees, Nixon did appoint William Rehnquist to the Court, along with Warren Burger as chief justice, and generally moved the Court in a more conservative direction. The administration also worked closely with Senator Strom Thurmond, the former leader of segregationist Democrats who had joined the Republican Party in 1964, increasing Thurmond's power in the Republican Senate minority.

More important, Nixon unleashed the Federal

On trial for supplying weapons to prisoners at a California county courthouse, Angela Davis defiantly raises her fist on March 16, 1971. She was later acquitted. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and other federal agencies against the Black Panther Party and other black militants and played what came to be known as the "race card" in politics more actively against civil rights than any president in decades.

The wave of violence against black militants grew massively in the Nixon years. Angela Davis, an African-American member of the Communist Party and ally of the Black Panther Party, was arrested in 1970 for allegedly supplying arms to Jonathan Jackson, brother of imprisoned Black Panther leader and prisoners rights advocate George Jackson, which he used in a courtroom shootout, leading to his death and the death of the courtroom judge. After an international campaign to free her, Davis was acquitted of all charges in 1972 and became a leader of the National Alliance against Racist and Political Repression, a left-led civil rights group.

George Jackson, whose book, *Soledad Brother* (1970), had given him an international following, was killed by San Quentin prison guards in August 1971, with the fantastic cover story that Jackson had hidden a pistol in his afro haircut. Demonstrations in and out of prisons against Jackson's death spread throughout the country, the most important taking place at the Attica state prison in New York, when a multiracial alliance of prisoners seized the jail, took guards as hostages, and demanded reforms in prison living conditions. Governor Nelson Rockefeller's order to National Guard and local police forces to attack the prison with tear gas and grenades resulted in the death of twenty-nine prisoners and ten guard hostages, as the police implemented savage reprisals against surviving leaders of the prison rebellion.

Carter and the Civil Rights Movement

As the decade progressed, the prison population of the country more than doubled, and young black males, caught in a decade of economic "stagflation" (high inflation and relatively high unemployment) and political stagnation were the most likely to

be arrested and imprisoned. By 1976, most civil rights groups found themselves fighting defensive battles in and through the Democratic Party, as Coretta Scott King, John Lewis, and Andrew Young campaigned for the former governor of Georgia, Jimmy Carter, who gained the democratic nomination for president as the most conservative of a field of Democratic nominees. Although Carter was to appoint more members of minority groups and women to federal office than any president before him, he moved away from advancing the War on Poverty. For some students of contemporary history, the Carter years saw the beginning of "post–civil rights politics."

The late 1970s also witnessed an intensification of divisions among blacks. At the top was an expanding black "middle class" of college-educated technical and professional employees who had benefited tremendously from the educational opportunities and entry-level employment created by the Affirmative Action policies inspired by the civil rights movement. Large numbers of these African Americans and members of other minorities experienced incomes and unemployment rates fairly close to those of their white professional counterparts.

These visible gains of the new, significantly expanded black middle class had diverse and contradictory effects on U.S. politics. Some whites viewed these achievements as the result of "reverse racism," quotas that were providing jobs for unqualified people. Although civil rights activists challenged these views rationally with statistics showing that Affirmative Action policies worked in providing entry-level positions in education and employment for members of minorities who were roughly equal in skills to whites, such arguments had limited effects, given the deep racist assumptions that underlay the "reverse racism" contention, that is, blacks were unable to compete with whites and, without Affirmative Action policies, would return to their "place" as "invisible" providers of service labor.

For other whites, the visible black middle class was evidence that civil rights had triumphed and that the society could now honor Martin Luther King Jr. and the other civil rights martyrs with appropriate ceremonies, accepting uncritically a new "status quo" in which segregation was over and discrimination was marginal. Such complacent thoughts ignored the deepening urban and rural poverty that blacks and other minorities faced with the abandonment of the Great Society's War on Poverty and the urban fiscal crisis of the inflationary 1970s, which led cities in particular to reduce funding for education, social services, and public assistance programs in real dollars.

BACKLASH

Everywhere minorities turned in the "post–civil rights era" their successes and their failures would be held against them by conservatives who preached a recycled doctrine of self-reliance and personal responsibility in a "color-blind" society. When William Junius Wilson's *The Declining Significance of Race: Blacks and Changing American Institutions* (1978) saw the existence of a large "underclass" rather than race as the central question facing blacks, conservative media and think-tanks seized upon the concept to attack existing Affirmative Action and antidiscrimination policies, ignoring totally Wilson's subsequent calls for federal programs to raise the living standards of the "underclass."

Allen Bakke's successful U.S. Supreme Court challenge to Affirmative Action in 1978 (Bakke, a white man, argued that "Affirmative Action policies" kept him from gaining admission to medical school at the University of California at Davis, which, he claimed, admitted less-qualified blacks) brought the concept of "reverse racism" to a broad national audience. Meanwhile, the sharp increase in violent crimes, particularly homicide, among African Americans, was blamed not on the sinister interaction of drugs and poverty, but on the moral character of individuals, who had to be incarcerated in a rapidly growing prison system. That most of the victims of violent crimes committed by African Americans were other African Americans was often rationalized to defend increased incarceration as in the interest of African Americans. As the nation spent hundreds of billions of dollars in the last third of the twentieth century on "the war on drugs," which routinely channeled white drug users into rehabilitation programs and blacks and Latinos into jails and prisons, the jail and prison population increased nearly ten times, producing what critics called a racially biased "prison industrial complex," with over 600,000 employees and nearly 2 million inmates.

Meanwhile, African-American mayors in big cities like Atlanta, Detroit, and Los Angeles found themselves routinely slashing social services and firing public employees, many of whom were African Americans and other minorities, while they provided tax benefits in unsuccessful attempts to keep corporations from fleeing their communities. Increased political representation also did little to prevent a sharp increase in racist crimes and police brutality cases.

Perhaps the most extreme case of "police action" took place in Philadelphia in 1985 against a small communitarian group, MOVE, whose members all took the surname Africa. The MOVE group had been a source of conflict in the neighborhood because of their refusal to conform to standards of garbage collection, their keeping of animals, and other acts that had led to clashes with the police. In 1977–1978, police had unsuccessfully blockaded the MOVE commune in a conflict that led to the death of one police officer and numerous injuries. Faced with repeated complaints and clashes in May 1985, Mayor Wilson Goode, Philadelphia's first African-American mayor, authorized a police attack on the commune, which had been fortified by its members. What happened then was a Vietnam War–style search-and-destroy attack. As the Philadelphia police commissioner shouted the command, "Attention MOVE: This is America," police fired thousands of rounds of ammunition into the MOVE house, followed by a state police helicopter dropping a fire bomb that destroyed the MOVE building and spread to sixty-one other houses in the neighborhood, killing eleven of the thirteen MOVE members in the House, including five children.

Although few weapons and no explosives were found in the debris, Mayor Goode defended the attack as follows: "We cannot permit any terrorist group, and revolutionary group in this city, to hold a whole neighborhood or a whole city hostage." In the 1980s, the vague concept of "terrorism," both domestic and international, began to replace "international communism" as a permanent enemy.

Reagan and the Challenge to Civil Rights

African-American males in particular were increasingly the victims of what may be viewed as a "state terrorism" enforced by local police. Regardless of how many members of minorities had gained political office, statistics showed that in 1980, twenty-two blacks were likely to be killed in confrontations with police for every one white. Nor were the outbreaks of violence against blacks being addressed as they had been in the 1960s. In 1980, a major ghetto riot suppressed by the National Guard left 18 dead and 400 injured in the Liberty City district of Miami, an African-American slum neighborhood with a 50 percent unemployment rate. In the midst of the "Iran hostage crisis" and the presidential election year, the general response of the mass media was to treat the incident as trivial.

Indifference was also the response to a series of brutal murders and mutilations in a variety of places, from Mississippi backwaters to major cities like Buffalo, New York, and Atlanta, Georgia. When 28 black youths were murdered in Atlanta, Georgia, between 1979 and 1982, the arrest of a black man for the crime prompted general feelings of relief. The Los Angeles Police Department's aggressive police policies led to the deaths of over 300 African Americans in the 1970s, 15 of which were attributed to "legitimate" choke holds. Faced with massive criticism and calls for his removal, Police Chief Darryl Gates commented in 1979 that "we may be finding that in some blacks when the carotid choke hold is applied the veins or arteries do not open up as fast as they do on normal people."

By 1980, a second shock wave of inflation and the U.S. embassy hostage crisis put ardent conservatives in a position to gain the presidency for the first time since Calvin Coolidge's election in 1924. Ronald Reagan, former motion picture actor and governor of California, launched his campaign for the presidency after his nomination by the Republican Party in August of 1980 with a speech at Philadelphia, Mississippi, scene in 1964 of the murder of three civil rights workers, Andrew Goodman, Michael Schwerner, and James Chaney. Reagan chose this place to announce his commitment to a restoration of "states' rights." When Jimmy Carter cited Reagan's opposition to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in their televised presidential debate, the former actor reminisced that when he was a boy in rural Illinois he didn't even know that there was such a thing as a race problem.

Reagan's appeal to an America that had existed in the Hollywood movies of the 1930s, all white, except for occasional black servants and ethnic comedy relief characters, with strong Anglo-American heroes fighting off domestic and foreign villains, played well to a suburban electorate whose principal response to inflation was to support tax cuts for themselves and budget cuts that disproportionately harmed urban working-class and minority communities.

The civil rights movement also suffered from the unintended consequences of its successes. Inspired by the political atmosphere created by the civil rights movement, the 1965 Immigration Act repealed the "national origins" quota system for immigrants that had heavily favored people from Western Europe and the British Isles over people from Eastern and Southern Europe and largely excluded non-Europeans. By

the late 1980s, more than 80 percent of new legal immigrants were non-Europeans. Although some brought with them professional skills and education that would give them positions in technical and professional work, from the expanding health maintenance organizations (HMOs) to various research and development positions, a much larger number came to function as cheap service labor working for minimum wages in "gentrified" urban areas. Both at the top and bottom of the "labor market," they provided competition for African Americans, Latinos, and other traditional U.S. minorities, taking jobs that colleges were preparing U.S. minorities to hold at the top and taking jobs at the bottom at wages and conditions below what many African American and Latino workers would tolerate.

The effects of deindustrialization undermined unions like the United Steelworkers and the United Automobile Workers, which had been the center for major economic gains of African Americans and other minorities. As the Reagan administration froze minimum wages, packed the NLRB and other agencies dealing with unions with conservatives, and launched the most aggressive anti–trade union campaign of any administration since the 1920s, blacks, Latinos, and other minorities often suffered the brunt of these attacks. Although 20 percent of African-American workers were in professional and managerial positions in 1990, as against 5 percent in 1950, these substantial middle-class gains were offset by the loss of well-paying union jobs in basic industry and by the relative decline in the living standards of lower income groups, particularly those among the bottom 20 percent of income earners. By the late 1980s, one-third of all black families earned incomes below the official poverty line, and unemployment for black youth reached as high as 43 percent. In addition, minorities were hugely overrepresented in the statistics of female heads of households, who accounted for two-thirds of those officially poor.

Although many of these trends were evident in the late 1970s, the Reagan administration intensified them quantitatively. In opposition to the Great Society's "welfare statism" and long-abandoned "War on Poverty," the Reagan administration sought to eliminate many programs that directly assisted the poor and racial minorities. Reagan tax cuts, defined as an attempt to increase investment and consumption at the top in order to "trickle down" wealth through the private sector to lower income groups, transferred over $25 billion in subsidies from the lowest 20 percent to the highest 20 percent of income earners, a policy that one critic called "reverse Robin Hood." The Reagan administration proceeded to eliminate surviving Great Society public service job programs, remove over 500,000 recipients from the food stamp plan, and reduce funding for housing and urban development by 80 percent, including a crusade to eliminate all forms of federally supported rent controls and either sell off or destroy federally supported public housing.

Although military budgets experienced their greatest rise in peacetime in U.S. history, Medicaid benefits for working low-income people were removed, child nutrition programs were cut 27.7 percent, the low-income energy assistance program was cut 8.3 percent, and unemployment benefits were cut 6.9 percent. Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Medicaid, Supplemental Security Income (SSI) for the disabled, along with food stamps, were the favored targets of the administration, whose tax cuts and spectacular rise in military spending saw a near tripling of the federal deficit.

The Reagan administration also made clear its opposition to Affirmative Action programs and its commitment to change the enforcement of those programs by federal agencies while challenging them in the courts. Reagan's appointees to the Civil Rights Commission (CRC) and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), particularly EEOC director Clarence Thomas, a conservative Republican whose admission to Yale Law School was directly related to Affirmative Action, openly opposed Affirmative Action. They were also far less sympathetic, if not obstructionist, to enforcement of civil rights grievances on questions of discrimination in employment, housing, and education. Issues of continuing school segregation and violations of voting rights were usually met with the response that the legislation of the 1960s had already taken care of those problems.

The Death Penalty

The Reagan administration also strongly supported the institution of the death penalty, which the U.S. Supreme Court, reversing a 1973 decision, had declared legal once more in 1977. People of color were disproportionately much more likely to be sentenced to death than were whites convicted of homicide. Homicides continued to rise despite the institution of the death penalty. One factor is the Reagan administration's support for a substantial weakening of existing gun laws, catering to the politically powerful National Rifle Association.

By the 1980s, the death penalty had been abol-

ished in virtually all other developed countries. One case, however, which has lasted twenty years, was to become an international cause celebre.

In Philadelphia in 1981, Mumia Abu-Jamal, a former Black Panther and radio commentator known for his criticisms of police brutality against blacks, was accused of killing a Philadelphia police officer when he found the officer in an altercation with his brother in a slum neighborhood. Although ballistics evidence was inconclusive and although Abu-Jamal himself was shot and beaten, the major witnesses against him had criminal records, and the judge was criticized by many for acting in a biased manner, Abu-Jamal was convicted and sentenced to death. After spending twenty years on death row and becoming the subject of a global campaign to free him and expose the injustice of the U.S. use of the death penalty, Abu-Jamal saw a federal judge throw out the death penalty conviction in 2001 but sustain the murder conviction. However, Abu-Jamal remains in jail for life. In the 1980s and 1990s, the application and implementation of the death penalty grew sharply, with Texas and Florida, the two great centers of post–civil rights Sunbelt conservatism, leading the way.

Reversals to Affirmative Action and Revival of Activism

The Justice Department's assistant attorney general for civil rights, William Bradford Reynolds, launched a number of high-profile cases in the 1980s to attack local Affirmative Action programs, most significantly a program enacted by a Republican mayor of Indianapolis, Indiana, to increase the number of minorities and women in public service. The Reagan administration's failure to win these cases in what was an increasingly conservative-dominated Supreme Court was due, it has been argued, to their extreme and sweeping attacks on Affirmative Action policies, along with the cogent defense of Affirmative Action policies directed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)'s chief counsel, Lani Guinier. Yet, the long-term effects of the appointment of conservatives to the federal judiciary have placed not only Affirmative Action but the antidiscrimination machinery of the federal government, along with the reproductive rights of women, in serious jeopardy. Finally, Reagan unsuccessfully opposed the campaign by civil rights activists to have Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday declared a national holiday, declaring that such a holiday would be too expensive.

But the 1980s were fraught with contradictions. Jesse Jackson, who had been a young activist with Martin Luther King Jr. at the time of his murder in 1968, and the leader of the activist Operation PUSH (People United to Serve Humanity) in Chicago in the late 1960s and 1970s, established the Rainbow Coalition, seeking to revive the poor people's movement that King was leading at the time of his assassination. Running in Democratic primaries against Walter Mondale and Gary Hart in 1984, Jackson, opposed by many elected African-American politicians, made a strong showing. Four years later, he garnered over 7 million votes from minorities and progressive whites to become the leading challenger to Michael Dukakis, the Massachusetts governor who emerged as the candidate of the Democratic establishment. Jackson repeatedly called for a new coalition of minorities, youth, gay men and lesbians, and working-class whites, in effect a grand civil rights coalition, to "win back America."

In Chicago in 1983, such a coalition appeared to triumph with the election of Harold Washington, an African-American congressman, in what had been the premier Democratic machine city since New York mayor Fiorello La Guardia ousted Tammany Hall in the 1930s. Benefiting from minority voter registration drives, Washington defeated both incumbent mayor Jane Byrne and Richard Daley, the son of the legendary mayor and machine leader. Washington then built a model reform administration, winning a second term in 1987. A fatal heart attack ended his administration, which, in the tradition of coalitions held together by strong leaders, soon fragmented. Power struggles led to the restoration of an updated version of the machine, under the leadership of Richard Daley, whom Washington had defeated in 1983.

Similar increases in black and Latino voting led to the victory in the New York City Democratic primary of David Dinkins, a long-time progressive African-American Democrat over three-term mayor Edward I. Koch, a more conservative Democrat, in 1989. An economic recession and violent confrontations between blacks and Hasidic Jews would help defeat Dinkins in a close election against law-and-order Republican Rudolph Giuliani in 1993, whom he had narrowly defeated in the 1989 general election. The fragility of new multiethnic urban coalitions was seen most pointedly in New York City, where a slight drop in the Latino vote for Dinkins constituted his margin of defeat.

Civil rights activism also revived in the 1980s to frustrate the Reagan administration's attempt to "im-

JESSE LOUIS JACKSON (1941–)

Jesse Louis Burns was born on October 8, 1941, in Greenville, South Carolina, to an unwed mother and raised in poverty. He took his stepfather's last name at around age fifteen. Jackson's success as a student and athlete won him a scholarship to the University of Illinois. When he learned that he would not be allowed to play quarterback on the football team because of his race, he transferred to North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College (A&T). He then attended the Chicago Theological Seminary (1963–1965) and was ordained a Baptist minister in 1968.

While at A&T in Greensboro, North Carolina, Jackson and his future wife, Jacqueline Davis, became active in the civil rights movement. He served as the point man for the Greensboro sit-ins that helped to integrate city restaurants. In 1963, Jackson joined the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and quickly gained a reputation as an effective organizer, working in Chicago to integrate schools and housing while in the seminary. Two years later he became an associate of Martin Luther King Jr. and was present when King was assassinated in Memphis in 1968.

During the years following King's death, Jackson emerged as the inheritor of King's followers. Jackson served as executive director (1966–1971) of Operation Breadbasket, a program of the SCLC that addressed the economic problems of blacks in Northern cities. In 1971, he broke with the SCLC and founded Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity), an organization to pressure large corporations to provide jobs and economic opportunities for blacks and other minorities. Through the 1970s, Jackson emphasized economic empowerment rather than traditional civil rights issues. Drawing on his preaching background, he combined messages of uplift ("I *am* somebody!") with militancy ("It's nationtime!") to attract a large following. He also made controversial forays into international politics, including a meeting in 1979 with the head of the Palestine Liberation Organization. In 1983, he secured the release of a captured navy pilot during a trip to Syria.

That same year, many, but not all, black political leaders endorsed the idea of a black presidential candidate to create a "people's" platform, increase voter registration, and have a power base from which there could be greater input into the political process. Working from that position, Jackson launched the first serious presidential candidacy by a black politician. Jackson ran his largely symbolic campaign in 1984 with the support of the Rainbow Coalition, an umbrella organization of minority groups. During the race, he faced renewed charges of anti-Semitism because of his association with the controversial Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan, and for his reference to New York City as "Hymietown." Jackson apologized repeatedly for this remark and has since emphasized his distaste for all forms of bigotry, but the stigma remains. Black support was divided between Jackson and former vice president Walter Mondale, who had a long history of civil rights activism. Mondale won the nomination but lost by a large percentage of electoral votes in the general election.

Jackson's 1988 campaign for president differed dramatically from the earlier one. He proved to be a potent candidate, finishing a strong second to the eventual nominee, Michael Dukakis. He avoided controversy and went into the convention a threat to Democratic leaders. His campaign forever changed the notion that a black president in America was unimaginable. After the convention, Jackson stepped aside and watched as Dukakis lost in a landslide to the Republican candidate, George H.W. Bush.

After the 1988 election, Jackson returned to his activist roots. Since 1986, he has been president of the National Rainbow Coalition, an independent political organization aimed at uniting disparate groups including racial minorities, the poor, peace activists, and environmentalists. In 1989, he moved with his Rainbow Coalition from Chicago to Washington, D.C., hoping that the coalition could be more effective in the nation's capital. He has also campaigned for statehood for the District of Columbia. Jackson continued to write, speak, and lead protests for social change.

In the 1990s, Jackson surprised many supporters by not running for the presidency in 1992 or 1996, citing family commitments and fatigue. He also returned to international politics. In 1991, he traveled to Iraq and convinced Saddam Hussein to begin releasing Americans held hostage after Hussein's invasion of Kuwait. In 1994, Jackson met with Fidel Castro in Cuba, and, later that year, President Bill Clinton sent him on a peace mission to Nigeria. Jackson briefly hosted a television program on which public issues are discussed. In 1996, he returned to Chicago to resume leadership of PUSH and has continued speaking out on racial issues.

James G. Lewis

prove" relations with the apartheid government of South Africa under the banner of "constructive engagement." Blacks and whites in communities and in universities campaigned to have local governments, universities, and religious and other institutions divest funds from companies doing business with South Africa as long as apartheid remained in place. The movement also focused on having the United States join other nations in imposing sanctions on South Africa, which Congress, overriding Reagan's veto, did in 1986. The victory was perhaps the most important expression of African-American and civil rights influence on U.S. foreign policy and economic policy in history.

As the 1980s ended, the depth of the divisions over civil rights and the lack of either a liberal or conservative policy consensus were clear. In the 1988 presidential campaign, Jesse Jackson appeared to be a major force within a Democratic Party in which people of color were more visible in leadership positions than at any time in U.S. history. Those who had not lived through the 1970s might at first believe that Richard Nixon's "Silent Majority" rhetoric had long been vanquished by a civil rights consensus that had made Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech at the 1963 March on Washington a reality.

But a closer look would reveal something very different. In 1989, over 600,000 black males between the ages of twenty and twenty-nine, nearly one-fourth of the African-American male population in that age category, were either in prison or on parole or probation—about a third more than all African Americans enrolled in institutions of higher education.

The rapidly expanding use of the death penalty also stood at the pinnacle of a criminal justice system that routinely provided much higher numbers of convictions and incarcerations for people of color than for whites for comparable offenses. In *McCleskey v. Kemp* (1987), involving the death sentence of a black Georgia man convicted of killing a white police officer, the U.S. Supreme Court, in a five-to-four decision, rejected the plaintiff's argument to set aside the death penalty on the grounds that the Georgia criminal justice system was four times more likely to apply the death penalty to a black convicted of killing a white than vice versa, with the following Catch-22 contention by Justice Lewis Powell: "apparent discrepancies in sentencing are an inevitable part of our criminal justice system. . . . If we accepted McCleskey's claim that racial bias has impermissibly tainted the capital sentencing decision, we would soon be faced with similar claims as to other types of penalty. . . . Studies already exist that allegedly demonstrate a racial disparity in the length of prison sentences." By the mid-1980s, black Americans became a prime component of the prison-industrial complex.

In 1989, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that states had the right to execute juvenile criminals at least sixteen years old and mentally retarded criminals. By the end of the 1980s, blacks were the primary victims of both crime and a criminal justice system committed to punishment rather than rehabilitation, as well as longer periods of incarceration as a way to improve crime statistics. That many states denied those convicted of felonies the right to vote and other important civil rights made the criminal justice policies of the 1970s and 1980s a mechanism for disenfranchisement of hundreds of thousands of African Americans and other people of color.

These many contradictions could be seen in a number of dramatic developments at the end of the 1980s. First Jesse Jackson's remarkable run in the Democratic presidential primaries of 1988 represented the most serious political challenge by an African American in presidential politics in U.S. history. Still, Jackson, who had nominated George McGovern sixteen years earlier, was dogged by an anti-Semitic remark he had made to an African-American reporter during the campaign, referring to New York City as "Hymietown." Jackson's remark received wide coverage, which served to highlight African-American–Jewish-American conflict, while the far more disturbing anti-Jewish references uttered by the Reagan administration's Patrick Buchanan and the anti-Semitic commentaries that frequently surfaced from released documents of Richard Nixon received less coverage.

During the 1988 presidential election, Republicans used what was perhaps the crudest expression of racism in modern presidential politics when they showed an ad denouncing Democratic candidate Michael Dukakis for releasing, as governor of Massachusetts, "Willie" Horton, an African American, on a prison furlough program. Horton, whose first name was William, subsequently raped a white woman. Many critics believed that the ad's purpose was to portray Dukakis as a weak-hearted liberal who would release criminals to run rampant if he were president. The use of "Willie" and the highlighting of the crime of rape, those critics contended, left no doubt as to what group and what fear the successful Bush campaign was appealing to.

The U.S. Supreme Court, which had been the

most important governmental ally for racial equality in the 1950s and 1960s, weakened support for civil rights in the late 1980s, with the Reagan administration's appointment of conservatives Antonin Scalia and Anthony M. Kennedy to the Court, along with its promotion of the Court's most militant conservative, Nixon appointee William Rehnquist, to the post of chief justice. In *Patterson v. McClean Credit Union* (1989), the Court ruled that civil rights legislation against discrimination in employment did not cover on-the-job harassment. In *Martin v. Wilkes* (1990), the Court ruled that there was no time limit on white employees challenging Affirmative Action consent decrees, thus creating the possibility that Affirmative Action decisions in favor of minorities could be tied up in challenges and undone long after they had been made. In *Wards Cove Packing Company v. Antonio* (1989), the Court ruled that grievants had to prove not only that specific business policies discriminated against them, but that the policies did not constitute a "legitimate business goal," providing the attorneys for private sector defendants with a potentially open-ended loophole. In condemning these decisions as representing a policy of "retrenchment" on questions of civil rights, Justice Thurgood Marshall observed that "history teaches that when the Supreme Court has been willing to shortchange the equality rights of under-represented groups, other basic personal civil liberties like the rights to free speech and to personal security against unreasonable searches and seizures are also threatened."

Conclusion

As the 1990s began, the successes and failures of the civil rights movement were everywhere to be seen. Four decades after Harry Truman integrated the U.S. Army, President Bush appointed General Colin Powell to lead the Joint Chiefs of Staff. An African American, Powell with the help of Affirmative Action had reached the highest position in the U.S. military and was seen by some as a future Republican presidential candidate, a "Black Eisenhower" who exuded a military-organization-man mentality and gained fame in the Gulf War of 1991. (Powell was appointed secretary of state in the administration of George W. Bush in the early 2000s.)

Faced with the retirement of Thurgood Marshall, Bush, who had seen liberal Democrats block the nomination of conservative judge Robert Bork at the end of the Reagan administration, appointed an African American and conservative, Clarence Thomas, as his replacement. Although the Thomas nomination became a cause celebre owing to charges that Thomas had sexually harassed a subordinate, Anita Hill, during his leadership of the EEOC, the fact that a black so thoroughly opposed to everything the civil rights movement stood for could be more easily nominated for the Supreme Court than a white with similar views had stood Affirmative Action on its head, although few enemies of Affirmative Action accused Bush of "reverse racism."

By the 1990s, the civil rights movement had transformed U.S. society but not necessarily as its activists had hoped. As the last decade of the twentieth century began, both the opponents and proponents of civil rights were locked in something like World War I trench warfare—a stalemate in which fierce battles raged over issues of Affirmative Action, inclusion and social diversity, the relationship of gays and lesbians to civil rights—a "culture war" with little chance of victory in the short run by either side.

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Racial Violence and the Civil Rights Movement

Standing primarily for racist violence against African Americans, racial violence was a major impediment in the African-American struggle for civil rights in the twentieth century. However, an increasing number of blacks refused to passively accept mob violence and racist terror. Especially in the aftermath of World War I, many African Americans protected their communities against white violence. Similarly, numerous black World War II veterans fought back in the face of white assaults. During the civil rights movement of the 1960s, white terrorism again erupted but was frequently prevented by black armed protection. Toward the end of the decade, traditional forms of southern antiblack mob brutality had waned, while northern cities experienced a wave of violent unrest in African-American ghettos.

Lynching and the Black Response

By 1900, lynching had become a common means of racial control in the American South. Frequently watched by thousands of jeering spectators, this ritualized form of mob violence was part of white America's design to keep African Americans "in their place." The majority of white men in the South believed that lynchings were necessary to protect Southern women from reputed black rapists. However, economic and political motivations lay at the root of this primarily Southern phenomenon. Using violence to enforce the racial status quo, whites were determined to confine African Americans to a status of simple laborers stripped of their political rights. Punishing blacks for violating the traditional Southern racial etiquette, white tormentors frequently tortured and mutilated their black victims. In many cases, whites castrated the accused black man or severed his fingers and ears. Between 1880 and 1952, white Americans lynched almost 3,500 black Americans, although many other murders went unreported.

The majority of African Americans were struck with fear in the face of this reign of terror. Between 1915 and 1930, many Southern blacks attempted to escape white violence and oppression by migrating to Northern cities such as New York and Chicago. Some black Southerners relied on armed self-defense to protect themselves from white violence. Occasionally, armed African Americans confronted white lynch mobs that intended to kidnap black defendants from their prison cells. Outspoken black journalists such as Ida B. Wells and Thomas Fortune advised blacks to repel white attackers with arms. As early as 1892, in a pamphlet entitled "Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases," Wells had concluded "that a Winchester rifle should have a place of honor in every black home, and it should be used for that protection which the law refuses to give."

Before World War II, however, most black defense efforts resulted in the death of the defender, whom whites vastly outgunned and outnumbered. In the 1920s and 1930s, violent altercations between black farmers and their white landlords sometimes ended in fierce gun battles, but these isolated incidents of individual resistance did little to challenge the entrenched system of white supremacy. Only in the 1930s, due to widely publicized antilynching campaigns by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, did the worst forms of mob violence subside. However, covert lynchings persisted until the end of the 1960s.

Race Riots and Black Militancy After World War I

In the aftermath of World War I, Northern cities in particular became a stage for another form of racial violence: the race riot. Triggered mostly by a violation of Northern de facto segregation or rumors of rape

and compounded by economic competition between black and white workers, whites invaded African-American neighborhoods, destroying property and terrorizing the black community. Although Northern cities had experienced white mob violence before, the numerous riots that took place during the so-called Red Summer of 1919 did not conform to the traditional pattern of black passivity. This time, many African Americans fought back when whites attacked their community. Spearheaded by the combat experience of black veterans, the defenders of black neighborhoods frequently welcomed their white assailants with volleys of disciplined gunfire. Black intellectuals spoke of the emergence of a "New Negro," who would refuse to be intimidated by white terror. Expressing this increasing militancy in 1919, the *New York Times* quoted W.E.B. Du Bois as counseling blacks: "When the armed lynchers gather, we too must gather armed." That same year, armed African Americans in Chicago and Washington, D.C., battled white invaders and police in riots that lasted several days.

White authorities frequently thwarted these protection efforts by disarming African Americans, while whites continued to launch violent forays into black neighborhoods. Despite this resistance, the majority of victims killed during the riots were black. Sometimes, as in the Tulsa race riot of 1921, black armed opposition resulted in the obliteration of the entire black neighborhood, forcing the surviving blacks to leave the town. However, the postwar riots had demonstrated that an increasing number of African Americans would sell their lives as dearly as possible. White reaction to the news of this black militancy bordered on the paranoid. During the postwar riots, rumors about looming black armed revolutions circulated among terrified white city-dwellers.

Racial Violence During and After World War II

During World War II, Northern cities and Southern army camps again became the front lines for violent skirmishes between black and white Americans. The stationing of black soldiers in army camps located in the Deep South triggered hundreds of violent melees with white military policemen and local Southerners. During several race riots in the North—particularly in Chicago in 1943—numerous blacks fought back when attacked by white mobs. In many Southern states, rumors spread among white Southerners that African Americans were planning armed insurrections after the war, during which they would murder the white population. Although racial violence never reached as high a level as in the aftermath of World War I, racial clashes continued to erupt in the postwar South.

In 1946, in Columbia, Tennessee, hundreds of black veterans armed themselves to protect the African-American community. Reflecting the attitude of African-American veterans across the South, black Columbian men returned to the South with a new determination to challenge the racial status quo. In the wake of an altercation between a black woman and a white radio repairman, word reached the black community that a lynch mob was about to invade the neighborhood. When a group of police officers approached the black section of town at night, the defenders mistook them for the mob and injured several officers in the ensuing shootout. White police reacted swiftly and violently, destroying black businesses and arresting hundreds of black Columbians. Only after an extended court battle did lawyers of the NAACP manage to free those blacks indicted for the shooting.

The beginning of the modern civil rights movement in 1955 in Montgomery, Alabama, together with the *Brown v. Board of Education* U.S. Supreme Court decision one year earlier, sparked a new upsurge in racial violence. In particular, the prospect of having to desegregate public education as mandated by *Brown* led many white Americans to rely on force to discourage blacks from challenging Jim Crow. In opposition to this threat to traditional racial practices, white Southerners organized the White Citizens Council and revived terrorist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan.

The murder of Emmett Till in 1955 was a tragic reminder that Southern African Americans still lived in constant fear of death when violating the traditional racial etiquette. However, in sharp contrast to lynchings in the past, the two white men who murdered young Till for whistling at a white woman were not cheered by large white crowds in bright daylight. Rather, they dragged the boy from his uncle's home in the middle of the night and later attempted to hide his dead body in the Tallahatchie River. Moreover, scrutinized by national and international media, Mississippi authorities were forced to bring the murder case to court. Never before had members of a lynch mob been indicted in Mississippi. Despite the unsurprising acquittal of the two men by an all-white jury, the Till murder indicated that racial violence would now trigger a national and international outcry along with a critical look at Southern racial practices. The

murder of Mack Charles Parker in 1959 in Mississippi sparked a similar clamor and can be considered the last example of this "traditional" form of lynching.

Anti–Civil Rights Violence and the Black Response

Civil rights activism sparked a fierce response from white Southerners. During the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955 and 1956, whites bombed the house of civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr., impelling him to post armed guards around his house. Even after Montgomery blacks had won their fight for the desegregation of the city's bus lines, whites continued to shoot at buses and houses of local activists. As the civil rights movement gained momentum, so did white resistance. In 1957, when nine high school students in Little Rock, Arkansas, attempted to test the *Brown* decision, hostile white mobs welcomed them. For the first time since Reconstruction, President Dwight D. Eisenhower dispatched federal troops to the South to protect African Americans from mob violence. However, once the Little Rock crisis was over, local leader Daisy Bates was at the mercy of white hoodlums who regularly fired their guns into her house. Consequently, armed blacks began to guard the Bates residence, while bright floodlights blinded potential assailants. That same year, Robert F. Williams, a local NAACP activist in Monroe, North Carolina, organized a black self-defense group that protected the local movement from Ku Klux Klan attacks. In 1959, the national NAACP suspended Williams as president of the Monroe chapter for calling upon African Americans to "meet violence with violence."

In the 1960s, white terrorists repeatedly attempted to stop the civil rights movement with violent terror. In 1960 and 1961, respectively, white mobs beat and harassed nonviolent sit-in demonstrators and Freedom Riders, triggering vociferous protest from national and international audiences. Police brutality against protestors in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1963 and in Selma, Alabama, in 1965 had a similar effect. In fact, the public violence that white supremacists used to stop civil rights demonstrations was crucial to activists' success in exposing southern injustice in front of the world.

The majority of civil rights projects, however, took place outside the national spotlight, and attempts to launch voter registration drives and to desegregate public accommodations in the Deep South were far more dangerous than staging widely publicized nonviolent direct action projects. Without federal protection, activists and local African Americans became a constant target for violent reprisals. In particular, civil rights workers from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) along with local black activists became victims of racial violence during their campaigns in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and other southern states. Local and state branches of the Ku Klux Klan increased their membership considerably in the early 1960s and launched a campaign of terror against the movement. In the years 1960–1968, white supremacists bombed numerous black churches, torched the homes of local civil rights leaders, and shot into civil rights offices and black homes in nightly attacks.

Dozens of civil rights activists and local African Americans fell victim to this upsurge in white brutality. In 1963, four black teenage girls died when a group of Klansmen bombed a local church in Birmingham, Alabama. A year later, during SNCC's Mississippi Freedom Summer project, white supremacists murdered three civil rights activists. Primarily because two of the dead activists were white northerners from influential families, the federal government launched a large-scale FBI investigation, leading to the indictment of the killers. Eventually, however, an all-white jury acquitted the men involved in the murder. Only in 1965 and 1966 did the federal government begin to take decisive steps to curb Klan terrorism.

Confronted with the government's inaction, many African Americans concluded that they had to rely on their own ability to defend themselves against racial violence. Numerous blacks across the South protected themselves with guns. In many Mississippi counties, local African Americans guarded their homes with rifles and shotguns at night. In some parts of the South, local men organized informal defense groups that protected black churches and the homes of civil rights leaders. In 1964, in Jonesboro, Louisiana, African Americans organized the Deacons for Defense and Justice, a self-defense unit that patrolled the black section of town at night and guarded nonviolent activists. One year later, blacks organized another branch of the defense organization in Bogalusa, Louisiana, where blacks engaged in several shootouts with Ku Klux Klan members. Later establishing branches in Mississippi and several northern cities, the Deacons became widely known for their uncompromising stance on protecting the civil rights movement from white violence. Although these protection efforts

could not stop white violence entirely, they thwarted many white assaults.

Race Riots in the 1960s

Although the worst forms of racist terror began to subside by 1967, a new form of violence had emerged in the black ghettos of the urban North and West. Frustrated with the unaltered condition of poor blacks in the North, some African Americans began to express their protest violently. Though frequently termed race riots, these urban upheavals differed significantly from the riots in the aftermath of World War I. In 1967 and 1968, there were no white invaders who attempted to attack blacks and their property. Rather, these disorders were frequently sparked by an unjust incident of police brutality against blacks. To protest this injustice and their wretched condition, blacks destroyed white property in the black section of town, frequently burning large parts of the ghetto to the ground.

Accompanied by looting and sporadic shootouts between black snipers and police officers, most of these riots lasted several days. In reaction to the violence, city and state authorities dispatched large contingents of National Guardsmen to quell the disturbances. While the 1965 Watts riot in California had foreshadowed the violence to come, the hundreds of urban upheavals that rocked American cities in 1967 and 1968 left an unprecedented trail of destruction. Some of the worst rioting took place in the aftermath of the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. in April 1968, when observers counted 230 riots in at least 125 cities across the country. In the aftermath of the riots, 46 people lay dead while 2,600 had been injured, the vast majority of whom were African-American. Property worth $45 million lay in waste. Although government officials studied the underlying causes of the violence and concluded that socioeconomic conditions coupled with racist discrimination were at the root of the problem, the plight of the urban black population remained practically unchanged.

Assessment

Until the end of the 1960s, racial violence served as a constant reminder that white Americans were determined to stop African Americans' quest for civil rights by any means. Although lynchings waned toward the end of the 1930s, racist violence against black Americans remained rampant. However, World War I constituted a turning point in racial violence. An increasing number of blacks—in particular, war veterans—began to fight back when attacked by white mobs. World War II further radicalized African Americans and prepared the ground for the modern civil rights movement. Racial violence during the black freedom struggle of the 1960s both impeded and assisted the movement. Although harassment and numerous murders of civil rights activists slowed down the pace of change, white brutality against black activists also helped expose Southern racism in the eyes of the world. Hence, many Americans as well as international observers called upon the federal government to protect African Americans and to acknowledge their grievances.

Until the administration finally took steps to stop white supremacist terror, however, African Americans had to protect themselves. During the civil rights movement in the South, a considerable number of blacks relied on armed protection, thus preventing many white attacks. Toward the end of the 1960s, the character of racial violence changed. Rather than defending themselves against white invaders, blacks now protested by destroying white property and by battling white police in northern ghettos. By the end of the decade, the worst forms of antiblack violence had waned.

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Black Nationalism and the Civil Rights Movement

On a formal level, the Civil War and Reconstruction had established the freedom of African Americans. The Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery, and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments established the rights of African Americans to due process and equal protection and prohibited the denial of the right to vote on the basis of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. In Congress, as Eric Foner's *Reconstruction* (1988) has shown, the triumph of the Radical Republicans, dedicated to the creation of a biracial democracy in the South, meant that African Americans were able to join in coalitions with poor whites to be elected or to elect individuals sympathetic to their desires for education and employment.

This golden moment lasted only until 1876, when the Hayes-Tilden election standoff and recession in the North contributed to a dismantling of the radical effort to develop a biracial democracy. In return for granting the Republicans the presidency, federal troops were withdrawn from the South, permitting voter intimidation by merchants and paramilitary groups to reduce the numbers of African-American voters. Those who persisted in exercising their vote despite these obstacles were further winnowed down by means of various legal devices: poll taxes, grandfather clauses, and literacy tests, which had a devastating impact on the eligibility of African-American voters. As McMillen's *Dark Journey* (1989) illustrates, three years after the conclusion of the Civil War, in 1868, 96.7 percent of the eligible African-American voting-age population was registered; between 1892 and 1899, the number dropped to between 5.9 and 9.1 percent and skidded to a low of 0.4 percent in 1940.

The position of African Americans was ensured by a hysterical scrutiny of passing and the misrepresentation of African Americans in ways meant to convey to the outside world that African Americans were happy with their lot, unworthy of investment in their education, childish, or dangerous and in need of control by authorities as documented in Marlon Riggs's film *Ethnic Notions*. What these images cloaked was the extreme exploitation of African-American labor by the sharecropping system and the use of police repression to shore up the power of growers who benefited from the enforcement of vagrancy laws. These laws, which made it possible for police to jail individuals with less than the prescribed sum, then turn them over to people who agreed to pay their bail, imposed severe limits on African-American mobility.

Given disfranchisement and police control, it is remarkable that African Americans perhaps had one strength that the other ethnic movements in America lacked: slavery in conjunction with the constitutional limit on the importation of slaves had created a Pan-ethnic community with an identity more firmly in place and earlier than that of the other ethnic movements.

Three Prototypical Responses: Segregation, Civil Rights, and Nationalism in the Early Twentieth Century

How to respond to repression was a subject of heated debate, as symbolized by the contrasting approaches of the major African-American leaders of the late nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries: Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, and Marcus Garvey. Southern-born and noticeably darker than Du Bois, Booker T. Washington urged accommodation while working to improve the lot of the mass of Southern African Americans. In his "Atlanta Compromise" speech delivered at the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta in 1895, Washington urged African Americans to "cast down their buckets" where they may and to learn industrial skills and pull

themselves up by their bootstraps until they had earned the respect of white America. Washington's pronounced creed was that African Americans should not seek social equality. The Harvard-educated and lighter-skinned W.E.B. Du Bois (1868–1963) called for the "Talented Tenth" of the African-American community to prove themselves the equals of white Americans while fighting legally through the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) for civil rights. Marcus Garvey (1887–1940) was Jamaican-born, noticeably dark-skinned, and a global traveler who had left the British colony for England and then America. Born later than the others, he would temporarily fill the void left by Washington's death and advocated a distinctly Pan-African, nationalist approach, separatism, inspired intriguingly in part by the democratic rhetoric of President Woodrow Wilson. Garvey's emphasis on black pride and rejection of miscegenation would be echoed in the Nation of Islam of the 1960s. In particular, Garvey asserted that Africans had a glorious past that was denied by whites. He encouraged the African diaspora to focus their energies on freeing Ethiopia and going "Back to Africa" to make their contribution to the world. To achieve his ends, he established the Universal Negro Improvement Association in 1914, and the organization soon spread to cities in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois, which had gained African-American population as a consequence of the first great migration North for war jobs.

Garvey's movement emerged in the tense atmosphere of the World War I and immediate postwar years. A violent atmosphere, including 38 lynchings in 1917 and 58 in 1918, 24 bombings of homes in Chicago where African Americans pushed outside the boundaries seen as their own, and the East Saint Louis, Illinois, and Chicago riots coincided with Woodrow Wilson's call for self-determination of all peoples. The fact that African Americans had spilled their blood in the war years to make the world safe for democracy helped spread the black nationalist message among the masses for the first time. However, by the 1920s, Garvey's charismatic appeals to his fellow African diaspora were disrupted by a mail fraud conviction and questions about his Black Star Steamship Line, which, run by whites, was seen as ridiculing his claims for developing a self-sufficient and separate African-American economy. Garvey's deportation effectively ended his major influence.

Black Nationalism in Temporary Decline: The 1920s to the 1960s

From the 1920s through the 1960s, black nationalism and the black pride that accompanied it were weak at best. Ralph Ellison's (1914–1994) fictional *Invisible Man* (1952), published in part soon after World War II, illustrates this tension, despite the presence of Marcus Garvey and his successor, the Nation of Islam, in espousing Black Pride. Pausing at the scene of the eviction of an elderly African-American couple, the Invisible Man's survey of the remnants of the couple's life reveals the conflicting pressures on African-American families, who are drawn to and away from an affirmation of pride in their ethnic past. Among the litter are images affirming both a desire to assimilate and a desire to assert a pride in the African-American's difference: an image of Abraham Lincoln and emancipation papers, a straightening comb symbolizing the desire to conform to white standards of beauty, an Ethiopian flag, and an article on Marcus Garvey.

Ellison's personal life, which was filled with discrimination, illustrates the difficulty inherent in the African-American's quest for social change. Tainted by association with Communism, African Americans found themselves hobbled in the fight for civil rights immediately after World War II. And thus, it awaited the emergence of a younger generation to take the lead following the U.S. Supreme Court's historic 1954 decision. World War II nonetheless proved a major turning point for African Americans, paving the way for the civil rights and later black power movements of the 1960s. The fact that African Americans, though treated as second-class citizens, gave their lives to the war effort made them restive and at the same time made many mainstream Americans receptive to the blacks' fight for equality at home and abroad.

Urbanization was crucial to the development of this new political identity: James C. Davies' J-curve theory, relayed in Wolfenstein's *The Victims of Democracy* (1981), notes that "rising and declining satisfactions" foment rebellion. "Revolution [or rebellion] is most likely to take place when a prolonged period of rising expectations and rising gratification is followed by a short period of sharp reversal during which the gap between expectations and gratifications quickly widens and becomes intolerable." Incomes had risen as African Americans left the South for defense jobs

and as the decline of cotton prices and mechanization of cotton farming pushed others out. All this movement stalled, however, during the Korean War. In the 1960s, the federal government's commitment to raising African Americans' economic status also increased as African Americans moved north, transforming them into marginal but crucial swing voters who could decide presidential elections. And the winds of decolonization in Africa and Asia began to inspire a spirit of rebellion in America's blacks who connected the independence movements to the civil rights struggle here at home.

The influence of the broader foreign policy environment is seen most clearly in the young Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (1929–1968). In 1955, a year after the Supreme Court officially desegregated schools in *Brown v. Board of Education* and the same year that Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat on a Montgomery, Alabama, bus, King was catapulted to leadership of the national civil rights movement when he led a freedom walk of 125,000 people in Detroit, Michigan, and a 250,000 person rally in Washington, D.C. As Marable's *Race, Reform, and Rebellion* (1991) suggests, King's "Letter from Birmingham Jail" cites the influence of decolonization in spurring him on. In his historic letter, King insisted that African Americans needed to assert their rights immediately because they had "waited for more than 340 years for [their] constitutional and God-given rights" and while "the nations of Asia and Africa [were] moving with jetlike speed toward political independence," African Americans had crept "at horse-and-buggy pace toward gaining a cup of coffee at a lunch counter."

Those who could not wait won achievements that further raised expectations. The 1957 Civil Rights Act guaranteed the voting rights of African Americans and empowered the Justice Department to sue state and local interests favoring school segregation and restricting voting; the 1960 Civil Rights Act allowed federal judges to appoint referees to register voters in place of local judges; the 1964 Civil Rights Act outlawed Jim Crow in public accommodations at the local and state level; and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 placed federal examiners in the South to safeguard voter registration. By 1968, one of the last vestiges of voter discrimination, the poll tax, was finally abolished. Thus, by 1968, African Americans had won the right to an integrated cup of coffee, and yet some members of the black nationalist movement rejected that right as irrelevant.

Black Nationalism, Muslim Style: The Nation of Islam

After a nearly forty-year absence, Marcus Garvey's *Philosophy and Opinions* was reissued in the 1960s. The renewed interest in Garvey confirmed an awakening among African Americans of Black Pride, which was also reinvigorated by the growth of the Nation of Islam. Although the Nation of Islam had been around in the 1930s and 1940s, it experienced remarkable growth only with the national emergence of Malcolm X (1925–1965), the son of a murdered follower of Marcus Garvey. Unlike the Black Panthers, a militant African-American civil rights organization, the Nation of Islam's recruits were so deeply immersed in the lower class that they lacked so-called real jobs. The Nation of Islam's recruits instead habituated a world where members supported themselves with crime, including prostitution, numbers running, and drugs, which often led to incarceration. Former prisoners, impressed by the Nation of Islam's emphasis on Black Pride, dignity, self-determination, and the language of victimization, reformed their behavior once they became members of the Nation, leaving drugs and prostitution behind. The Nation of Islam trained both men and women in separate roles; for example, it emphasized women's duties as mothers, wives, and homemakers. Black Muslims asserted pride in their heritage by rejecting forced assimilation, and as part of their politicization they renamed themselves. Thus it was that Malcolm Little became Malcolm X, thereby rejecting the name imposed on the family by slavemasters. And like Garvey's earlier movement the Nation of Islam rejected economic assimilation, proposing to establish a separate economy, though it pushed further than Garvey in demanding a separate state in America. In order to facilitate the creation of an imagined community centered around Muhammad's conception of Islam, the Nation of Islam published a newspaper *Muhammad Speaks*, issued statements over radio stations, and established two universities of Islam, one in Detroit and another in Chicago, to impart the Nation's conception of Africa's glorious past. The paramilitary Fruit of Islam defended the community.

The Nation of Islam originated in 1931 when a man named Elijah Poole (1897–1975) was visited by a mysterious figure, Wallace D. Fard, considered by many to be the founder of the Black Muslim movement. Poole's meeting with the silk and yard goods peddlar convinced him that blacks were descended from Muslims, lost in America, and would be "redeemed" by Islam. Poole also insisted that the white

ELIJAH MUHAMMAD (1897–1975)

(originally Elijah Poole)

Born near Sandersville, Georgia, on or about October 7, 1897, Elijah Poole was the son of former slaves and sharecroppers. He quit school after finishing the third grade to work in the fields to help his family make ends meet. He left home at sixteen, married, and moved his family to Detroit in 1923 to find work.

Around 1930, Poole joined the Nation of Islam, a movement founded by Wallace D. Fard that preached black separatism, and he quickly moved up in the organization. When Fard mysteriously disappeared in 1934, Poole took over, changed his name, and made a national movement out of the Black Muslims, arguing for separation of the races, and scorning attempts of the civil rights movement to bring about integration. In addition to establishing religious centers of worship, Muhammad stressed the need for African Americans to establish their own economic power base and to become economically self-sufficient. He encouraged the establishment of black businesses to foster economic development that focused on buying and selling between and among black companies.

Muhammad required strict obedience to certain tenets of Islam. He and many other members of the organization were arrested during World War II for refusing to serve in the military. After his release from prison, he moved to Chicago and established the headquarters for the Nation of Islam. The movement benefited directly from the pent-up frustrations of the black masses and offered those frustrations a militant, if avowedly nonviolent, expression. Soon there were mosques in all larger cities with sizable black populations.

Muhammad welcomed Malcolm X as a minister after Malcolm X's release from prison in 1952, and in 1955, Louis Walcott, who soon changed his name to Louis Farrakhan, joined. But Muhammad soon found Malcolm X eclipsing his own popularity. Malcolm left the Nation of Islam in a very public philosophical split regarding the separation of the races. After Malcolm's assassination in 1965, Muhammad dispatched Farrakhan to New York to rebuild the temple there and promoted him to National Representative.

In his later years, however, Muhammad moderated his antiwhite tone and stressed self-help among blacks rather than confrontation between the races. When he died on February 25, 1975, his son Wallace took over, leading the movement closer to traditional Islam and changing its name to the World Community of Islam in the West. In 1985, he dissolved the organization in order that its members might become a part of the worldwide orthodox Islamic community. A splinter group based in New York City and under the leadership of Louis Farrakhan retained both the name and the founding principles of the Nation of Islam.

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race was a source of evil, produced from the original, black race by an evil scientist. In 1931 Poole changed his name to Elijah Muhammad and began proselytizing. He was arrested in 1942 for draft-dodging despite his age (he was forty-four) and served in federal prison between 1942 and 1946. It was also in prison that Muhammad found many of his recruits, including the young Malcolm X, who was serving for burglary charges in the same prison as Elijah Muhammad and converted to Islam in 1952.

Malcolm X blended many of the black nationalist Garveyite teachings to which he had been exposed as a young man with the Nation of Islam's teachings. Malcolm X echoed Garvey's emphasis on the beauty of blackness through his constant references to rejecting the practice of conking (i.e., straightening) kinky hair to look white as self-degrading. In this connection, Malcolm X expressed particular admiration for the actors Lionel Hampton and Sidney Poitier, both of whom refused to tamper with their natural looks.

More importantly, however, Malcolm X's life experiences were shared by many others in the ghetto and across the color spectrum: like Native American activists, he noted how the welfare system divided up his family; he cringed at stereotypes, particularly those in *Gone With the Wind;* and he decried the imposition of limited opportunities when a high school teacher advised him to avoid trying to become a lawyer and settle for being a carpenter. As a result of these experiences, Malcolm X rejected integration, refused service in America's wars, affirmed with others that African Americans had a glorious past denied to them by whites, and stereotyped whites as murderers, rapists, and kidnappers. As the charismatic minister of Harlem's Temple Number Seven, he convinced others to follow his path.

Malcom X's pilgrimage to Mecca in 1964 altered his ideas on what place Islam had in changing the African Americans' position. In Mecca he learned that Islam drew together worshippers from all races, in-

cluding whites. Astonished, Malcolm X noted the unity of people who encompassed all races and all colors. This experience encouraged him to admit and then abandon his "sweeping indictments of *all* white people," as he noted in *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (1965). In 1964, Malcolm X established the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) and Muslim Mosque Inc., and it was at this time that he shifted his emphasis from black separatism to black nationalism. The OAAU promoted political participation, opposition to housing discrimination, cultural centers, and self-defense. To symbolize the change, Malcolm X changed his name once again: now he became El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz. Malcolm X's cooperation with non-African Americans in the Nation of Islam, however, conflicted intensely with the Nation of Islam's policies and may have been one of the factors in his assassination by Nation of Islam members in 1965.

Several weaknesses soon began to undermine the Nation of Islam: anti-Semitism as expressed in Malcolm's work and carried on in the Nation of Islam by Malcolm X's effective replacement Louis Farrakhan was one major source of weakness. Malcolm X's advocacy of adopting any means necessary, including violence, similarly constrained his movement, although the threat of violence was intended more as a deterrent. Although black nationalism may have recruited many of the disaffected masses, over 300 years of slavery had exposed African Americans to the dominant culture, including Christianity, which made a break from such traditions infeasible. As a result of the Nation's position, a *New York Times* poll in 1964 found that only 6 percent of those polled felt Malcolm X was advancing the cause of African Americans, leaving him trailing King at 75 percent by a wide margin. Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam reached an audience unrepresented by the "middle-class" "Uncle Toms" they decried, but in some ways Malcolm X's movement was less widely respected than these more moderate movements.

The Black Panthers

The Black Panthers burst upon the national scene in October 1966, shortly after the assassination of Malcolm X. The party's minister of defense, Huey Newton (1942–1989), and chairman, Bobby Seale (1936–), were college students, representing a slightly different black nationalist constituency. Other prominent officials of the Black Panthers included Stokely Carmichael, an opponent of assimilation, and Eldridge Cleaver (1935–1998), the party's minister of information.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL (1941–1998)

(also known as Kwame Ture, after 1969)

Born in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, on June 29, 1941, to a carpenter and his wife, Carmichael emigrated to the United States in 1952 at age eleven, and was shocked by the racism he encountered. He felt no reassurance when he attended the Bronx High School of Science and encountered white liberals who adopted him as a "mascot."

While attending Howard University (1960–1964), Carmichael joined the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in its efforts to integrate public accommodations in the South. He participated in the Freedom Rides in 1961 and the voter registration drive known as Freedom Summer in 1964. After graduation, he joined and was elected leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and changed the group's focus from peaceful integration to "black liberation." He quickly emerged as the leading spokesman for Black Power, a phrase he helped popularize. The position drove a wedge into the civil rights movement, and the phrase became a symbol of violence to whites who feared uprisings in American cities. In 1967, Carmichael joined with Charles Hamilton to write the book, *Black Power*. Carmichael resigned from SNCC and became a Black Panther. He differed with its leader, Eldridge Cleaver, because Carmichael favored forging alliances with radical whites. This led to his resignation from the Panthers in 1968.

He and his wife, Miriam Makeba, moved to Guinea, West Africa, in 1969, where he supported Pan-Africanism, and changed his name to Kwame Ture (after Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Sekou Toure of Guinea). In 1972, he briefly returned to the United States to promote his Pan-African ideology, which he described as an increased awareness and acceptance by American blacks of the culture, heritage, and ideals of Africans. He stressed that it was the ultimate extension of Black Power. He helped to establish the All-African People's Revolutionary Party and worked as an aide to Guinea's prime minister, Sekou Toure. After the death of Toure in 1984, Carmichael was arrested by the new military regime and charged with trying to overthrow the government. However, he only spent three days in prison before being released. He died of cancer on November 15, 1998.

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Members of the Black Panthers guard the speakers' platform during a conference at Temple University in Philadelphia on September 7, 1970. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

Cleaver illustrated the link between the Nation of Islam and the Black Panther Party, as well as some of their most glaring differences. Like many Black Muslims, Cleaver became a convert to Black Muslim while in prison, drawn as he was to the tenets of the religion as well as to Malcolm X's charismatic leadership. Similarly, Panther Bobby Seale was radicalized when he heard Malcolm X speak. However, like Malcolm X who changed his policy on separatism toward the end of his life, the Panthers moved toward a position of working with other races on their issues, while maintaining that the African-American community was colonized and deserved an independent state based upon socialist principles.

Eldridge Cleaver's *Soul on Ice* (1968) illustrates many of these themes. Cleaver faced the same self-hatred, instilled by the majority society's media, although he insisted that this was a product not of diabolical design but of the fact that the majority society inundated the black community with the standards of white beauty on a daily basis. Cleaver's racial consciousness was aroused as a result of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) and the ensuing conflict over integration. That conflict forced him to question the price of Americanization and his place in America. According to Cleaver, at Soledad Prison, the prisoners "cursed everything American—including baseball and hot dogs" as they watched leaders "callously compromising over [issues] of right and wrong." Cleaver's attitude also drew from the Muslim movement.

Yet the Black Panther Party was amenable to cooperation with whites: *Soul on Ice* is dedicated to Cleaver's white lawyer Beverly Axelrod. When Malcolm X changed his position, Cleaver noted that "there were those of us who were glad to be liberated from a doctrine of hate and racial supremacy." In addition, Cleaver favorably remarked on the changing attitudes of white youth as signs of potential cooperation.

Self-determination, education, full employment, decent housing, an end to police brutality, fair trials, decriminalization, and fair rates of military service and reinvestment of community resources in the com-

munity were the keynotes of the Panthers demands. They were made by working-class and middle-class African Americans, many of them students, in a context in which civil rights had been achieved, welfare was assumed as a state obligation, and the Vietnam War was sending disproportionate numbers of African Americans to die for their country.

The Panthers' demand, "We want all black men to be exempt from military service," also had other overtones. Panther member Cleaver conceived of the Black Power struggle and opposition to American neo-imperialism as inextricable. In *Soul on Ice,* he noted that 16 percent of American troops were composed of African Americans and that the struggle for decolonization had promoted civil rights. According to Cleaver, the end of the Vietnam War would allow the United States to return to repressing blacks much as had happened at the end of the Civil War. As a result, Cleaver insisted in *Soul on Ice* that "the black man's interest lies in seeing a free and independent Vietnam" because "[i]f the nations of Asia, Latin America, and Africa are strong and free, the black man in America will be safe and secure and free to live in dignity and self-respect." He also argued that decolonization had created a window for African Americans to assert their rights.

Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty played a role in raising expectations for reform that were never fully realized. Ultimately, the federal government suppressed both the Nation of Islam and the Black Panthers; in addition, the organizations were wrest apart by factions and by the influence of their violent tactics. A gun battle with police in 1968 led to Cleaver's return to jail. After his release in 1966, he ran as the presidential candidate of the Peace and Freedom Party, but when he was required to return to jail, he decided to flee to Cuba. His travels within totalitarian Communist countries soon diluted his faith in Communism. By 1971, the Black Panther Party's top officials, Cleaver and Newton, were running competing organizations in New York and California, respectively. In addition, the Federal Bureau of Investigation began targeting the Black Panther Party and other nationalist organizations for infiltration. The murder of Black Panther Party member Fred Hampton in a police raid in December 1969 has come to symbolize the ruthless suppression of nationalist groups by the Federal Bureau of Investigation's COINTELPRO, an acronym for the organization's domestic "counterintelligence program."

Throughout the twentieth century, black nationalism ebbed and flowed as a response to the civil rights movement's demands for integration. In response to the subordinate position of African Americans in American society, black nationalism did not demand access to mainstream institutions; instead, it demanded the space to carve out a separate sphere in which black talent and leadership could develop, black-owned businesses could flourish, and racial pride would increase. The proponents of this black nationalism followed no particular religious sect: Garvey's movement was an answer to Christian precepts but not Islamic like the Nation of Islam, and the Black Panthers lacked a religious identity. In addition, the constituencies of the Nation of Islam and Black Panthers ranged from workingclass to underclass to college-students as they emerged during the teens and the twenties and the fifties and the sixties. In each case, however, earlier ideologies provided core concepts for the later movements as seen in the works of Malcolm X and Eldridge Cleaver.

On the whole, black nationalism's most enduring legacy was to provide a more radical alternative to integrationism, an alternative that may have swayed leaders to cooperate with more moderate leaders, to encourage attention to the way American history was presented, and to shed a light on the problems of African Americans who fell outside the middle and upper classes. The movement was not without problems, however—from Garvey's accommodation of the KKK, to the Black Muslim's paramilitary Fruit of Islam and rabid anti-Semitism, and to the Black Panthers' embrace of violent rhetoric and poor choice of methods to demonstrate their rights, including entering the California Legislature with weapons to highlight their right to bear arms.

Anne Woo-Sam

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Anti-Apartheid Movement

The anti-apartheid movement in the United States encompassed a broad coalition of organizations operating on governmental and nongovernmental levels. While varying widely in method and degree of intensity, they all shared the goal of ending racial oppression in South Africa. In order to get a clear understanding of this movement, it is helpful to place it in a historical context.

Historical Background

The struggle for racial justice in South Africa began at the end of the eighteenth century as the indigenous inhabitants resisted British and Dutch colonialism. Britain's involvement in South Africa began in 1795 as it sought to establish a military base in what is now Cape Town. Britain's mission was to control the shipping routes to and from India, its most valued colonial possession, as well as to prevent rival European nations from challenging British supremacy in the region. What began as a limited, military operation quickly turned into an increasingly imperial one after British naval authorities learned that the potential existed for several deep harbor ports in addition to the one in Cape Town. In order to prevent their European rivals from securing any of these ports, the British government decided to expand its authority into the hinterland using Dutch immigrants (Afrikaners, or Boers) for this purpose.

Conflict developed as white colonists, especially Afrikaners, began to move inland and secure the most fertile lands, which had been the ancestral homeland to the Xhosa and Zulu ethnic groups. The increasing friction between the British and Boer populations added significantly to what would later shape segregationist policy in South Africa. The Boers, having as their aim the permanent occupation of the land, developed much more intense and racist views of Africans than the British, who still saw their mission as limited and strictly military.

To deal with the growing conflict between the Dutch settlers and Africans, the British government settled on a system of racial separation (apartheid) as the most cost-effective strategy to control these groups. Similar to their approach in Java to control various ethnic groups, the British placed the different African ethnic groups on reserves (Xhosastands). The policy of establishing Xhosastands to restrict the contact between Boers and the indigenous populations failed. The failure was caused primarily by the Afrikaners' ever-increasing desire to own and control more ancestral lands. Afrikaner expansion culminated in the establishment of their own republic of Natal in 1838.

British consternation over the Boer colonial expansion was further evidenced by their annexation of the Natal republic in 1843. This annexation came about because the British saw the potential for two unfavorable developments that could jeopardize Britain's overall military objectives. First was the continued conflict between the Boers and indigenous groups, which grew in intensity when gold and diamonds were discovered on native lands, lands that were supposedly reserved for indigenous peoples. The Afrikaners' aggression had the potential for uniting the various African ethnic groups and resulting in a costly nationwide war. The second possibility that Britain feared was a union between Holland and the Boers. If the British were to allow Afrikaners increasing power, the likelihood of their securing a military alliance with Holland was too great to chance.

The culmination of Afrikaner resistance to British demands led to the Boer War, 1899–1902. Although this war ended in defeat for the Afrikaners, it set the stage for the more modern notion of apartheid. An uneasy power-sharing arrangement between the defeated Boers and British colonists existed until the 1940s, when the Afrikaner National Party was able to gain a majority in Parliament. Ideologues of the National Party, looking forward to eventual victory, began to work out the most extreme and austere form

of apartheid in order to secure control over the economic and social systems of the country. In 1948, the Afrikaner Nationalist Party came to power after winning a majority victory in Parliament, which in turn simultaneously ushered in one of the most racist systems ever devised and one of the greatest resistance movements against it.

Apartheid

Apartheid (defined as "apartness" in the Afrikaners' language) is a strict system of racial segregation and discrimination instituted by white South Africans against black South Africans. Racial discrimination in South Africa was institutionalized with the passage of the 1948 apartheid laws. Race laws touched every aspect of social life, including a prohibition against mixed-race marriages and the sanctioning of "white only" jobs. In 1950, the Population Registration Act required that all South Africans be racially classified into one of three categories: white, black (African), or colored (mixed decent). The colored category included major subgroups of Indians and Asians. Classification into these categories was based on such arbitrary characteristics as appearance, social acceptance, and descent. For example, a white person was defined as "in appearance obviously a white person or generally accepted as a white person." A person could not be considered white if one of his or her parents was nonwhite. The determination that a person was "obviously white" would take into account his or her "habits, education and speech and deportment and demeanor." A member of an African tribe or race was considered black, and a colored person was one who was not white or black. The Department of Home Affairs (a government bureau) was responsible for the classification of citizenry. Noncompliance with the race laws was dealt with harshly. All Africans were required to carry "pass books" containing fingerprints, photo, and information to gain access to nonblack areas.

Resistance to Apartheid in the United States

The origins of U.S. resistance to apartheid in South Africa date back to as early as 1912 when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) helped to organize the African National Congress. Another African-American organization involved in the early resistance to apartheid in South Africa was the Council on African Affairs. A third organization that participated in the early phase of the American-led anti-apartheid movement was the American Committee on Africa, which was established in 1953. All of these organizations were led by African Americans, highlighting the obvious connection between racial oppression at home and its equivalents abroad.

The early organizing around resistance to apartheid (1912–1953) played a very important role in creating a foundation from which later efforts were built. During this time, anti-apartheid movements in the United States grew, as other struggles in the region, such as the wars for independence in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and Zambia, escalated.

In the second half of the twentieth century, specific acts of violence committed by the South African government bolstered the movement as well. The Sharpeville incident on March 12, 1960, when sixty-nine unarmed protesters were brutally shot to death by the South African police, sparked a worldwide outcry for justice. In 1976, the uprising in Soweto, where over a thousand students were killed for protesting against state educational policies that implied black inferiority, drew attention again to the injustices of the apartheid system. Finally, the murder of the popular Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko while in police custody in 1977 ignited international outrage at the South African government.

The Two Approaches of the Anti-Apartheid Movement

The Governmental Approach

The anti-apartheid movement in the United States can be divided into two broad categories: governmental-business and nongovernmental efforts. The United States' governmental policy did not pay much attention to South Africa until the 1960s, when several internationally publicized injustices of the apartheid regime forced it to do so. Following this, U.S. government policy fluctuated between adopting a close relationship with the South African government and applying mild sanctions against it. The most punitive measures came with the Carter administration's support of the 1977 international arms embargo of South Africa. However, even though the U.S. government officially condemned the apartheid regime, it never attempted or even threatened to end it with the use of force. The closest embrace between the U.S. government-business interests and the South African government came under the Reagan administration's policy of "constructive engagement," a form of quiet

On April 19, 1985, students at Columbia University in New York denounce the South African government's policy of racial segregation known as apartheid. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

diplomacy seeking incremental rather than comprehensive change. This policy was instituted to provide continued U.S. military access to the Cape of Good Hope in the event of a military confrontation with the former Soviet Union.

U.S. businesses, particularly lending institutions and import-export and manufacturing firms, were even more reluctant to curtail relations with the apartheid system than the U.S. government because of the potential for high rates of return on their investments. In fact, business pressure to secure such an outcome sometimes culminated in the U.S. government's sponsorship of companies doing business in South Africa. Some of the U.S. government institutions that fell under these pressures were the Export-Import Bank of the United States, the Department of Agriculture, and the Commerce Department. Another indication of the strong business ties between the United States and South Africa is seen in investment figures. For example, in 1950 U.S. businesses invested a total of $140 million in South Africa. By 1982, that number had increased to $2.5 billion. It is for these reasons that U.S. government policy and U.S. businesses became the primary targets of the nongovernmental anti-apartheid movement until apartheid's end in 1992.

The Nongovernmental Approach

In their attempt to end apartheid in South Africa, nongovernmental anti-apartheid organizations focused their efforts on four methods aimed at overturning apartheid. These methods included business sanctions, local and state divestment, and direct aid. A

wide range of organizations participated in these efforts, including churches, universities, and large and small grassroots organizations.

Sanctions

The largest and most effective of these methods were economic sanctions. Sanctions against South Africa were designed to isolate the apartheid regime economically and culturally. A main thrust in the sanctions movement came from the United Nations (UN) in 1962 when the General Assembly first called for sanctions against South Africa due to pressure brought about by the anticolonial struggles taking place throughout the African continent. Then in 1963, the UN Security Council adopted a resolution for a voluntary embargo on military sales to South Africa. Following the Sharpeville incident, the death of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko, and the continued repressive measures taken by the South African government against dissidents, the United Nations made the embargo mandatory in 1977.

Nongovernmental anti-apartheid groups in the United States called for sanctions against businesses involved directly and indirectly with the South African government. These groups used both direct and indirect sanction methods to pressure domestic businesses. Activists targeted institutions that had, indirectly, and often unknowingly, dealings with the apartheid regime. These dealings were often in the form of investments made by major lending institutions on behalf of such organizations as universities, foundations, labor unions, churches, and state and local governments. Anti-apartheid groups used some of these venues as key organizing centers, especially churches and universities.

Activists also targeted corporations with a shareholder responsibility and divestment strategy. Anti-apartheid activists argued that corporations were responsible not only for the conditions of their own workers but also for those of their trading partners. Because the South African regime allowed business to blatantly disregard human rights, many anti-apartheid organizations found limited support for their efforts even in this traditionally conservative environment. Perhaps the greatest sponsor of the corporate shareholder responsibility approach was the Reverend Leon Sullivan, who developed what has become known as the "Sullivan Principles." The Sullivan Principles list six guidelines that firms doing business in South Africa should follow. They include among other things nonsegregation of the races in all eating, comfort, and work facilities; increasing the number of blacks and other nonwhites in management and supervisory positions; and equal pay for all employees doing equal or comparable work. If these measures were not followed, he advocated that shareholders introduce resolutions at stockholder meetings to curtail their dealings with the South African government.

The most direct form of action launched by the anti-apartheid movement was in the form of divestment. Whereas shareholder responsibility sought a more enlightened investment policy, the divestment movement wanted to stop all current and future investment. Churches and universities were the primary driving force behind this movement. Churches were one of the first targets of divestment and rapidly became major supporters of the movement itself. Banks also were among the first organizations to be targeted for divestment. In 1966, student protesters demanded that eleven banks, including Citibank, withdraw $23 million in loans to the South African government. Although banks remained a constant target of the anti-apartheid movement, a minority of them still found ways to get loans to the South African government until the end of the apartheid regime in 1994.

State and Local Governments

The anti-apartheid movement began to target state and local governments in earnest in the early 1970s. Their goal was to prevent these institutions from investing any further in South Africa. Because state legislatures and city councils controlled millions of dollars in employee pension funds and university endowments, anti-apartheid activists saw a tremendous opportunity to put pressure on the South African government by lobbying them to divest from South Africa. Hampshire College in Amherst, Massachusetts, was the first American university to divest from South Africa in 1976, and the first comprehensive bill affecting all state investments was passed in Connecticut in 1980 and 1981.

The decision by anti-apartheid activists to apply pressure on the apartheid regime by targeting state and local governments was crucial in terms of both short-term tactics and long-term strategy. Anti-apartheid activists proved that in the short term it was possible to make a strong statement of condemnation by having millions of dollars cut off from the South African government. This was no small victory considering that most divestment efforts in the 1980s ran counter to U.S. foreign policy that actually supported efforts to invest under its policy of "Constructive Engagement."

State and local divestment actions helped the broader strategic aim of the movement, which was to internationalize the anti-apartheid struggle by making opposition to apartheid part of the American national debate. Prior to legislative action on the state and local level, the majority of anti-apartheid actions were confined to the university and church organizations. By pressuring legislative bodies, the anti-apartheid movement became more mainstream and thus more effective in reaching its goal of abolishing apartheid in South Africa.

Direct Aid

The nongovernmental anti-apartheid movement in the United States also employed the method of direct aid in its fight to end apartheid in South Africa. This approach was the smallest in comparison to the other methods used and must be understood as part of a much broader and more intense international effort. Given the relatively conservative climate of official U.S. policy toward South Africa, anti-apartheid activists were forced to rely on grassroots efforts. Private organizations, churches, and universities carried out the vast majority of these efforts.

Aid for South African scholarships at American universities played an important role in educating the American public about the devastating effects of apartheid. This translated into a strong anti-apartheid movement on college campuses. Throughout the 1980s, several universities witnessed anti-apartheid demonstrations during which students took over administration buildings and teach-ins where professors canceled their regular classes to inform students about the history and impact of apartheid. Perhaps the most visual form of protest was the construction of "Shanty Towns" (poorly constructed huts on college campuses) to demonstrate the horrible living conditions most Africans were forced to endure.

Church organizations, especially African-American interdenominational groups, also played a significant role in directly aiding apartheid opponents. These organizations sponsored South African refugees who were either banned from their country or forced out because of their own anti-apartheid activities. These refugees lectured to congregations throughout the country, raising awareness among the American public as to the conditions of apartheid. In addition to raising awareness, these lectures raised monetary funds to support families and various organizations operating within South Africa.

Grassroots organizations also played a major role in the fight against apartheid in South Africa. These organizations ranged in size from well-known groups like the NAACP and TransAfrica to local community groups and the Mugabe Trust Fund. The larger organizations galvanized support in the form of scholarship funds, lecture tours, and donations to large South African–based groups like the African National Congress (ANC). The smaller grassroots organizations tended to support smaller self-help groups. For example, funds raised by SISA (Social Identities South Africa) went to a local collective of women in South Africa, who were learning how to make, market, and sell quilts to supplement their incomes.

Conclusion

The efforts of the anti-apartheid movement in the United States came to fruition when Nelson Mandela became president of South Africa in 1994. The election of Mandela as president also marked the end of the efforts of millions of people from across the world, many of whom gave their lives. The international struggle against apartheid lasted nearly 200 years from the early resistance fighters of the Xhosa and Zulu ethnic groups to the liberation struggles in neighboring Mozambique and Angola to the protests staged by college students in the United States.

The specific role of the United States in helping to end apartheid may be smaller in scale than that of other countries, but when one considers the close relationship shared by the U.S. government and the apartheid regime, the actions of thousands of activists played a leading role in the collapse of the regime. Although governmental applications of mild pressure were evident, it was the nongovernmental agencies that had the greatest impact on ending apartheid. Driven by a sense of justice, the anti-apartheid movement embodied a diverse group of people with various religious, ethnic, and class backgrounds. The diversity of the participants in the anti-apartheid movement was also reflected in the diversity of approaches employed to end apartheid.

The anti-apartheid movement in the United States focused its energies in three main areas: business sanctions; university and state and local government-sponsored divestment; and direct aid. Although each of these approaches targeted a different audience, they all shared a similar goal of both applying pressure on the South African government and raising the consciousness of Americans as to the horrible reality of life under apartheid. Activists involved in business sanctions forced major companies to be at least conscious of how their business practices affected South

African workers. This effort brought about the Sullivan Principles, the most comprehensive corporate guidelines for doing business in South Africa.

Universities were the site of both divestment and direct aid campaigns, employing a number of tactics and strategies. With these efforts a significant victory was won in 1976 when Hampshire College became the first institution of higher education to divest from South Africa. Similarly, campus activists working directly to aid South Africa were successful in pressuring institutions to sponsor scholarships for dissidents and hold teach-ins. Activists working for state and local government divestitures won a critical victory when Connecticut became the first state to pass a comprehensive bill affecting all state investments in 1980 and 1981.

Direct aid given by American activists to the struggle against the South African government played an incalculable role in the ultimate defeat of apartheid. South African dissidents sponsored by the anti-apartheid movement brought awareness about the hideous nature of apartheid to the American public, which in turn helped to strengthen the divestiture and sanction movements as well. Direct aid on the grassroots level by organizations like the NAACP also helped to build and strengthen both large and small organizations inside South Africa. The overall effect of the thousands of people participating in the anti-apartheid movement in the United States and abroad was a critical force in the collapse of the regime.

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Civil Rights Movement 1990–2000

There is vigorous debate over the future direction of the civil rights movement as it moves into the new century. There are three main perspectives. The first group, whose views are articulated by such scholars as Stephan and Abigail Thernstrom, have suggested that our nation must "move beyond race." They argue that on many social and economic indicators, the gap between blacks and whites has become narrower and that public opposition to race-based policies indicates that a new approach is needed. The U.S. Supreme Court has endorsed this view by implementing a "color-blind jurisprudence" over a broad range of issues. The second group is represented by traditional civil rights activists and groups such as Jesse Jackson, the Congressional Black Caucus, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); they argue that the civil rights movement must continue to fight for the equality of opportunity by enforcing existing law and pushing for equality of outcomes by protecting and expanding racially targeted Affirmative Action programs and other policies that address racial inequality. These first two groups share the goal of racial equality and integration, but differ on how much progress has been made in achieving those goals. The final group does not support the goal of integration; instead, advocates of this view such as Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam argue for African-American self-sufficiency and separation. They argue that African Americans can never gain equality within the repressive, white-dominated economic and political system.

A large majority of civil rights advocates endorse the second view. They argue that it would be a mistake to conclude that racial politics is no longer consequential in the twenty-first century in the United States or that the work of the civil rights movement is complete. They point to the resegregation of public schools, persistent gaps between whites and racial minorities in health and economic status, racial profiling, hate crimes, a backlash against immigrant groups, and continuing discrimination in employment and housing as ample evidence that the nation is not ready to "move beyond race." At the same time, this group rejects calls for racial separation as ultimately short-sighted and self-defeating.

The Context of Racial Policy in the United States Since 1990

Evidence for the persistent gaps between whites and blacks may be framed in terms of subjective interests (public opinion) and objective interests (indicators of socioeconomic status). Well-publicized public opinion surveys provide ample evidence of the racial divide in the 1990s. For example, racially divergent assessments of the fairness and legitimacy of law enforcement and the judicial system helped produce startling polls showing (according to a July 7, 1994, Gallup poll) that 60 percent of African Americans believed that former football star O.J. Simpson (who is black) did not murder his wife and Ronald Goldman (who were white) while 68 percent of white Americans believed he was guilty. Perhaps even more telling are the surveys that reveal many blacks believe in massive white conspiracies to kill them or keep them subjugated. A 1992 survey of 1,056 African Americans by the Christian Leadership Conference showed that 35 percent believed that AIDS was a form of black genocide and 30 percent said they did not know what to believe (implying that it was possibly true). Rumors about white supremacists tampering with soda pop to sterilize black males are quickly accepted by alienated urban blacks. Many whites view such beliefs as "black paranoia," but whites engage in similar rushes to judgment when they avoid black youths on the street or when a white cab driver refuses to pick up a well-dressed black businessperson. Political scientists have demonstrated that such racial stereotyping has a sig-

nificant impact on perceptions of government assistance programs and violence and crime.

The racial divide is also evident in objective terms. More than three times as many black families are below the poverty line than white families (19.1 percent compared to 5.3 percent in 2000). Poverty rates for Hispanic families in 2000 (at 18.5 percent) were similar to those for black families. Furthermore, while black median household income in 1999 was only 66.2 percent of white family income, the gap in wealth is much more dramatic: the average white household has nearly seven times the assets the typical black family has (in 1993, the median household net worth was $49,030 for whites and $7,073 for blacks). Figures for Hispanics are somewhat better, but the gaps are still large. (Hispanic household income was 72.7 percent of white income, $33,400 compared to $45,900, while median Hispanic household wealth was $7,255, according to the U.S. Census Bureau.)

Other indicators show similar patterns. The rate of black, adult male unemployment has been about twice as high as that for white adult males for the past forty-five years (which is substantially higher than the nearly equal ratio of 1.26 in 1940). The other depressing statistic on the objective position of blacks is that only one-third of black children lived in two-parent households in 1995 (compared to 76 percent of white children). In 1940, two-thirds of black children and 91 percent of white children lived with two parents. Blacks are more likely than whites to be victimized by crime; for some crimes, such as murder of young black men, the figures are stunning. A black male between the ages of 18 and 24 is 10.5 times as likely to be murdered as a white male in that same age range. Also, on every imaginable measure of the quality of health—life expectancy, infectious diseases, infant mortality, cancer rates, heart disease, and strokes—the gaps between whites and blacks are large, and in many cases the gulf is growing. For example, in 1995, the life expectancy for blacks was about 10 percent shorter than that for whites (70 years compared to 77), the infant mortality rate was double for blacks (15.1 deaths per 100,000 births, compared to 7.6), and maternal mortality was more than triple (22.1 deaths per 100,000 life births for blacks compared to 7.1 for whites). Similar gaps exist for cancer rates, levels of diabetes, strokes, and heart attacks.

The greatest disparity between racial minorities and whites, however, may be in the criminal justice system. Racial profiling subjects many innocent blacks to intrusive searches, and recent studies have shown that blacks are more likely than whites to be convicted for the same crimes and that blacks serve longer sentences as well. In many large American cities, tensions between police departments and minority communities periodically boil over. The largest race riots since 1990 were in Los Angeles in 1992 following the acquittal of four white police officers who had been videotaped brutally beating a black man, Rodney King. The riots left 54 people dead and more than 2,000 injured, and caused more than $1 billion in damage, including about 800 businesses that were destroyed, many of them Korean-American businesses in the Central Los Angeles area. More recently, police officers killed unarmed black men in Cincinnati and New York City, which precipitated more violence. In an incident in New York in 1999, police killed Amadou Diallo, a law-abiding African immigrant, in a hail of forty-one bullets as he was standing in his own doorway. The four officers were looking for a black suspect, and when Diallo reached for his wallet, they assumed it was a gun. The African-American community was outraged when the officers were acquitted. A similar killing of an unarmed black man, nineteen-year-old Timothy Thomas, by police in Cincinnati in 2001 led to three days of rioting in which dozens of people were injured and more than 800 were arrested. The officer in this case was also acquitted. Civil rights advocates point out that such incidents are far too common.

African Americans and other minorities are also subjected to hate crimes much more frequently than whites. One especially gruesome murder that received national attention in 2000 (including during the presidential campaign) involved a black man, James Byrd, who was chained to the back of a pickup truck by three white men and dragged to his death in 1998. Two of the murderers were sentenced to death and the other received life in prison.

This backdrop of racial inequality, discrimination, and violence provides continued motivation for civil rights activists to push their agenda in the three branches of government: legislative, executive, and judicial. In some instances, issues are pursued in several arenas simultaneously; in others, redress is sought in one arena after alternative avenues are exhausted. The civil rights movement also continues to mobilize the grass roots. Even groups outside the traditional civil rights movement, such as the Nation of Islam, have used the tactics of mass protest. The "Million Man March," in October 1995, was organized by Louis Farrahkan and attracted about 400,000 to Washington, D.C. Traditional civil rights leaders had distanced

Race riots in Los Angeles following the acquittal of four white police officers accused of beating a black man left 54 dead and more than 2,000 injured. The violent 1992 uprising was the deadliest race riot in American history. Above, National Guardsmen remove sandbags placed to protect the Los Angeles Coliseum after the violence subsided. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

themselves from Farrahkan in the past because of his racist and anti-Semitic views. However, the Million Man March helped established Farrahkan as a political force that was difficult to ignore. Despite the continued use of this tactic, in recent years marches and civil disobedience have not played the central role that they did in the 1960s.

The Legislative Arena

The bedrock of equal protection that exists today stems from landmark legislation passed by Congress in the 1960s, namely, the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the 1965 Voting Rights Act, and the 1968 Fair Housing Act. There have been many amendments of these laws since the 1960s, but the only significant change since 1990 was the 1991 Civil Rights Act. This legislation overruled or altered parts of twelve U.S. Supreme Court cases that had eroded the intent of Congress when it passed the civil rights legislation. As will be discussed below, the Supreme Court had moved in a "color-blind" direction that made it more difficult for employees to prove racial discrimination in the workplace. The 1991 law expanded earlier legislation and increased the costs to employers for intentional, illegal discrimination. Two of the central debates were over the "disparate impact standard" and where the bur-

On March 23, 1999, hundreds of protesters, including actress Ruby Dee (center), flanked by her husband Ossie Davis (left) and Al Sharpton (right), march to New York Police Headquarters to demand the arrest of the officers who killed Amadou Diallo, an unarmed West African immigrant. It was the eleventh day of protests. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

den of proof should lie in a discrimination case: the employer or the employee. President George H.W. Bush vetoed an earlier version of the bill in 1990, arguing that it was a "quota bill." The first Bush administration ultimately agreed that the burden of proof should be on the employer, so the central question was how to define the standard that would determine whether a practice that had a "disparate impact" (i.e., a disproportionate impact) on a racial minority was, in fact, not discriminatory. Democrats in Congress pushed for a relatively tough standard that it be "essential to business practice." That is, if a business practice was discriminatory in its effect, it had to be essential to the business. For example, if a university required all assistant professors to have a Ph.D., and if it could be shown that more white applicants had Ph.D.s than minority applicants, the university would have the burden of proof to demonstrate that the Ph.D. was essential for doing the job. President Bush wanted a vaguer standard of "legitimate business objectives." Congress ended up adopting language that was somewhere in between: the employer must show that the practice is "job related for the position in question and consistent with business necessity."

The other significant civil rights legislation of the 1990s was not passed into law. The Racial Justice Act would have permitted minority inmates on Death Row to use statistical data on discriminatory application of the death penalty to appeal their sentences. Government studies and academic research have conclusively demonstrated unequal application of the death penalty based on the race of the *victim.* A murderer is much more likely to be put on Death Row if

After the acquittal of the officers accused of killing unarmed immigrant Amadou Diallo, protesters march down Broadway on April 5, 2000, denouncing both the verdict and police brutality. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

he killed a white person than if he killed a black person (ranging from 4.3 times more likely in Georgia to 84 times more likely in Texas). However, in 1987 the Supreme Court ruled in *McKlesky v. Kemp* that a pattern of discrimination could not be the basis for a death sentence appeal; rather actual discrimination in the specific case must be demonstrated. The Congressional Black Caucus pushed for the Racial Justice Act as part of the $33.4 billion crime bill in 1994. It passed the House by a 217 to 212 margin and was defeated in the Senate 58 to 41. The provision was dropped in conference committee when President Bill Clinton decided not to jeopardize the entire crime bill over the controversial act. Despite defeat on the specific provision, many political observers saw the 1994 crime bill as a victory for civil rights advocates because for the first time the federal legislation included significant financial support for crime prevention measures ($9 billion), including some programs that were criticized by Republicans, such as "midnight basketball," aimed at keeping inner-city kids off the streets.

One other topic that Rep. John Conyers (D-MI) has pursued for years is reparations for slavery. This issue will be addressed in more detail below, but Rep. Conyers's efforts received a recent boost when Rep. Tony Hall (D-OH) introduced a resolution asking Congress to apologize for slavery. Rep. Hall introduced the measure again the next year (2000), but this time asked for funding to set up a commission to examine slavery's legacy, fund education programs to study slavery's effects, and establish a national slavery museum. The measure did not pass but is likely to receive more attention in the future.

In one of the largest demonstrations of the decade, some 400,000 people—primarily African-American men—gather at the Capitol Building in Washington, D.C., for the Million Man March on October 16, 1995. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

THE EXECUTIVE ARENA

The civil rights movement has also benefited greatly from presidential action, such as President Harry Truman's integration of the armed services in 1948 (Executive Order 9981), President Dwight Eisenhower's calling in the National Guard to enforce a court order to integrate Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1957 (Executive Order 10730), and Executive Orders by Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson that established Affirmative Action (#10925 in 1961 and #11246 in 1965). However, in recent years it is less likely that significant and dramatic change will come from unilateral action by the president. Instead, attention to civil rights concerns in the executive branch has primarily been in two areas in the past fifteen years: racial diversity in presidential appointments and use of the bully pulpit to promote racial concerns and interests.

President Clinton excelled in both of these dimensions. In 1992, candidate Clinton promised a government that "looks like America." Clinton's cabinet, subcabinet, and judicial appointments achieved the greatest gender and racial balance of any in history. Fourteen percent of Clinton's first-year presidential appointments were African-American (compared to 12 percent of the population in 1992), 6 percent were Hispanic (compared to 9.5 percent of the population), and the percentage of Asian-American and Native American appointees was identical to their proportion in the population. Clinton truly delivered an administration that "looked like us."

Nonetheless, there were a few rough spots in Clinton's attempt to achieve racial diversity in his top-level appointments. The nomination of Lani Guinier, a civil rights lawyer and law professor whom Clinton nominated to be assistant attorney general for civil rights, was the most controversial. Guinier's academic writings proved to be her undoing. In various law review articles, she expressed doubts about the ability of our political system to represent the interests of blacks. Instead she called for a system of "proportionate interest representation" that would involve procedures such as veto power over certain legislation for minorities and different electoral institutions, such as cumulative voting. When a firestorm of protest erupted, Clinton hesitated, but then withdrew her nomination, saying that he was not familiar with some of her more controversial ideas when he made the nomination. This did not please civil rights activists, who argued that her ideas were misrepresented and that at the very least she should have been granted a hearing.

Discord also surrounded the rise and demise of Dr. Joycelyn Elders as surgeon general. The former head of the Arkansas Department of Health who served during Governor Clinton's tenure, Elders was well known for her bluntness and firmness in support of sex education and abortion. Throughout her tenure, Elders was a thorn in the side of conservative, fundamentalist, and Catholic groups. Clinton was finally forced to ask for her resignation in the controversy that followed Elder's response to a question about her views on masturbation.

Racial politics also figured prominently in Clinton's appointments to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) and the most recent Civil Rights division head. The EEOC appointment was delayed for more than a year because Clinton wanted to

find a Latino to fill the spot. Critics pointed out that leaving a Reagan/Bush administration holdover to run this important department may have been too high a price to pay for diversity.

Bill Lann Lee's appointment to the position that initially would have been Guinier's was also somewhat controversial. Lee was the first Asian American appointed to this important civil rights post, and organizations such as the NAACP saw the appointment as a movement away from recognizing the black/white divide as the central racial cleavage in our society. Others, however, saw the nomination as overdue recognition of the increasingly multiracial composition of our nation.

President Clinton also used the bully pulpit to advocate a civil rights agenda. For example, when Affirmative Action came under attack from the courts, he advocated an approach of "mend don't end." He also had a deep, personal connection to African Americans that was rooted in symbolic politics. Toni Morrison, the Nobel prize–winning author, developed this point in her well-publicized observation in *The New Yorker* in 1998 that, "White skin notwithstanding, this is our first black President. Blacker than any actual black person who could ever be elected in our children's lifetime. After all, Clinton displays almost every trope of blackness: single-parent household, born poor, working-class, saxophone playing, McDonald's-and-junk-food-loving boy from Arkansas."

There is no doubt that Clinton connected with blacks as no other president ever had. In addition to the life-connections noted by Morrison, there were other important symbolic gestures and policy stands. Many blacks greatly appreciated Clinton's trip to Africa when he apologized for slavery, the attention he drew to racial problems through his "National Conversation on Race," his record number of minority presidential appointments, and his support for Affirmative Action. One columnist echoed Morrison, saying that blacks have a "spiritual soul mate" in Clinton. "They like the fact that his golfing buddy is a brother, that his personal secretary is a sister, that he invites himself to black churches, that he prays with blacks and sings their songs without using a hymnal," wrote Bill Maxwell in the *St. Petersburg Times.* "He regularly brings black jazz musicians, rock stars, athletes, children and business owners to the White House."

This symbolic side of racial politics within the White House may be more important than it appears. While playing a saxophone or eating Big Macs may not translate into substantive policy change, the diversity of Clinton's appointments had substantive impact that went beyond their symbolic importance. The other area that resided at the intersection of symbolic and substantive politics was Clinton's "National Conversation on Race" and the broader "Race Initiative." This eighteen-month-long effort is an excellent example of Clinton's attempt to use his charismatic leadership, the bully pulpit of the presidency, and his personal commitment to the issue to focus the nation's attention on the nation's race problem. Many critics dismissed the effort as empty symbolism, but the Race Initiative did help focus national attention on many of the problems faced by minorities.

Although President George W. Bush has not achieved the same level of diversity in his appointments as Clinton, his administration has been more diverse than that of other Republican presidents. Of the nineteen cabinet and cabinet-rank appointments, fifteen are men and four are women. There are two blacks (Secretary of State Colin Powell, who is Jamaican-American, and Secretary of Education Rod Paige, who is African-American), two Asian Americans (Secretary of Labor Elaine Chao and Secretary of Transportation Norman Mineta), one Cuban American (Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Mel Martinez), and one Arab American (Secretary of Energy Spencer Abraham). Condoleezza Rice has an important position on the White House staff as National Security Advisor. However, it is noteworthy that the rhetoric that surrounded these appointments was not couched in terms of Affirmative Action, but rather merit. Critics argued that gender and race played a central role in these decisions, just as they did with Clinton, even if the rhetoric had a different tone. Despite the different approach, President Bush has made more serious overtures to minorities, especially Latinos, in his effort to expand the base of the Republican Party.

The Legal Arena

Unlike the Warren Court, which produced several Supreme Court decisions that were crucial to the civil rights movement (most importantly *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954), the Rehnquist Court of the 1990s and early 2000s has been unsympathetic to the cause. As noted above, the Court has been gradually imposing a "color-blind jurisprudence" over a broad range of issues. Four Supreme Court justices—William H. Rehnquist, Clarence Thomas, Antonin Scalia, and Anthony M. Kennedy—adhered to the color-blind perspective, while four others—David H. Souter, Stephen G. Breyer, John Paul Stevens, and Ruth Bader Ginsburg—were willing to consider race in a variety of

contexts. The swing vote belonged to Sandra Day O'Connor, who tended toward the color-blind view but was willing to side with the liberals in some instances.

One area in which the color-blind approach had a big impact is in the racial redistricting that occurred in 1992 in which fifteen new U.S. House districts were specifically drawn to help elect African Americans and ten districts were drawn to provide an opportunity to elect new Latino members. This dramatic change in the number of minorities in Congress (the increase was greater than 50 percent) was rooted in the 1982 amendments to the Voting Rights Act. Instead of mandating a fair *process*, this law and subsequent interpretation by the Supreme Court in the 1980s mandated that minorities be able to "elect representatives of their choice" when their numbers and configuration permitted. This shift meant that the legislative redistricting process now had to avoid discriminatory *results* rather than only being concerned with discriminatory *intent*. However, in a series of decisions starting with the 1993 landmark case *Shaw v. Reno*, the Supreme Court's adherence to a color-blind jurisprudence has thrown the constitutionality of black majority districts into doubt (*Miller v. Johnson* 1995; *Bush v. Vera* 1996). There are at least five votes on the Court to uphold the Voting Rights Act, and Sandra Day O'Connor made it clear in *Bush v. Vera* that black majority districts are legal as long as they are "done right." But the Court has consistently held that if race is the predominant factor in drawing district lines, the districts are unconstitutional because they violate the "equal protection" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. This line of cases struck down black majority districts in North Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Virginia, Texas, and Florida. The most recent case, *Easley v. Cromartie* (2001), upheld the redrawn 12th District in North Carolina (which no longer was black majority), arguing that when race and partisanship are so intertwined (as they are when 90 percent of African Americans vote for the Democratic candidate), plaintiffs cannot simply assume that African Americans were placed together for racial reasons. This opens the door for a greater consideration of race than had been allowed in the previous cases. However, racial redistricting remains an unsettled area of the law.

The racial redistricting cases illustrate a central concern in the institutional balance of power that is also of great importance to civil rights advocates: the U.S. Supreme Court has become increasingly activist in the area of civil rights. They are unwilling to defer to any other part of government if that branch disagrees with their view of discrimination and "equal protection." Thus, the Court was willing to overturn state legislatures in racial redistricting, the U.S. Congress with the Violence Against Women Act and the Americans with Disabilities Act, the U.S. executive branch contracting policies in cases that subjected racial "set-aside" programs to the "strict scrutiny" standard (*Adarand Constructors v. Pena*, 1995), the Florida State Supreme Court in *Bush v. Gore* (2000), and California state law in a recent employment discrimination case (*Circuit City Stores v. Adams* 2001). This string of cases indicates that the central tendency of the Court is not one of preferring state power to national power, as some have argued. Rather, it is a consistent activist assertion of judicial power over the elected institutions.

One final area concerns hate crimes and hate speech. The Court ruled in *R.A.V. v. St. Paul* (1992) that speech could not be directly punished just because it was racist. This case overturned a St. Paul, Minnesota, ordinance that banned cross burning aimed at frightening or angering others "on the basis of race, color, creed, or gender." However the issue was once again before the Court to determine whether the decision applied to all bans on cross burning or just to poorly worded ones. This case will also attempt to define the line between hate speech (which is largely protected by the First Amendment as long as it is not a "direct incitement" to "imminent danger") and hate crimes, which under *Wisconsin v. Mitchell* (1993) allow additional penalties to be attached to a criminal verdict as long as guilt or innocence is determined separate from the racially motivated action.

Continuing and Future Civil Rights Issues

Affirmative Action

Affirmative Action in higher education has been a hotly contested area of the law in recent years. This was not always the case. The 1978 *Bakke* decision struck down racial quotas but allowed race to be used in admissions decisions as a "plus factor" to promote diversity in the student body. This process was widely followed and largely unquestioned until 1996 when the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals held that it was unconstitutional to consider race in law school admissions at the University of Texas. More recently, a circuit court in Washington reached the opposite conclusion. Even more puzzling were two conflicting cases from the University of Michigan. A December 2000 district court case held that race-conscious un-

dergraduate admissions was acceptable, but a decision a few months later in the same district court held that considering race in law school admissions was not constitutional. The U.S. Supreme Court will have to sort out these conflicting lower court decisions and determine the extent to which race can be used as a consideration in admission decisions to institutions of higher education.

The crucial point of contention is "viewpoint diversity"—the claimed advantage of Affirmative Action is the diversity that it brings to classroom discussions. Advocates of Affirmative Action argue that viewpoint diversity is essential to learning and having racial diversity in the student body is likely to produce more viewpoint diversity than having an all-white student body. Furthermore, proponents argue, the courts are not the proper place to decide these issues. Instead, as with the complex and highly charged topics of racial redistricting, the political branches of government are where these decisions should be made. Advocates also make a very pragmatic argument that getting rid of Affirmative Action would almost certainly lead to a system that is *less* rooted in merit-based admissions than the current system—an odd position for political conservatives to hold.

Opponents reply that supporters of Affirmative Action have not provided convincing evidence that racial diversity in colleges has any beneficial effects. They also maintain that "viewpoint diversity" arguments assume that members of all racial minorities think alike, drawing a comparison to racial profiling in law enforcement. It is just as offensive, they say, that an admissions committee thinks that one black student has the same views as another black student as it is that a police officer may pull over a black teenage male just because he fits a certain criminal profile.

Slavery Reparations

Many people argue that one cannot tackle the issue of race without directly addressing slavery. From the earliest colonial experience and the introduction of slavery to debates at the Constitutional Convention about how slaves should be considered, the controversy over whether slavery would be allowed in the new states created during westward expansion in the early nineteenth century, and the bloody Civil War, slavery was at the core of American politics. The legacy of slavery was central during the Reconstruction period and the Jim Crow era in the South. Although some argue that the success of civil rights legislation in the 1960s finally allowed America to move out from the shadows of slavery, others contend that those shadows still cast a darkness over our land. Proponents of the latter view insist that it is time to publicly recognize the long-term impact of slavery and make meaningful reparations for the toll that slavery has taken on the African-American population.

Critics of this view make several arguments against slavery reparations. Most important, even if there is a debt that should be paid for slavery, they say, it is not clear who owes that debt given that most Americans, white and black, are from families that immigrated to this country long after slavery ended. They also argue that American society has already paid substantial debts for slavery through various policies such as Affirmative Action and that any serious effort to implement reparations would harm race relations in this nation by promoting a "renewed sense of grievance" among African Americans. Several central legal questions must also be resolved: Who are the plaintiffs? Who are the defendants? Does a "statute of limitations" apply? Which legal arguments are likely to be most successful?

Proponents of reparations are pursuing their goal in both the legal and legislative arenas. In exploring these questions, many legal experts, including those who were involved in the successful tobacco litigation, argue that a class-action lawsuit would be on firm legal ground. In such circumstances, it may be in the interests of Congress (and the U.S. government) to pass legislation that would set the terms of reparations, rather than leaving it up to the courts.

Multicultural Issues

A host of issues involving the multicultural, multiracial nature of American society will assuredly become more important as whites will no longer constitute a majority of the U.S. population by the middle of this century. Two of these issues are English as the official language and immigration.

The decision by many states to adopt laws establishing English as the official language has had practical consequences. For example, the U.S. Supreme Court recently upheld an Alabama state law that required that the state driver's license test be conducted only in English. A Mexican immigrant, Martha Sandoval, sued under Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, saying that the state law had a disparate impact on non–English speaking residents. However, in 2001, the Court held in *Alexander v. Sandoval* that individuals may not sue federally funded state agencies over policies that have a discriminatory effect on minorities under Title VI. This decision could have far-reaching

consequences for the use of the Civil Rights Act to fight patterns of discrimination. Two areas that could be affected are education policy (civil rights advocates, for example, have challenged the use of standardized testing because of its disparate impact on minorities) and environmental policy (lawsuits have been brought under Title VI alleging "environmental racism," such as siting hazardous waste dumps in predominantly minority areas).

Immigration was thrust back onto center stage in the wake of the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. In light of these attacks, some people see immigration as an outside threat that must be curtailed. In the past decade, other social welfare implications of immigration have been central in many political debates. In 1994, voters in California adopted Proposition 187, which denied most public benefits to illegal immigrants. The Republican governor, Pete Wilson, campaigned heavily in favor of Proposition 187, and the Republican candidate for president in 1996, Robert Dole, also ran ads in California warning about the negative effects of immigration. However, the measure was subsequently struck down by the courts. When Democrat Gray Davis's success in the 1998 gubernatorial race in California was attributed, in part, to the newly galvanized and growing Hispanic population, Republicans softened their position on immigration. President Bush has actively cultivated the Hispanic vote. However, anti-immigration sentiments still run strong in the United States, and the issue is likely to become even more controversial in the next decade.

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Civil Rights Movement
Twenty-first Century

In the decades following the civil rights movement, problems of racial justice grew more subtle and insidious. After some limited narrowing of the gap during the 1960s and 1970s, inequality between white and black Americans (by income, wealth, education, employment, etc.) remained the same and by many measures grew worse during the 1980s and 1990s. The decline in manufacturing and the movement of many industries away from U.S. cities drove urban unemployment in the United States and sweatshop labor in developing nations, affecting people of color most severely. During the same period, the black middle class grew significantly, and the media focus on a few highly visible and wealthy black Americans from Oprah Winfrey to Clarence Thomas quietly obscured the inverse growth of the black underclass. Moreover, the rhetoric of mainstream America during this period successfully coopted Martin Luther King Jr.'s vision of equality into justification for a "color-blind" society, effective immediately, making it nearly impossible to talk about any problem of race, let alone devise and support solutions to it.

By the year 2000, several universities had been mandated by the courts to dismiss any consideration of race in their admissions processes. Continuous debate over school voucher programs, themselves capable of serving only a small portion of children, received attention and diverted national energy from improving public schools for all children, especially underserved urban schools where students of color were the overwhelming majority. The U.S. government effectively ignored the fact that 25 percent of sub-Saharan Africans were HIV positive and that black American infection rates were on the rise too. And as immigration trends continued to diversify the American populace, discrimination against and oppression of immigrant workers, children, and communities expanded. Following the events of September 11, 2001, the repression of immigrant rights and civil rights overall expanded.

How are people of color and those supportive of racial justice responding? New trends in black electoral politics, grassroots movement building, and national debate have emerged to address these and other challenges of twenty-first-century racial justice.

Black Electoral Politics

Since the emergence of the first black mayoralty in 1967, black Americans have won the mayoralty in nearly every major U.S. city. Not all candidates came directly from civil rights activism, but nonetheless there was the sense early on that the struggle for civil rights had moved from the streets into local government. People of color and those involved in the civil rights struggle hoped this new arena would bring substantive change to the lives of black Americans, most of whom lived in major cities by this point. Unfortunately, vast institutional barriers and emergent economic and demographic shifts resulted in little substantive change and deep disappointment for city residents of color.

Nonetheless, by the dawn of the twenty-first century, two significant "generations" of black mayors had emerged, and a third was on its way. In the context of Newark, New Jersey, generational shifts in the black mayoralty can be seen through the cases of Mayors Kenneth Gibson and Sharpe James, and in the 2002 mayoral candidate Cory Booker. The first generation was embodied by Kenneth Gibson, elected in 1970, who benefited from the breakthrough to mayoral power, some remaining white electorate and tax base, and the breakdown of some tangible walls like the integration of the police force.

In the second generation, embodied by Mayor Sharpe James, elected in 1986, black mayors faced poorer cities that were more dependent on social services. In desperate need of immediate solutions, these

On March 1, 2003, hundreds of demonstrators rally in Detroit in support of Affirmative Action and the University of Michigan's admissions policy. Later in the year, the United States Supreme Court upheld the university's policy. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

mayors sought corporate funding in many cases. The framework of economic development shifted to a single-project focus, such as stadiums and casinos, but was unable to halt the growth of urban poverty during this time.

In the third generation, we have seen young individuals such as Kwame Kilpatrick and Cory Booker who have benefited from increases in black professional education and are now challenging their parents' generation in their efforts to effect urban change. The outlook of these individuals is far more politically independent and pragmatic, far less wedded to the traditional black community. As stated in Jonathan Tepperman's *New York Times Magazine* article (2002), Booker said, "I haven't divorced myself from the tradition of African-American politics . . . But I don't want to be a great *black* politician; I want to be a great politician."

Beginning in 2000, in cities like Atlanta, Houston, Detroit, Cleveland, and Newark, the third generation of black mayoral leadership has moved away from black unified support for one person to, as noted by Ronald Walters, a specialist on African-American leadership, "everyone into the water." More specifically, these candidates, often raised and educated outside of the city, began crafting messages and policies that merge the need for "change" with standard appeals to black legitimacy. Many of these candidates receive significant funding from outside the city itself, in order to challenge strong incumbents. And there is some valid concern that these candidates will be the final step in urban residents' loss of agency over their lives and cities. On May 14, 2002, Cory Booker lost to incumbent Sharpe James, who had raised suspicion throughout the campaign about Booker's "outsider" status and true intentions. James's campaign slogan, on the other hand, "The Real Deal," affirmed his genuine commitment to civil rights struggle.

So in the context of the black mayoralty, a clear identification with and commitment to continuing the civil rights struggle remains primary to twenty-first-century black leadership and support. The mayoral races of Cory Booker vs. Sharpe James and others cer-

tainly testify to the continuing significance of race, and particularly black consciousness to local politics.

The black congressional leadership has also witnessed new trends, especially in relation to the attacks of September 11, 2001, and other global dynamics. Representatives Earl Hilliard and Cynthia McKinney, two prominent black Democratic incumbents with progressive civil rights agendas, lost primary elections to more moderate black challengers in the summer of 2002. In both cases, the incumbents publicly acknowledged critical connections between domestic racial justice struggles and the struggles of people of color abroad. For instance, in the midst of vast media attention to the Israeli-Palestinian conflicts, both incumbents had expressed views sympathetic to the plight of the Palestinian people and as a result were seen as unfriendly to Israel. Consequently, opponents emerged with the strong financial backing of some Jewish Americans and other Israel supporters.

Cynthia McKinney also spoke out on the events of September 11, questioning President George Bush's prior knowledge of the attacks and the massive human rights violations of his subsequent "War on Terrorism." Her vigilant dissent and commitment to racial justice during the post-9/11 era generated more staunch opposition and funding from individuals and organizations outside of her district. In sum, both races were decided in large part by concerns unrelated to the immediate problems of the candidates' constituents and were directly related to a post-9/11 squelching of dissenting voices.

Grassroots Movement Building

Activism and organizing are long-standing tools of racial justice, but they did not receive significant attention during the post–civil rights era. Mainstream media accounts of the racial justice struggle usually included little to no mention of ongoing activist efforts, focusing instead on the limited efforts of elected officials. Furthermore, the overwhelming media attention to the ostensibly successful *individuals* of the 1980s and 1990s, especially entertainers and athletes, perpetuated an illusion of progress and obscured the real need for *collective* analysis and organizing around continuing problems of race and poverty. Moreover, the end of the Cold War, the destruction of Social Democratic and Marxist social change models globally, and the decline of the union movement in the United States left few models with which to express alternate visions of social change. In response to this crisis, scholars such as Lani Guinier and Manning Marable, in partnership with activists, began noting the many constraints of electoral politics and leadership and calling for a return to grassroots strategies for racial justice.

Such scholars shared a standard critique of post–civil rights electoral leadership: that much of it is increasingly "symbol over substance" and is disconnected from the concerns of poor people of all colors. As they advocate for change in leadership, Guinier and Marable are talking about more than simply replacing leadership personalities, issues, or priorities. They are calling for a fundamental restructuring of our systems of democratic governance and participation. Indeed, Manning Marable made the following call to action in *Race and Class* (1994): "Through a renewed commitment to struggle, let our rejoicing begin. Through a vision of human equality and social justice, let the fight for democracy take place. The problem of the twenty-first century is the challenge of multiracial democracy."

With these words, Marable calls for a renewal of a *transformationist* vision of black politics and the pursuit of radical democracy. No longer concerned about winning a black mayoralty or separating from the system, Marable aligns his politics with individuals such as Patricia Williams, Kimberle Crenshaw, Angela Davis, bell hooks, James Jennings, and Cornel West, and distinguishes their perspective. The chief distinction of a *transformationist* perspective, as compared to *inclusionist* and *separatist* perspectives, is that it calls for the dismantling and destruction of *all* forms of inequality. Marable continues, "Often black people have begun with the objective of abolishing racism, but in the process of struggle have come to realize that wider power relationships must also be transformed to achieve full human equality," including inequalities rooted in gender, sexual orientation, religion, and globalization.

And so the theoretical stage was set for many grassroots activists and scholars to respond to the events and aftermath of September 11, 2001, with a nuanced understanding of the *dynamic* nature of multiple inequalities and oppression. Following the events of September 11, widespread violations of immigrant rights spurred grassroots activists into action. The recent USA Patriot Act passed by Congress deems all noncitizens, documented or not, as potential terrorists and subject to the expanded powers of local and state police, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). According to the American Civil Liberties Union, the USA Patriot Act confers unprecedented detention authority on the attorney general based on

M. Andrew Robinson-Gaither, a Methodist pastor from Los Angeles, demands reparations for slavery at a demonstration in Washington, D.C., on August 17, 2002. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

unspecified and vague national security threats. Specifically, it permits the detention of noncitizens facing deportation based solely on the attorney general's certification that he has "reasonable grounds to believe" the person endangers national security. As activists Jane Bai and Eric Tang wrote in *ColorLines* (2002), "Before September 11, a green-card holder could get a traffic ticket, pay a $50 fine, and their case was closed. Today, that same person can be racially profiled, stopped, turned over to the FBI and INS, and detained for up to six months without being charged with any crime or violation."

Mainstream media portrayed all Americans, including black Americans, as more patriotic than ever and eager to see Arab Americans as the new target of racial profiling. But many black Americans resisted this divide-and-conquer tactic, recognizing instead the linked fate of all people of color, in some cases with poor whites as well. As activists Bai and Tang continued, "Today the language and imagery are 'terrorist,' 'immigrant,' and 'Arab,' but the infrastructure established in the process is a potent source of increased racism and repression against all people of color and indeed all who live in the U.S." These and other activists and scholars began noting the links between immigrant rights and racial justice movements, and the opportunities for sharing resources and action between the two.

National Debate

With changing electoral politics and growing grassroots energy before us, what's the nation actually talking about at the turn of the century? Clinton's Dialogue on Race, Bush's retreat from the UN World Conference Against Racism, Affirmative Action, reparations, and September 11 have been at the forefront

of national debate with regard to race. In 1997, President Bill Clinton launched a National Dialogue on Race. Four years later, even as evidence of racial profiling and other forms of institutional racism were rampant, the U.S. government under President George W. Bush refused to participate in the World Conference Against Racism in Durban, South Africa. The two actions together are highly symbolic of the U.S. government's resistance to understanding the implications of our past.

Although controversy over the World Conference Against Racism was quickly overwhelmed by the events of September 11, U.S. behavior in both instances was motivated by common problems of race and power. As organizer Rinku Sen wrote in *ColorLines* (2002), "Before and after September 11, the Administration has attempted to redefine the real racists and control the debate to build public support for its actions. Before and after September 11, activists have learned that the line between domestic and foreign policy is thinner than we thought, requiring us to take on new strategies."

By 2002, a number of African-American civil rights groups were also advocating for a national acknowledgment of the problem. In particular, the issue of reparations for African Americans has emerged since 1999, becoming a major topic of debate in the mainstream media. Such advocates for reparations reminded Americans that in January 1865, enslaved black Americans were promised "a plot of not more than (40) forty acres of tillable ground" in Special Field Order No. 15. Three months later, President Andrew Johnson rescinded the order. A century and a half later, continuing institutional racism has been met by little to no reparation, and race remains a strong and consistent indicator of economic and political outcomes. The issue of reparations has emerged as a major ideological divide between those who would like to shunt the issue of slavery into the past and those who believe the legacy of slavery remains embedded in U.S. institutions, policy, and practice.

Conclusion

In spite of the attempt to erase the significance of race in the twenty-first century—as reflected in the decline of Affirmative Action, the emergence of a class of black electoral candidates unwilling to address race upfront, and the squelching of dissenting voices that challenge the white male establishment—the undeniable facts of HIV/AIDS across the African diaspora, and post-9/11 immigrant and civil liberties repression in the United States show that problems of race and power persist and remain deep. But the growth of strong, though quiet, grassroots multiracial mobilization since September 11 and the recent reparations movement are just two of many signals that efforts for racial justice live on.

In the United States and beyond, people of color and those committed to racial justice are striving to understand the evolving problems of race and power and to devise new and responsive strategies. Although visions of racial justice may be diverse and highly contested, there is a common unmet need among people of color for dignity and equality in daily life. For many, the recent events of September 11, 2001, have highlighted shared struggles for justice across color, citizenship, and community, producing new multiracial coalitions based not on pragmatism but on a shared fate.

Kendra Field

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3

Women's Movement

Introduction

Women's activism is often characterized as occurring in "waves"; that is, it seems very strong at times, and then it seems to fizzle out, much like the crashing of waves in the ocean. The use of the waves metaphor is controversial because some historians see continuity between different periods of activism by women. However, many scholars use the wave concept because it is a useful way to describe women's activism throughout U.S. history. The period characterized as the first wave of women's activism began in 1848 at the Seneca Falls Convention and ended in 1920 with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. The major focus of the first wave was to expand not only women's rights, most notably that of suffrage, but also other legal rights, such as the right of married women to own and inherit property and the right to divorce. The period encompassed by the second wave of women's activism is far shorter, running from the 1960s to the early 1980s. The second wave also made legal gains for women, such as legalized abortion and federal legislation banning sexual discrimination, but it also sought equality for women in everything from a shared division of child care and household labor to equal pay for equal work. Finally, the third wave of women's activism is still occurring. While the first two waves of women's activism took a similar shape with large public demonstrations, the founding of national organizations, and a relatively focused agenda, the third wave is less direct, and for a good reason. Participants in the third wave see women's issues as only part of their social activism and are as likely to focus on cultural methods of change as they are on the political process.

1800–1865

In the early nineteenth century, the changes wrought by industrialization and then urbanization and immigration created the conditions that gave rise to the earliest social movements in the United States. These changing conditions did not impact men and women in the same way. As industrialization moved economic activity out of the household into the public arena, a division between the public world and the private home emerged. This public/private split impacted different groups of women in different ways. For white women in the emerging middle class, the ideology of separate spheres meant that women were defined by not working outside the home and were increasingly viewed as the moral guardians of society as they remained apart from the amoral world of capitalism. For immigrant women, this ideology obviously did not describe their existence as they were part of families that relied on all members to bring in wages to support the group. Gendered ideology, however, might determine what kind of work women took, for example, preferring to complete piecework within the home rather than working outside the home in a factory. Nonetheless, "not working" did not constitute womanhood for this group. For slave women, the ideology of separate spheres was even less relevant.

For middle-class white women, exclusion from the paid labor market left time for participation in philanthropy or social reform. Indeed, women comprised the backbone of these early social movements. Women became involved in utopian experiments, temperance, abolition, moral reform, health and dress reform, and labor movements. Gradually, as some women became involved in social movements, they realized that they needed more power to be able to change society. This realization led some women to ultimately demand the right to participate in politics through the vote. Furthermore, although many women entered social movements in order to improve life for others, as the essays in this section reveal, many women came to see that women needed to organize on behalf of themselves. The movement for women's rights grew, in part, out of women's partic-

ipation in the abolition movement. As women became increasingly involved in the public world, some of them sought to transform their role in the private arena of the middle-class home. Other social movements, such as the cooperative housekeeping movement, represent a radical challenge to women's roles. Though small in scale, this movement is an important precursor to the efforts of women activists in the 1960s and 1970s and illustrates the extent to which involvement in social movements transformed some female participants.

1865–1920

Americans seeking to address the changes in society after the Civil War created many social movements. Women during this period became involved with a variety of issues, most notably suffrage, to elevate their status in society, as well as movements to help those less fortunate than themselves. Increasing access to education, at least for white middle-class women, provided a new justification for women's activism as young women, trained in the social sciences, began to make helping others a profession. Women became increasingly involved in politics through involvement in anti-imperialism and progressivism.

Although white, economically privileged women found it easiest to engage in reform, women from all areas of society became involved in social movements. Women of color could not work from a position of moral superiority because society often viewed them as "subhuman." The former slave Sojourner Truth aptly illustrated this point in a stirring speech, "Ain't I a Woman?" Nonetheless, women of color found ways to organize during the later part of the nineteenth century. These women might not organize single-sex groups, but rather worked as members of mixed-sex social movements. White working-class women also organized on their own behalf, creating strategic alliances based on class and at other times based on gender.

1920–1960

Historians long ignored the period between 1920 and 1960, believing that after securing the right to vote, women vanished from social movements until the resurgence of activism in the 1960s However, scholars have reexamined this epoch. As essays in the section explore, women continued to organize as constituencies, including the first national black women's organization. Women's political activism continued during this period in efforts to pass the Equal Rights Amendment. Efforts to expand women's rights continued in the work to legalize birth control. Women also continued to make inroads in politics, a direct outcome of their involvement in progressive social movements. Although World War II curtailed much activism on the home front, the organizations that remained active during this period, and those that ran and participated in them, became a crucial resource to women in the 1960s.

1960–1980

Indeed, the period following World War II saw a level of social activism in the United States that was so unprecedented that its images still mark out the national imagination. Mention of a single place such as "Selma" or "Kent State" immediately brings to mind these much-publicized events of the civil rights and antiwar movements. Although women actively participated in both, the period following World War II marked the emergence of the largest social movement dedicated to changing the status of women in American society. Activists attacked the issue of women's subordinate position from many different approaches. Though not an ideologically unified movement, the women's movement had a profound impact on American society, especially on the anti-rape movement, the abortion rights movement, and the establishment of women's studies.

1980–Present

Initially, the 1980s and 1990s might seem to be a period of decreased activism by women, but scholars have now begun to acknowledge this period as a third wave. Central to the third wave's understanding of gender is sexuality. The story of women's participation in social movements is still being written. Across the country, young scholars are busily documenting the efforts of women to transform society, not only for themselves but also for others. The essays in this section serve as a rich introduction to the many ways in which women have participated in social movements and provide a point of departure for further investigation.

Michelle Moravec

Women's Social Movement
1800–1869

In the United States in the early nineteenth century, social movements were seen as primarily the province of men. However, the emerging concept of women's responsibility for the moral and spiritual well-being of the nation combined to create a growing culture of female reform. Beginning in the 1830s, women participated in a number of reform movements aimed at addressing social problems, including utopianism, temperance, abolitionism, moral reform, labor reform, health reform, and dress reform. The religious roots of reform and the ideal of women's moral authority meant that most early female activists focused their efforts on moral suasion—the ability of an individual to influence another through moral or spiritual arguments. However, as tactics shifted to encompass a narrowing definition of reform that emphasized legislative action, women fought to expand the definition of proper womanhood both within the context of individual social movements and through the organized women's rights movement.

In the first few decades of the nineteenth century, the ideology of separate spheres defined public associations and charitable work as belonging to the public world of men. At the same time, however, small groups of women were creating a space for themselves as "public women" through their participation in benevolent work and reform. Men were assigned control over the public sphere, which included government, the workplace, and the world beyond the home. Women, who were defined by what was termed the "cult of true womanhood," were understood to have authority over the private or domestic sphere, particularly for the family's spiritual well-being. This dichotomy between public and private life did not always hold true in day-to-day life, but it proved to be a powerful force that shaped the definition of both men and women throughout the antebellum period. Many women felt that gender as a category far overshadowed racial and class boundaries, and the presumption of shared life experiences among women contributed to the belief that a national (and international) community of women existed.

The assumption of women's concern for others and their innate virtue led many to feel that women were best suited to care for the poor and oppressed. Female moral authority was thought to have the potential to transform American society. Some women felt that this potential carried with it a responsibility to act in support of their convictions, and they used the ideology of female moral authority to justify their participation in a wide range of social and reform activities. Initially, the work of reform primarily used women's accepted power to influence others in order to rehabilitate individuals. However, as more and more women became comfortable in the world of public activism, and as reform activities became more collective in means and more legislative in ends, women moved into positions of leadership and began to use overtly political tactics. Although this transition did not occur without criticism, over time female reformers expanded the definition of womanhood to include a space for women in both the private and public spheres.

Of course, the idea of separate spheres could also be used as a conservative force. When women were thought to overstep their bounds, by wearing clothing that obscured gender boundaries, speaking before audiences of men, or petitioning in support of legislation, they faced harsh public criticism that questioned both their morality and their femininity. The decision to enter into and maintain public activism was not always easy, and women had to endure disparagement not only from the press, but also from their local communities, and sometimes even their families. Furthermore, the notion that bonds of gender transcended class and racial distinctions often concealed real differences among women. The majority of fe-

male reformers in the pre-Civil War era were white and middle class; their values dominated antebellum reform movements, and issues important to nonwhite activists were often ignored or even opposed by white reformers.

UTOPIANISM

A number of women were drawn to utopian movements during the antebellum period. In keeping with the idea that individuals had the power to change society simply by example, both religious and nonreligious groups attempted to remove themselves from society in order to create alternative social structures. For some women, utopian movements allowed them to live out their religious, social, and political ideals within a community of like-minded persons. Other women probably followed their husbands and families into utopian communities. Women's experiences within communal societies varied from group to group. Although some utopian communities attempted to equalize or at least reconsider conventional gender relations, others reinforced and even extended existing patriarchal structures.

Among the religious utopian communities of the pre-Civil War era, the Shakers and the Mormons attracted the largest number of followers. During their heyday in the 1840s, about sixty semi-autonomous Shaker communities comprising about 4,000 members existed across the United States. The Shakers of the antebellum era did not set out to create equality among the sexes, but to bring both men and women closer to God. Although women had a larger role in community government than in other contemporary Protestant sects and were considered responsible for the spiritual well-being of the members, men controlled the economic aspects of community life. Fundamental to Shaker life were the tenets of celibacy and the separation of the sexes. Women and men were segregated both in living and in working arrangements in order to free them to concentrate on their religious life.

Conversely, the Mormons were explicit in their patriarchal foundation. In contrast to prevailing gender definitions, men were considered to be spiritually and morally superior to women, and control over religious life remained firmly in male hands. Within the Mormon community, women were confined to domestic roles and encouraged to bear children. Although they represented a minority of family relations, polygamous marriages were considered the ideal within the Mormon community and must have had the greatest effect on individual women. Mormons often argued that polygamy meant less work for women, and indeed some women may have gained some measure of independence if wives maintained separate households. On the other hand, the first wife's consent for her husband to marry again was not always willingly given, and jealousy could follow if multiple wives lived under the same roof.

Nonreligious utopian movements proliferated in this period; the most notable communities were at New Harmony, Indiana, and Oneida, New York. In the 1820s, the New Harmonites set out to promote equality between men and women among other goals. In an effort to eliminate gender and class differences, leaders introduced a new costume for both men and women that would become the foundation of the dress reform movement. However, this attempt to visually equalize the sexes did not translate into a day-to-day reality. Women were still expected to perform domestic tasks, which were considered to hold less value than the work performed by men. Furthermore, the community's shared control over the governance of the family and household eliminated women's traditional base of power within the private sphere.

The Oneida Community did more to alter gender roles than any other utopian group of the pre-Civil War era. Leader John Humphrey Noyes promoted dress reform in order to minimize gender distinctions and to promote women's physical mobility. Some changes in gender relations did follow; not only did women work in traditionally male occupations, but some women even held positions of authority over men. Family arrangements were radically revised through the practice of "complex marriage," whereby all adults were considered to be married to the entire community. However, Noyes's strong influence over the community meant that the larger patriarchal community replaced the smaller patriarchal group of the family. Male leaders maintained strict control over who was and was not allowed to bear children, and men still dominated the income-producing occupations. Furthermore, the few women who occupied leadership positions were primarily limited to ceremonial roles.

TEMPERANCE

In the early nineteenth century, increased alcohol consumption was thought to be the primary cause of social disorder. The temperance movement that arose in response quickly garnered the support of women, who saw male drinking as the primary cause of domestic discord. Female temperance workers recognized that woman's subordinate role within the

family meant that it was she and her children who suffered if the male head of household drank to excess. Reformers sought to protect women from the effects of male intemperance by attempting to control the behavior of men, first through moral suasion and later through legislative action.

As early as 1818, women's names had begun appearing on petitions opposed to the granting of tavern licenses. The American Temperance Society, founded in 1826, was the first voluntary association of any kind to attract large numbers of women from across the country. Women felt relatively comfortable participating in early temperance work because of its tactical focus on informal persuasion rather than political action. They distributed propaganda, ran temperance hotels, and attempted to persuade the men in their community to abandon alcohol. Although most women joined male-run societies, by the end of the decade women had begun to form their own independent organizations; twenty-four independent female temperance societies existed by 1831.

With the emergence of the Daughters of Temperance, sister organization to the Sons of Temperance, women were finally provided with a leadership vehicle within the temperance movement. The Daughters attracted large numbers of female activists, reaching their peak membership of 30,000 members in 1848. The association connected local auxiliaries and supported women's interest in the movement through the *New York Olive Plant*, the first temperance newsletter to be edited by women. Following the Maine Law crusades of the early 1850s, which sought to end alcohol consumption in that state through legislative means, women expanded their activism to include petitioning for temperance laws and canvassing voters in the North and South. Although they had little impact on the movement, a few scattered incidents of female vigilantism against saloons appeared during this period.

As women sought to broaden their role in the temperance movement, they forced issues of women's rights to the forefront of the movement. Many male temperance workers resisted the expansion of women's roles, fearing that the movement would lose respectability and momentum. When the leaders of the Sons of Temperance refused to allow women to participate equally in their 1852 convention, prominent women's rights advocates, including Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Amelia Bloomer, walked out and formed the Woman's State Temperance Society of New York. However, independent female organizations only lasted a few years as many activists shifted their focus to women's rights. Although women would come to dominate the movement in the post-Civil War era, by the 1860s the sex-integrated Templars remained as the only significant organization to support women's temperance work.

ABOLITIONISM

Given the prevailing belief in women's moral responsibility for the nation, no issue of the pre-Civil War era provoked greater female commitment than that of the abolition of slavery. For many women, slavery was a sin that simply could not be ignored. Many white women were sympathetic to the plight of slaves, and the idea of a national community of women meant that female reformers particularly identified with female slaves. However, for free African-American women, the issue of slavery was deeply personal and immediate. Free black women organized not only to eradicate slavery, but also in support of equal rights and increased access to education for their communities. Throughout the movement, female abolitionists attempted to influence those around them to support abolition through moral suasion, and in later decades they turned their attention to legislative and political action.

In spite of public criticism, women immediately began to join the nascent antislavery movement of the early 1830s, at first creating auxiliary groups to male organizations. One of the first groups to organize was the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, which was established as auxiliary to abolitionist leader William Lloyd Garrison's newly formed New England Anti-Slavery Society. When women were excluded from signing the "Declaration of Sentiments and Purposes" at the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833, they responded by creating the biracial Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society under the leadership of Lucretia Mott. Within a few years, both racially integrated and segregated female abolitionist organizations emerged across the Northeast. Early female efforts focused on petition drives opposing slavery. By 1837, enough women were participating in the movement to hold the first National Female Anti-Slavery Convention in New York, with eighty-one delegates attending from twelve states.

As women moved into leadership positions within the abolitionist movement, they faced mounting criticism for what was deemed unwomanly behavior. When sister activists Sarah and Angelina Grimké lectured in front of mixed-gender audiences, public opposition was fierce. Female abolitionists were criticized in the press and by the clergy, and they

were even physically threatened. Crowds stormed a meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society in 1835, and three years later the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women was attacked by a mob of 10,000 that destroyed Pennsylvania Hall. By the late 1830s, tensions surrounding women's expanding activism precipitated a split within the movement as abolitionists faced questions of women's rights. Although this dissension caused a decline in the movement's adherents over the 1840s, women's activities continued to broaden in spite of their reduced numbers. New tactics moved beyond moral suasion and petition drives to include antislavery fairs and political party organization.

Growing public acceptance for the idea of abolition brought many women back to the movement in the 1850s. The changing political and social environment meant that lecture audiences were increasingly receptive to female speakers, and many women joined pioneers such as Mott and Sojourner Truth on the lecture circuit. Escalating momentum for the movement in the years prior to the Civil War allowed women to perform their work on a larger, more public scale. Women's petitioning efforts in support of emancipation grew so extensive that in 1863, they organized the Woman's National Loyal League to coordinate efforts at a national level. During the Civil War, African-American women established associations to aid the massive numbers of freed slaves streaming northward, and both white and black women organized to meet the needs of soldiers. The scope of abolitionism broadened during this period to include issues such as education and voting rights for free blacks. However, the movement lost energy after emancipation and the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment as female abolitionists transferred their commitment to other reform movements, including temperance and women's rights.

Moral Reform

In the early nineteenth century, many Americans viewed prostitution as being responsible for much of the perceived moral and social disintegration of society. New standards of morality emanating from the emerging middle classes, the growth of urban centers in the Northeast, and the flourishing culture of reform combined to create new standards for sexuality. Women linked prostitution to male dominance in economic, political, and social life, viewing women as the victims of an imbalance of power between the sexes. However, female moral reformers did not adopt the position of later women's rights activists. Instead, they understood prostitution in terms of women's lack of protections rather than their lack of rights. Reformers first sought to reclaim "fallen women," creating asylums where prostitutes could repent and train for alternate employment. Later reformers shifted their tactics, attempting to foster public discussion of the moral dangers of prostitution and advocating for legal prevention.

Although men largely directed early attempts at moral reform, women soon began to participate in the movement. The Magdalen Society of New York, established in 1811, delegated the training and care of penitent prostitutes in the society's asylum to a committee of women. As a movement, moral reform gained few followers in the early part of the century, and it was not until the 1830s that a substantial following was established. Although men led the first significant moral reform organization, the New York Magdalen Society, women took the lead with that society's successor, the New York Female Benevolent Society. A split within the movement between reformers who advocated the reclamation of individual prostitutes and those who wanted to pursue moral education and the public exposure of prostitution led to the formation of the New York Female Moral Reform Society (FMRS) in 1834.

Although the FMRS was originally formed as an auxiliary to the all-male American Society for Promoting the Observance of the Seventh Commandment, it quickly came to dominate the moral reform movement. At its height in 1841, the FMRS had 555 auxiliaries and approximately 50,000 members. The *Advocate of Moral Reform* advised local groups on how to combat prostitution and created a sense of community among geographically separate auxiliaries. At first, the FMRS established an institution for repentant prostitutes, but this tactic was quickly abandoned. Following the trend toward legislative action prevalent in most reform movements of the period, the society began to organize petition drives aimed at creating laws that would punish seducers. Petition campaigns culminated in the passage of anti-seduction legislation in 1848, but laws proved difficult to enforce and few victims came forward to press charges. By the end of the decade, the FMRS had become truly national in scope and reflected this shift in its name change to the American Female Moral Reform Society.

Over the course of the 1840s, the FMRS shifted its focus to poor relief, which reformers had identified as the root cause of women's entry into prostitution. The society began to link its projects with those of other

reform organizations that were working to address the plight of the poor, and in 1846 they founded an asylum for impoverished women and children. By the following decade, the society, now the American Female Guardian Society, had almost completely shifted its focus to poor assistance, and it downplayed its role in the moral reform movement in order to gain public support for its activities.

Labor Reform

The industrial revolution of the early nineteenth century brought women into the workplace, primarily in the textile industry. Textile mills recruited women both because of their traditional association with textile production and because they were a source of cheap labor. By the 1830s, women filled the New England mill towns, where they worked in sweatshop conditions, lived in substandard housing, and received far less pay than men. Early attempts to combat these problems were short-lived; women would strike for a few hours or days and then return to work. Working women had little experience at organizing, and associations such as the United Tailoresses Society of New York lasted only a few years. The economic depression of the late 1830s further undermined women's attempts at organization.

The Lowell Female Labor Reform Association of 1845–1846, however, proved that women were able to build a stable organization with strong leadership. Although the association was unsuccessful in its attempts to pass protective legislation, including a ten-hour workday, the organization became so prominent that its leaders became directors of the New England Labor Reform League in 1846. Over the course of the next decade, the influx of immigrants, who accepted even less pay than American-born workers and had little experience with trade unions, contributed to the lack of successful labor reform. However, the growing national momentum in favor of unionization in the 1860s led to a resurgence of female labor organization. Women joined the new national labor unions, including the National Labor Union and the Knights of Labor. At the same time, established male unions lent their support to working women, who formed numerous female trade associations. In addition, growing interest on the part of middle- and upper-class women in the plight of working women led to the formation of protective organizations, which offered legal and other services.

Health Reform

One of the primary tenets of the antebellum worldview was that women were sickly. Whether there was something in women's lifestyles that made them more prone to illness, or whether women's experiences were influenced by the prevailing acceptance of female infirmity, the health of women commanded attention throughout the nineteenth century. At the same time, the values of the emerging middle class stressed women's role in preventing sickness in her family, and many felt that disease could be prevented if women were properly educated. These trends combined to create a growing health reform movement that attracted many female followers.

Women made up a significant portion of the physiological societies that first appeared in the 1830s, and over the next few decades a number of female physiological societies were active throughout the Northeast. Interest in health led some women to pursue a career as physicians, and several unlicensed female doctors were practicing medicine by the 1840s. At the same time, alternative health movements allowed women the possibility of pursuing an interest in medicine outside of the established medical community. The hydropathic movement, which maintained that good health could be achieved through the internal and external application of water, counted many women among its supporters. In addition, many women became interested in phrenology, a "science" that studied the shape of the skull as a means of analyzing the brain and understanding personality.

Dress Reform

Chief among the culprits of women's ill health was clothing. Critics argued that women's restrictive clothing impaired the full functioning of internal organs and limited physical movement. Many health reformers adopted the dress reform costumes worn at the Oneida Community, particularly at hydropathic "water-cure" spas. The movement was given a brief burst of overwhelmingly negative publicity when leading women's rights advocates adopted dress reform in the early 1850s. The movement never recovered; the redefinition of gender identities proposed by dress reform costumes appeared to many Americans to be overly radical. In contrast to national trends favoring collective, legislative reform action, the movement always stressed the power of the individual. Their one concession to the growing spirit of cooperative action was to organize the National Dress Reform Association in 1855 as a means of promoting

the movement. However, dress reform's lack of consolidation and exclusion of other reform issues led to its eclipse by the following decade.

Women's Rights

The experiences of female reformers in a number of different reform movements over the course of the antebellum era convinced many of the need for organized action on their own behalf. Some women believed that female political rights were needed in order to achieve success in abolitionism, temperance, and other reform movements. For others, who were frustrated in their attempts to gain positions of leadership and to participate actively in the public sphere, equal rights for women became a necessity in and of itself. Following their exclusion from the World Anti-Slavery Convention in 1840, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott articulated the need for organized action in behalf of women's political and social equality. They organized the first women's rights convention in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848, which was followed by yearly national conventions at which reformers debated the aims of the movement and formed an ideology.

At first, few advocates except Stanton were interested in the question of female suffrage, choosing instead to focus on issues of property and earnings control, divorce, educational and employment opportunities, and women's legal status. However, public criticism of women's rights advocates' experimentation with dress reform convinced many of the need for organized, collective action centered on one key issue. Suffrage emerged as the central focus for the movement, although during the post–Civil War era debates over the Fourteenth Amendment split the movement into those who supported African-American suffrage and those who held the voting rights of women to be more important. The latter camp united under Stanton and Susan B. Anthony's leadership in the National Woman Suffrage Association, which incorporated a broad vision of women's rights that extended beyond female suffrage. Those who believed that all other issues must be excluded in order to win the vote created the American Woman Suffrage Association, through which they concentrated on obtaining female voting rights at the state level.

Thus, by 1869, women had become active in numerous reform organizations attempting to address a broad range of social problems. Movements such as abolitionism had largely succeeded in achieving their primary aims; other movements, including moral reform and dress reform, had seen their support dwindle; while still others, such as women's rights, had only begun to gain momentum. Women had carved out a space for themselves in the public sphere, gaining the right to take political action, to lead public organizations, and to organize on their own behalf. The stage was set for women's ascendancy as a political force, and their work in the coming decades in the club movement, the settlement house movement, temperance, labor reform, and the women's rights movement would pave the way for women's political enfranchisement and the national reform agendas of the Progressive Era.

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Moral and Dress Reform Movement 1800–1869

The American dress reform movements of the nineteenth century attempted to use women's clothing to effect social and political change. In response to the tight waists and long skirts currently in vogue, reformers proposed a loose-fitting costume incorporating long pantaloons and short dresses. Advocates wore and promoted this reform costume for a number of reasons: because of spiritual and religious convictions, to improve women's health, and to expand women's social role and status. Although little attention was paid to early attempts at dress reform, the issue became highly charged when leaders of the emerging women's rights movement adopted and politicized reform dress.

Why Dress Reform?

Dress reformers responded to both the realities and the social constructions of nineteenth-century middle-class women's clothing, which had long relied on shaping undergarments and draped fabric in order to mold the body into what was considered an attractive form. For a brief period at the turn of the nineteenth century, clothing followed the relatively lightweight, high-waisted "classical" style, which was believed to be more natural. This trend reversed itself in the 1810s as fashionable clothing began to incorporate a growing number of layers, and undergarments became more and more substantial. As the century progressed, it appeared that women's clothing was growing more and more extreme, as skirts grew wider, the ideal waist grew narrower, and decoration proliferated. During this period, religious leaders, the medical establishment, and a number of other cultural critics increasingly condemned women's fashions. Those who disapproved of women's clothing and the fashion industry blamed dress for a number of social and physical ills, including a host of diseases and medical disorders, and sins such as vanity and pride.

The ideological foundations of dress reform were drawn from this criticism and from the growing reform spirit of the early nineteenth century. A number of disparate social movements contributed to the genesis of dress reform, including utopianism, health reform, and women's rights. Reformers tended to be white, middle class, and female, although a number of key leaders were male. The movement as a whole was characterized by an individualistic approach rather than collective action; most dress reformers felt that personal example would lead to broader social and political change. Although different groups claimed to endorse different clothing, all of the reform costumes were influenced by popular representations of Middle Eastern women's dress and by children's clothing, featuring loose-fitting dresses ending at or below the knee, worn over loose-fitting pantaloons.

Early Dress Reform

Many utopian communities of the early nineteenth century advocated for simplified clothing, particularly for women. It was in this tradition that the communal society of New Harmony, Indiana, designed alternative styles of dress for both genders in 1824. The Harmonites, led by Robert Owen, aimed to eliminate class and gender differences by promoting a style of dress based on children's attire. Significantly, men and women's clothing was not the same; men were encouraged to wear loose-fitting pantaloons covered by jackets, while women were offered a knee-length coat over pantaloons. However, minimized visual distinctions between the genders did not translate to increased status for women, who were still relegated to domestic tasks of lesser value. This first experiment with dress reform, notable as the only one to include men's clothing, ended along with the New Harmony community in 1827.

Dress reform was next taken up at the Oneida Community, a religious revival community located in upstate New York. Oneida's leader, John Humphrey

Noyes, introduced a reform costume for women in 1848 that was remarkably similar in design to that worn at New Harmony. The Oneida dress reform movement did not aim to eliminate gender distinctions altogether, but to encourage equality among men and women and to purge women of the sin of vanity. Again, women wore a costume designed to emulate clothing worn by children, consisting of pantalets (an undergarment worn only by children in this period) covered by a below-knee-length dress; they also cut their hair short in a style that mimicked children. Under Noyes's influence, a majority of Oneida women adopted the reform costume, citing their increased ability to perform traditionally masculine tasks as the primary benefit. However, women continued to wear "long dress" when outside the Community to avoid harassment by crowds. Despite women's altered appearance, the ideal of gender equality symbolized by the reform costume was never achieved. When Noyes left the Community in 1879, dress reform was quickly abandoned.

The changes in women's clothing promoted at Oneida influenced others involved in the reform movements of the mid-century. Many dress reformers began as supporters of hydropathy, an alternative health movement that stressed physical well-being, achieved through the ingestion and physical application of water, above all other things. Dress reform corresponded well with the philosophy of hydropathy. Proponents emphasized personal example over collective action, believing that women must first achieve full health before any social or political changes were possible. Fashion had long been blamed for women's physical ills, both real and imagined, and health reformers saw clothing as an obvious area for reform. Numerous "water-cure" spas promoted a reform costume based on a short dress and pantaloons for patients, and many women were able to try out the new clothing within a secluded environment. Dress reform was also publicized in the *Water-Cure Journal*, a popular health reform journal. Hydropathic physicians such as James Caleb Jackson and Harriet N. Austin became staunch proponents of the new costume; Austin wore reform dress until her death in 1891.

Hydropaths were not the only ones to be influenced by the Oneida reform costume. Some utopian communities experimented with dress reform, including Hopedale, North American Phalanx, Brook Farm, Modern Times, and Ruskin Commonwealth. In addition, various religious groups tried out alternative clothing for women, including the Mormon community in Utah and the Strangite Mormon sect at Beaver Island, Michigan. However, little public attention was paid to these early experiments outside of reform communities.

Dress Reform and Women's Rights

The relative obscurity of dress reform changed radically in 1851 when key leaders of the emerging women's rights movement adopted and thereby politicized the reform costume. Women's rights dress reformers tied women's social and political role to their clothing, arguing that contemporary fashions enforced female passivity and were therefore a primary cause of women's oppression. Women's rights advocates believed that women themselves were partially to blame for their own subjugation and that if they gave up wearing clothing that restricted their movements and pandered to their vanity, they would become both physically and intellectually free. Calling their costume "freedom dress," women's rights advocates again endorsed short dresses over pantaloons (known to women's rights dress reformers as "Turkish trousers").

Elizabeth Smith Miller was the first to adopt the costume for everyday wear; Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Amelia Bloomer soon followed. When the three women walked through Seneca Falls, New York, in reform costumes, major newspapers, including the *New York Tribune*, *Boston Carpet-Bag*, and *Chicago Tribune,* covered the incident and a startling amount of public furor was unleashed. The popular press linked dress reform to women's suffrage, free love, and other currently unpopular reform movements, and women wearing the reform costume in public often found themselves at the mercy of hostile crowds. No matter how careful dress reformers were to point out that they were not wearing men's clothing, the image of women wearing trousers seems to have stirred deep fears about gender identity and the role of women in American society.

The public attention paid to dress reform did not necessarily detract from the movement; it actually helped to publicize it. Bloomer filled her journal *Lily* with articles endorsing dress reform; major national newspapers reprinted these articles, dubbing the costume "Bloomers." Eventually, many female reformers adopted the costume, including Susan B. Anthony, Paulina Wright Davis, Lucy Stone, Sarah and Angelina Grimké, Celia Burleigh, Charlotte Beebe Wilbour, Helen Jarvis, and Lydia Jenkins. However, these women and their supporters did not organize collectively or even lecture on dress reform. Believing that individual actions would have the greatest influence,

In commemoration of Amelia Bloomer's one hundredth birthday, farmers dressed in "bloomers" tend a vegetable garden in 1918. *(The Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University)*

they simply wore the alternative clothing and hoped thereby to influence other women to make the same decision. Hydropath James Caleb Jackson proposed a national organization devoted to dress reform in 1851 but was turned down by Stanton and Bloomer in favor of personal example.

Eventually, however, the public ridicule attracted by the reform costume proved too much for women's rights advocates, who felt that the attention paid to their appearance detracted from their ideas on other issues. Stanton became the first to return to long dress in 1853, arguing in a letter to Lucy Stone (co-written with Anthony) dated February 16, 1854, "We put the dress on for greater freedom, but what is physical freedom compared with mental bondage?" By the following year, most women's rights leaders had given up dress reform, choosing to focus instead on issues such as suffrage, marriage reform, and education. However, their experiences convinced these reformers of the necessity of organized, collective action centered on one key issue, a conviction that would influence the suffrage movement throughout its duration.

Dress Reform after Women's Rights

Hydropaths continued to support the cause of dress reform, and under the leadership of Dr. James C. Jackson they organized the National Dress Reform Association (NDRA) in 1855. Although the NDRA eventually expanded its constitutional objectives to include women's rights issues, the association often found itself in opposition to women's rights leaders who argued for collective action against legal and government institutions. Wearing the short dress and pantaloons outfit, which they called the "American costume," the members of the NDRA continued to advocate for individual action based on the belief that

social change would follow. *The Sibyl: A Review of the Tastes, Errors & Fashions of Society*, published by Lydia Sayer Hasbrouck, became the unofficial voice of the NDRA, and the journal served to create a sense of community among geographically distant dress reformers.

By the 1860s, however, dress reformers had become isolated from much of the reform community, primarily because of their lack of collective action and their narrow focus. *The Sibyl* ceased publication in 1864 owing to lack of subscriptions, and the NDRA disbanded sometime that year or the next. There were scattered attempts to revitalize the movement, but they met with little success. Under the leadership of Ellen Gould White, the Seventh Day Adventists experimented with dress reform, but most female followers failed to embrace the reform costume. Dress reform as a social movement was largely abandoned, although some individual advocates continued to wear the reform costume.

In the 1870s, women's clubs in the urban Northeast revived interest in dress reform, although it was a movement of a very different nature. These advocates severed ties to the broader ideology of earlier movements that connected women's dress to their social and political roles. The new generation of dress reformers discarded the short dress and pantaloons costume that had proved so troublesome, instead promoting relatively small changes in women's undergarments. Some success was achieved, although it was due in large part to dress reformers' acceptance of prevailing gender definitions and notions of femininity. The New England Woman's Club of Boston and the Sorosis Club of New York City sponsored lectures on dress reform, and Mary Tillotson (a former leader of the NDRA) organized the short-lived American Free Dress League (1870–1873). Small-scale reform continued in this vein into the 1920s, but it remained disconnected from any larger ideological framework.

Dress reformers of the nineteenth century explored the relationship of clothing to gender identity, using alternative dress as a means to question and redefine women's social and political roles. They connected woman's visual appearance and physical mobility with her health and with her role and status in American society. Reformers believed that by wearing the reform costume, individual women would effect broader change. Although the movement attracted significant public attention and caused considerable debate, it ultimately failed to achieve many of its goals owing to its lack of collective action and its radical redefinition of seemingly fundamental gender truths. In spite of the efforts of dress reformers, most American women continued to dress as fashionably as possible.

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Matilda Joslyn Gage and Woman Suffrage History

Matilda Joslyn Gage was one of the preeminent leaders of the nineteenth-century women's rights movement. As an activist, speaker, and historian, she dedicated efforts on behalf of women's rights, which in large part are responsible for both the success of the movement and the preservation of its history. With Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, she was a co-founder of the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) in 1869 and over the next twenty years dominated its highest offices as chair of the executive committee, vice president, and president. She also founded and served as the president of the New York State Woman Suffrage Association during the same years. In addition, she owned and published the NWSA newspaper, the *National Citizen and Ballot Box,* and co-edited and wrote, with Stanton and Anthony, the first three volumes of the multivolume *History of Woman Suffrage* (1881–1887). After leaving the NWSA in a dispute over the 1890 merger with the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), she joined with Stanton to write *The Woman's Bible* (1895) and published what would later be known as *Woman, Church and State* (1893).

The Syracuse Convention of 1852

Gage's story begins at one of the first conventions, where as one of the youngest attendees, she gathered her courage, took her daughter by the hand, and approached the podium. Unscheduled to speak, she was determined, however, to add her voice to the demand for women's rights. Waiting at the side of the stage for an opportune moment, she was soon beckoned forward by Lucretia Mott. "Trembling in every limb," she strode to the center of the stage to deliver the speech that would launch her onto the national stage and to the forefront of the women's rights movement, a cause to which she devoted the next fifty years of her life. Thus, the September 1852 Syracuse Women's Rights Convention marked the entrance of Matilda Joslyn Gage into the struggle for this new reform.

She began her speech, "This convention has assembled to discuss the subject of women's rights, and form some settled plan of action for the future." Although a newcomer to the organized women's rights movement, her roots in the reforms of the age were strong and deep. The only child of Dr. Hezekiah and Helen Leslie Joslyn, Matilda Electra Joslyn was born in Cicero, New York, in 1826 into a household bristling with the reform imperative. Upstate New York during those years was the center of the action. Called "the burned over district" because of its enthusiasm for the waves of religious revivals that swept along the newly opened Erie Canal, the area was a hotbed of social reform activity. In this fertile soil, abolition and women's rights grew deep roots.

Family Ties to Social Reform

The Joslyn home opened its doors to local abolitionists, served as a stop on the Underground Railroad, and was a hub of political organizing and publishing. Her father, along with Elizabeth Cady Stanton's husband, organized the antislavery Liberty Party, which later become one strand of the liberal political parties that would coalesce into the Republican Party. He was also the publisher of *The State League*, newspaper of the Carson League, the local temperance association. The young Matilda was encouraged to stay and listen to the lively strategy meetings, which came to be among the clearest memories of her childhood. As a child and young woman, she was educated at home by her father in such subjects as physiology, Greek, and mathematics. At sixteen she entered the Clinton Liberal Institute in Clinton, New York, to complete her education in anticipation of entering medical school. Dr. Joslyn himself petitioned his alma mater, the Geneva Medical School, in 1843 and 1844 on her behalf, but she was rejected both times because she

was a woman. Only a few short years later, that barrier would finally yield to Elizabeth Blackwell. Frustrated by these rejections, however, at the age of eighteen, Miss Matilda Electa Joslyn chose a more conventional path and married Henry Hill Gage, a Cicero merchant, on January 6, 1845, and settled in Fayetteville, New York.

History Offers a Usable Past

Following in the footsteps of her parents, Gage combined devotion to her family and devotion to women's rights into a single seamless garment. In fact, much of her ardor stemmed from her determination to open for her daughters doors that had been closed to her. This also accounts in large part for the two-pronged vision she brought to the women's rights cause. The first was her focus on economic independence for women, and the second was her enduring belief that the key to unlocking women's future was a clear understanding of women's past. She brought both of these perspectives to her first speech. In her judgment, women's situation was an historic construct needing radical reconstruction. She rejected arguments that women should remain in a position akin to "the vassalage in which much of mankind had been kept" in previous centuries. Women's position was not and should not be considered any more static or immutable than the situation of other formerly dependent groups. Gage argued against the view that women occupied an ordained sphere because of their gender. She also argued against the prevailing wisdom that women occupied that position because they were incapable of occupying other spheres. Her historian's eye brought a usable past to the to the women's movement that gave witness to the many accomplishments of women in other times, in other places, and under other circumstances. To those who said women could not, she spoke of women who had governed nations from Queen Semiramis to Victoria, scientists like Helena Lucretia Corano and Caroline Herschell, and literary giants such as Sappho and Margaret Fuller. Evidence of women's genius could be found, she asserted, in every avenue of learning.

Her impatience with entrenched orthodoxy was clear as she asked, "How can this mental and moral lethargy, which so binds the generality of women, be shaken off?!" Her answer, "Self reliance is one of the first lessons to be taught our daughters; they should be educated with our sons and equally with them taught to look forward to some independent means of support." Explicitly, she gave witness to the idea that educated women could and must use, manipulate, and interpret the wisdom of the past in their own self-interest. To these ideals she would devote the rest of her life.

Mott was so impressed by Gage's speech that she included it with the other speeches printed and sold to support the cause. Further enhancing her reputation as a gifted new advocate, Gage capably defended the goals of the convention in the editorial pages of the Syracuse newspapers from the derisive venom of local clergyman, Rev. Bryon Sunderland, and others eager to ridicule it. As a result, she quickly moved to the forefront of the women's rights movement.

Civil War Unity and Reformer Division

Gage joined forces with the founder of the movement, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and another newcomer at the 1852 convention, Susan B. Anthony. The three leaders (later referred to by their contemporaries as the "triumvirate") set the agenda, planned the strategies, and wrote the history of their movement. In the years prior to the Civil War, however, all three were active in a broad spectrum of reform causes, including abolition and temperance, as well as women's rights. The end of the war, however, brought schism to the reform associations. Many women, among them, Stanton, Anthony, and Gage, hoped that with the end of the war and the end of slavery the complete prewar reform agenda would be written into the Constitution. When it became clear that women's rights, including suffrage, were expected to yield to narrower constitutional change, they were outraged. People like Lucy Stone and her husband, Henry Brown Blackwell, argued that it was the "Negro's hour." Stanton argued back, "Do you think all Negroes are men?" Debate over support for the proposed amendments tore what turned out to be the last meeting of the American Equal Rights Association (AERA) apart. As Stone, Blackwell, and other like-minded reformers left Washington, Stanton, Gage, and Anthony gathered to form a new association—one that would be wholly dedicated to women's rights. Of course, there were charges from the Stone-Blackwell faction that the "triumvirate" had waited until they left to call their meeting to purposely leave them out. Anthony denied that was the case but the damage was done. The rancor of the AERA meeting and the perceived snub tore the reformers apart. Stone, Blackwell, and other Boston-area reformers responded by forming their own woman suffrage association, the American Woman

Suffrage Association (AWSA). The two groups remained estranged from and antagonistic toward one another for the next twenty years.

With the birth of the new association, Gage plunged back into the work with renewed vigor. Free of the divided mission of the AERA, she was able to devote all of her energies to the cause of women's rights. A talented organizer, Gage had as one of her first tasks to draw up a plan for organizing state auxiliaries of the NWSA. Historian Ellen Carol DuBois judged her plan for New York State in *Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women's Movement in America, 1848–1869* (1978) as "ambitious. It called for vice presidents from each of New York's sixty counties and an advisory council composed of one woman from each of the state's thirteen congressional districts. "Friends," Gage admitted, "this is work. . . ." Within a few years, however, Gage's plan became the pattern for suffrage associations throughout the country.

The National Citizen and Ballot Box

The new association also turned its attention to publishing. The general circulation press was at best indifferent to their cause and at worst antagonistic. Throughout its short, stormy history, Gage was a regular contributor to the *Revolution.* After its demise, she became the proprietor of the new NWSA newspaper, the *National Citizen and Ballot Box (NCBB).* Published monthly from May 1878 to October 1881, it was "the recognized exponent of the views of the National Woman Suffrage Association" and listed Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton on the masthead as corresponding editors and Gage as editor and publisher. Its stated mission was as follows:

> As the first process towards becoming well is to know you are ill, one of the principal aims of the *National Citizen* is to make those women discontented who are now content—to waken them to self respect, and a desire to use the talents they possess—to educate their consciences aright to quicken their sense of duty—to destroy morbid beliefs and make them worthy of the life with which their Creator has endowed them.

Each edition's news and articles can be organized under seven broad categories: NWSA news, national politics, New York State politics, Gage's editorials, news and commentary from Stanton and Anthony, foreign news and correspondence, and consciousness raising. NWSA news commanded the front page with calls to conventions, reports of testimony before congressional committees, convention minutes and speeches, and other NWSA business. Convention reports were especially important to women who could not attend the conventions. These reports, filled with detailed descriptions of each session and speeches reprinted in full, gave women around the country a sense of being part of an important movement. Lists of delegates familiarized them with convention regulars and, perhaps, like-minded women from their own state or county.

Gage's editorials were the heart and soul of the *NCBB* and clustered around five themes—citizenship and government, women and religion, personal politics, suffrage victories, and agonizing suffrage defeats. From her first public debate with Rev. Sunderland in the Syracuse newspapers, Gage was famous for her well-crafted arguments on behalf of women's rights against all comers, especially the clergy, "boxing them around with their own theology." The *NCBB* would give her a regular forum. She purchased the paper from Sarah Williams and changed its name from the *Ballot Box* to the *National Citizen and Ballot Box.* This was to underscore her continued support for the position that under the definition of national citizenship and equal protection contained in the Fourteenth Amendment, suffrage had been conferred upon women as national citizens. Although this argument had been denied in *Minor v. Happersett* (1874), her first editorial revisited the Court's claim that the national citizenship created in the Fourteenth Amendment did not imply national suffrage for all citizens to question the four (later six and then nine) classes of federally empowered voters. "If," she demanded, "states' rights took precedence over federal law with regard to something so basic to citizenship as the right to vote, what rights then did national citizenship confer; for what was the Civil War fought?"

For Gage, a woman who had been raised to think for herself, any mindless reliance on the interpretations of others was heresy. Uncowed by pontiffs, prelates, or politicians, she authored three anti-church resolutions for the Thirtieth Anniversary Convention in Rochester, New York, and then defended them in the *NCBB.* The Rochester Resolutions stated, in sum, that woman's first duty was to herself, as was the first duty of every individual; that woman had the right to individual conscience, in the spirit of the great principle of the Protestant Reformation; and that the perversion of the religious element in woman by priestcraft and superstition was the reason for her subjugation. The resolutions raised the usual furor in the general circulation press and in pulpits around the

To promote feminist reforms, including a constitutional amendment granting women the right to vote, Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Matilda Joslyn Gage, and others founded the National Woman Suffrage Association in 1869. This illustration from *Harper's Weekly* shows a packed organizing meeting. *(Brown Brothers)*

country. To her readers she instructed, "Oh woman! Be wise; study for yourself, act for yourself, *interpret* for yourself."

NWSA had been forged in the white-hot furnace of abandonment in the battle over the Fifteenth Amendment, and Gage was determined that it would not happen again. "Women," she argued, "do not work for any party that does not recognize the exact and equal rights of women with men, industrial and political. Work for your *own* political rights!" Anticipating the contemporary women's rights movement by nearly a century, she argued against impolitic alliances with parties across the spectrum of the nineteenth-century political landscape. To overtures from the Labor Party she replied, "[The Labor Party] has no woman suffrage plank and it does not include among its concerns that woman is paid only one-half, sometimes one-third as much as man for equal work."

To Gage, the personal was political. On July 4, 1879, she decorated her home in Fayetteville, New York, with funeral bunting and a sign proclaiming in bold letters: GOVERNMENTS DERIVE THEIR JUST POWERS FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED. WOMAN HAS NOT CONSENTED. Of her readers she asked, "How many of you thus protested? Such opportunity lies in the hands of all." Determined to make the women's movement move, she lent her guidance to the women of Fayetteville organizing and electing a full slate of pro-suffrage women to the local school board, including her daughter. The resulting editorial offered a winning model for political campaigning, including sending carriages to bring women without transportation to the polls.

Activism on the National Stage

As an activist, Gage's stature derived in part from her role in a number of NWSA's more publicly visible and dramatic moments. In 1872, a small group of highly placed Washington women led by the wives of General William Tecumseh Sherman and Admiral John A. Dahlgren began publishing tracts against woman suf-

frage and presented a proposal to Congress for a Sixteenth Amendment regulating marriage and restricting divorce. With NWSA's annual Washington convention approaching, Gage, as chair on Arrangement, immediately invited Mrs. Dahlgren, leader of the group, to come and debate the issues with them. "Nothing would afford the officers [of the NWSA] . . . greater pleasure than to hold a debate with yourself and your friends." She even promised Elizabeth Cady Stanton would enter the lists. As she expected, they demurred, citing their "female modesty" prevented them from so public an event. Congress was, apparently, less formidable a venue than a NWSA convention.

Later that same year, Anthony determined that the time had come to test a woman citizen's right to vote, and she did so in Rochester. Stanton disapproved of the notion, but Gage offered enthusiastic support. Anthony was prosecuted by the federal government, but her recognition as a public figure forced a change in trial venue to neighboring Ontario County. Gage wrote a speech for herself, and wrote Anthony's speech "Is It a Crime for a United States Citizen to Vote?" and the two embarked on a whirlwind canvas of Ontario County in the weeks leading up to the trial.

The year 1876 was the nation's centennial, but where was citizenship for women? What did women have to celebrate? NWSA determined to ask just such questions. After the organizers of the Philadelphia ceremonies denied them a place in the official program, the NWSA officers decided to present their petition unofficially. They waited for an apt pause in the program and saw their chance as the last strains of the Brazilian National Anthem faded into the hot July breeze. Together Gage, Anthony, Sara Spencer, and Phoebe Couzins hustled to the podium and presented their Woman's Declaration of Rights.

Gage was one of many New York State Woman Suffrage Association (NYSWSA) women who saw the irony involved in the iconography of the Statue of Liberty. It was, she stormed, "the sarcasm of the nineteenth century to represent liberty as a woman, while not one single woman throughout the length and breadth of the land is as yet in possession of political liberty." The Statue of Liberty was scheduled for dedication in 1886, and the organizers made it clear that the women of the New York State Woman Suffrage Association were not welcome. "There will be no women in the gathering on the island, at least it is hoped not." Needless to say, President Gage and Vice President Lillie Devereux Blake rented a steamship, raised their NYSWSA banners, barged into the official flotilla, and delivered their speeches.

A much weightier part of Gage's importance, however, rests on her scholarship. Gage was a pioneering advocate of women's history and a woman's historian. From her first speech in 1852, to the publication of her life's work, *Woman, Church and State,* in 1893, the guiding principle supporting her work was her belief that if women were educated in women's history, the debilitating doctrines of both church and state toward women would be exposed and ultimately overthrown. As William Leach wrote in *True Love and Perfect Union: The Feminist Reform of Sex and Society* (1980), she was "perhaps the most important of all nineteenth century feminist historians [who] ceaselessly mined the past for material on gifted women." The nation's centennial marked the beginning of conversations among the three NWSA leaders toward producing a pamphlet-sized history of their movement. The initial pamphlet they envisioned, however, grew to become the three original volumes of the *History of Woman Suffrage.* Anthony shouldered the administrative duties, and Stanton and Gage did the writing. All three organized the documents and artifacts of the first thirty years of their work. Begun in earnest in 1877, the volumes commanded much of the ensuing ten years to produce them. Gage's unique contribution to the project was her series of research-based essays on women's past that anchored each of the volumes. In addition to her work on the *History,* Gage began chronicling NWSA's current work in the *NCBB* during this same time period. As a result of this dual publishing effort, fully the first third of Volume III of the *History* can be traced to the pages of the *NCBB.*

Gage left the NWSA, only a few short years after the third volume of the *History* was published, in a heated dispute with Anthony over merging NWSA with the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA). For Gage, merger with the AWSA was an anathema, due to the organization's embrace of groups like the conservative Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). The WCTU and other conservative women's groups wanted votes for women in order to restrict American freedoms. Best known for its temperance crusades, the WCTU also supported amending the Constitution in order to proclaim God as the founder of nations and to allow the federal government to regulate marriage and further restrict divorce. Conservative women's groups had found a comfortable home in the AWSA. Gage was determined they would find no such succor in NWSA

and had no interest in creating a hybrid organization that would do just that. Unfortunately, despite her best efforts the merger was effected, leaving her no choice but to leave the association to which she had given so much of her life.

The years after leaving the NWSA until her death in 1898 were some of Gage's most productive years in a career noted for its productivity. Initially, she and her supporters founded a new women's rights association, the explicitly anti-church Woman's National Liberal Union (WNLU), and began publishing another newspaper, *The Liberal Thinker.* Although the excitement of a new organization was exhilarating and she thoroughly enjoyed attracting all the usual denunciations from the pulpit and press to which NWSA had become a stranger and the NAWSA would never know, she was drawn to the task of compiling a lifetime of research.

In a letter to her son, Thomas Clarkson Gage, she described the revelation that became the dominant theme of her work. "I did not at first think of attacking the foundations of the church itself, but I was thinking one day when a sudden light came into my mind, an illumination, which said *the church* and then I knew it was right. I thought it all carefully over and I knew I meant *the church* itself and I said so." The church's antagonism toward women's equality, she realized, was not incidental to its teachings but the very foundation of its beliefs, from which all its other teachings derived. This thesis, first expressed publicly in her speech "The Dangers of the Hour," delivered at the WNLU convention, articulated this idea. "Wherever we find laws of the state bearing with greater hardship upon woman than upon man, we shall ever find them due to the teachings of the church." In her analysis it was a universal truth and she used it as the foundation of her research. Freed from the demands of the NWSA and her own WNLU, she began her most important writing task.

Woman, Church and State stands alone. Although the woman suffrage movement moved on words; through its speeches, newspapers, petitions, and resolutions; *Woman, Church and State* is the only monograph written by a nineteenth-century suffragist. Gage had a twofold purpose in mind when she published it. First, she intended to disprove the conflicting myths promulgated by the church that decreed that "God designed the subjugation of woman, and yet that her position has been higher under Christianity than ever before." Second, she wanted to inspire women to "read history for [themselves], and having read it, dare to draw [their] own conclusions from its premises." Published in the summer of 1893, it drew savage attacks. Anthony Comstock, noted crusader against vice, declared he would "prosecute any school board that put it in their library." Publicly Gage responded to his attack in a statement that reads in part, "I look upon him as a man who is mentally and morally unbalanced, not knowing right from wrong, or the facts of history from 'tales of lust.' " Privately, she thought it was "all right splendid for the book. All it now needs is to get into the *Papal Index Expurgetorius!*" A month before her death she was too ill to attend NAWSA's Fiftieth Anniversary celebration of the Seneca Falls convention but was delighted that her book was hailed by Anna Howard Shaw. "[Praise for *Woman, Church and State*] must have been a *bomb* in that pious convention!" Grounded in its own time, *Woman, Church and State* argued issues that remain remarkably current, anticipating all of the important issues of the twentieth-century women's movement.

The legacy of Gage's life can be found in the causes she espoused, the events she lived and chronicled, and the history she wrote. In arguments that are as relevant today as they were a century ago, she arrayed her evidence and encouraged women to read and interpret history for themselves and on their own behalf. By so doing, she transcended the limited reform agenda of woman suffrage to leave a map toward tomorrow for all women. As a historian, Gage was acutely aware that the past could unlock the future when she predicted, "A brighter day is to come for the world, a day when the intuitions of woman's soul shall be accepted as part of humanity's spiritual wealth; when force shall step backward, and love, in reality, rule the teachings of religion; and may woman be strong in the ability and courage necessary to bring about this millennial time."

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Popular Health Movement

As in many social movements, the Popular Health movement was not one coherent movement with a definitive beginning or ending. Rather, it was composed of several health belief systems that shared a strong antipathy to the elitism of regular medicine, a belief that people could and should make a difference in their own health, and an emphasis on both preventative care and more gentle treatments. The anti-elitist philosophy opened the doors for alternative practitioners as well as alternative practices, and women quickly moved into the ranks of lecturers, healers, authors, and teachers. Although certain individual women such as Harriot Kezia Hunt, Paulina Wright Davis, and Lydia Folger Fowler have been placed in historical record, the majority of women who participated in the Popular Health movement remain nameless. Further research into their contributions would be immensely valuable in understanding how this movement affected the lived experiences of American families during the 1830s and 1840s.

The specific movements included Thomsonian Botanics, homeopathy, Grahamites, and hydropathy, and shared many ideologies even while differing in philosophies concerning the role of the trained practitioner. The separate movements overlapped in time, reaching a critical mass in the 1830s and 1840s. The Popular Health movement resisted the increasing elitism of medical knowledge, urging instead that the public be taught about good health practices and the causation of disease. Although regular medicine demanded "heroic" treatments such as bloodletting and purging, many Popular Health movement healers emphasized the belief that citizens could heal themselves through a healthier lifestyle, regular exercise, a vegetarian diet, and the restorative power of water.

American Culture in the 1830s and 1840s

To understand the acceptance and drive for the Popular Health movement, it is helpful to understand several cultural shifts in the United States and, more specifically, within the American medical establishment during the 1830s and 1840s. The period in general was dominated by an anti-elitist sentiment as well as the belief in romantic reform and differing responses to modernization, including a new view of motherhood as serving a "Republican" role in raising patriot citizens.

During this period in history, the twin forces of modernization and industrialization were changing the average community and household. More married and single youth moved into urban centers, while increased immigration changed the "face" of America. For some reformers, nostalgia for close-knit rural communities, combined with a fear of the new commercialism, may have given extra urgency to their call for tight control over the health of "the body." This control, however, was located internally rather than externally. Echoing the move from monarchy to democracy, a theme of self-governance and freedom from the control of those "above" dominated this time period.

The anti-elitism of this era found its most prominent example in the presidency of Andrew Jackson (1829–1837), who was known as the "people's president." History has clearly shown that Jackson did not believe in freedom for all in the United States, but his overt rhetoric was one of full citizen participation. A large population explosion, combined with subsequent legal and social changes, brought greater opportunity to citizens: the right to vote, or "suffrage," was granted to all white men during the 1820s and 1830s; labor forces began to form proto-unions, gaining the first workhour reduction in 1835; and ed-

ucation supported by the state began to spread to children, especially in Northern states. The dream of an equal voice for all citizens seemed more possible than ever before in the United States.

Romantic Reform and Disease Etiology

Large-scale migration and modernization often led to a feeling of being disconnected from what went before. There was a feeling of presentism, of immediacy, and of the empowerment of individuals; no longer were the elite or communal bodies the only ones able to enact change. Many of the leaders of the Popular Health movement were simply individuals from a variety of economic and social backgrounds who vigorously advanced an idea of better health for all. This philosophy, coupled with a population disillusioned about the possibility of healing from regularly trained physicians, formed the genesis of the health reform movement. In addition, the new belief that disease was not sent from God—that it was determined by human action and therefore could be prevented or alleviated through human action—allowed for greater focus on preventative care a century before sweeping changes were seen in hygienic practices around water and sanitation.

The history of American medicine has often been one of conflict over who was qualified to heal, echoing the debate between the Founding Fathers about whether the American people were fit to govern themselves or if an educated elite should "care" for them. The needs of a new country necessitated that healing be done by whoever was available—ministers, Native American herbalists, midwives, and the few doctors who had been educated before immigrating. The sharp distinctions in European societies between physician, surgeon, and apothecary were lost because most communities were too small to have separate healing practitioners, and resident healers were called upon to perform all three services. As the colonies gained in wealth, some practitioners were able to go abroad for training, teaching others when they returned. The first formal medical school did not open until 1765, in Philadelphia, and by 1830, only twenty-two medical schools were available to students.

This democracy born of necessity was quickly challenged. Those who could afford training, whether domestically or in Europe, began to distinguish themselves from other healers. A drive for licensure began in the mid-1700s, and by 1800, many states had licensing laws for physicians, creating the first official distinction between healers with formalized training, known as "regulars," and herbalists, home healers, midwives, and other domestic healers who came to be known as the "irregulars." At their extremes, regulars and irregulars differed in philosophy, diagnosis, and, most often, in treatment.

One characteristic of regular medicine was a focus on aggressive treatment of disease, known as "heroic medicine." Lynn Payer, in her work *Medicine and Culture*: *Varieties of Treatment in the United States, England, West Germany, and France* (1988), speaks of this style of healing made popular by Benjamin Rush—"the Father of American Medicine"—as related to the "toughness" required to "conquer" the wilderness of a "new frontier." As Americans were more able to withstand the hardships of creating a country, so their bodies should be more capable of withstanding harsher, more aggressive treatments. Bloodletting, or "bleeding" a patient, was common, as was induced vomiting or purging. A misunderstanding of the volume of blood held in the human body often caused the physician to allow up to a third of the patient's blood to flow out through cuts or leeches. This and the harsh drugs used to purge the patient sometimes precipitated the patient's death. In contrast, the more gentle treatments of the Popular Health movement did little to harm patients, while encouraging a building up of health through preventative measures such as diet reform and exercise.

The Popular Health Movement

The Popular Health movement is most commonly seen as comprising four philosophies: the teachings of Sylvester Graham, Thomsonian botanics, homeopathy, and hydropathy. In addition, individual health reformers who lived in the middle of these established theories combined elements of two or more of these philosophies to create their own local, eclectic system of healing. Several themes mark them as part of "the Popular Health movement": a rejection of heroic medicine and an emphasis on more gentle treatment; a belief in the body's ability to heal itself if properly cared for; a passion for educating the public about their own health and fitness; and, for most, a focus on patients from the lower to middle class. The final element that characterized the movements was a tendency to split into subgroups once the movement had gained a larger following. Differences in theory on whether to remain completely separate from regular medicine or to incorporate some of the more moderate regular treatments diluted the original tenets of "al-

ternative" healing, but may also have permitted elements of the theory to survive the end of the Popular Health movement by being absorbed into the practices of regular doctors.

Best remembered today for the "graham cracker" named after him, Sylvester Graham (1794–1851) was an early and controversial figure in nineteenth-century health reform. His lectures promoting vegetarianism, a strict regimen of whole bran bread and plain drink, often led to riotous protests by local butchers, bakers, and grain-growers, while others dismissed his views as excessive and old-fashioned. Following a new social emphasis on sexual purity, he lectured for control both inside and outside of marriage, preaching that any form of sexual stimulation would lead to debility. It was Graham who wrote the first in a long American tradition of tracts detailing the dangers of masturbation on young people's bodies and characters in his "Lecture to Young Men" (1834).

Graham himself died at a relatively young age and became a figure of some ridicule for the extremity of his beliefs. Nonetheless, he popularized many health concepts which are widely accepted today: the health benefits of regular bathing, well-ventilated living areas, regular exercise, a diet high in vegetables and fiber and low in meat intake, and clothing that is not excessively confining. His ideas also had a great influence on subsequent movements, several of which simply modified his more radical ideas and created a more "palatable" health regimen.

Basically a refined system of herbalism, Thomsonian Botanics became an immensely popular method for citizens to heal themselves and their families. Samuel Thomson learned herbalism from a local unnamed female healer who attended his family. His studies with her convinced him of the healing properties of simple combinations of herbs, which he turned into a patented system of healing. In 1806, he began to sell "family rights" to his ideas for the price of $20; by 1813, he had patented his system, and by 1820, he had issued a publication called "New Guide to Health," which he also published in German for recent immigrants. Scholar Ronald Numbers reports in his 1977 essay on sectarian medicine that "by 1840 approximately 100,000 Family Rights had been sold, and Thomson estimated that about three million persons had adopted his system."

What set Thomson apart from most other sectarians was his genuine desire to educate the public in such a way that they would no longer need the aid of regular doctors. The Thomsonian mantra of "every man his own physician" illustrated his belief that citizens should be equipped to think and to care for themselves.

As was often the case, however, a split in theory developed. Although Thomson believed that each person could be his or her own doctor, other practitioners of Thomsonian Botanics felt that a formally educated medical practitioner was a necessary addition to the home health guides. Amidst bitter debate, these practitioners opened their own Botanic medical schools in the late 1830s. Despite the advantages of safety, cost-effectiveness, convenience, and the modesty afforded women in caring for themselves, the movement became divided and eventually began to lose popularity in the 1840s.

Homeopathy and Hydropathy

First refined in Germany by Samuel Hahnemann (1755–1843), homeopathy followed two laws: the law of similars (like cures like) and the law of infinitesimals (the more dilute the dose, the stronger the effectiveness of the drug). Highly popular in Germany, it was brought to the United States in 1825 by Hans Gram, an American medical student who had studied in Denmark, and it was later expanded by Gram's disciple John F. Gray. Early practitioners were either converted by Gram and Gray or were themselves German homeopathic physicians who immigrated to treat the large German population in Pennsylvania and the Midwest. Domestic kits containing instructions and diluted formulas of medicines were available for sale by the early 1830s. During the period of the Popular Health movement, homeopathy was utilized largely by the lower economic classes. The reason may have been that they were more able to afford treatment or that, as recent German immigrants, they preferred a healing system that was probably more familiar to them. As a national phenomenon, homeopathy did not begin to attract large numbers of practitioners until the 1850s, when it began to move into the middle classes. By the 1870s and 1880s, scholar Hans Baer believes that it had become the most influential heterodox medical system in the United States.

Homeopathy was especially popular with women because the medicines were considered extremely safe for both babies and older children. Even allopathic doctors agreed that homeopathic remedies would do little to no harm to patients; at the very most they might slow healing if the home practitioner took the wrong medicine. The slow healing alone made it preferable to the regular medical practice of the day. However, some homeopathic practitioners began to believe that at times more active treatment of a patient might

be advantageous. This belief split the movement into two distinct ideologies: "mixers" or "low-potency" (less dilute) practitioners who advocated combining homeopathy with more allopathic diagnoses and treatments, and the "purists" or "high-potency" (more dilute) practitioners who maintained Hahnemann's original theory of using only extremely dilute homeopathic treatments.

The latest of the sects in the Popular Health movement, hydropathy, did not arrive in the United States until the mid-1840s. Three prominent health practitioners—two regularly trained physicians, Joel Shew and Russell Trall, and one female health reformer, Mary Gove Nichols—opened water cure businesses in New York City in the early 1840s. Gove Nichols set the stage for the active involvement of women in hydropathy; eventually, a large percentage of practitioners were female. A cross-fertilization of ideologies also drew in feminists interested in dress reform and in demolishing the monopoly of health provision by male doctors.

Hydropaths provided water cure clinics, books, and the *Water Cure Journal*, a periodical dedicated to spreading hydropathy to those who were unable to access a clinic. Like the early Thomsonians, many leaders in the hydropathic sect, including those who were regularly trained doctors, hoped eventually to make doctors obsolete except in treating the most extreme cases.

Another distinction of hydropathy is that it survived the demise of the Popular Health movement. When Ellen G. White, the prophetess of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church, found that hydropathy cured her two young sons of their high fevers and sore throats, she began to spread the message throughout the church. Out of this came the Battle Creek Sanitarium presided over by one of White's protégés named John Harvey Kellogg, brother to the cereal business czar.

Ladies' Physiological Societies

Beginning during the Popular Health movement, Ladies' Physiological Societies held "conversationals" about various health topics, including anatomy and physiology, nutrition, exercise, personal hygiene, dress reform, the evils of "self-pollution" (a Victorian codeword for masturbation), drug-free childbirth, midwifery and limiting family size. They were attended primarily by white, married or widowed, nonemployed women who could afford to pay the annual dues to attend. A wide variety of speakers, ranging from doctors to health reformers to the women themselves, presented information, answered questions, and took part in discussions. Although limited to the middle class, these conversationals contributed to the health education of women and set a precedent for the consciousness-raising groups of the 1970s Feminist Women's Health movement.

Conclusion

The Popular Health movement formed the first of what scholar Ruth Engs has called "Clean Living movements"—large-scale social movements, often tied into moral belief systems, which run in roughly eighty year cycles to decrease substance abuse and increase health and fitness in the population. The first Clean Living movement, which Engs places from 1830 to 1860, includes the Popular Health movement and focuses on temperance, tobacco, fitness, eugenics, nativism, diet, and Christian physiology.

In extending the date beyond the Popular Health movement, Engs includes the reform movements of the Seventh-Day Adventists led by Ellen G. White in promoting the Water Cure movement (1860s), spiritism (1850s), and osteopathy (1860s). Post–Civil War healing movements such as the systems of New Thought healing groups (1880s and 1890s), Mary Baker Eddy and Christian Science (1880s and 1890s), and chiropractics (1890s) also shared in the Popular Health movement's concern that health be made available to all.

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Women's Cooperative Housekeeping Movement

Cooperative Housekeeping is one of the major women's social reform movements that transformed American culture from the nineteenth century into the twentieth century by making it acceptable within the dominant gender ideology for women to have public professions, institutions, and businesses. Reformers made these new women's professions and public cooperative housekeeping enterprises acceptable in the dominant gender ideology by claiming that they were natural extensions of women's household roles. Women's public-domestic professions and institutions changed the gender system by conflating and combining the supposedly separate female domestic sphere with the male public sphere. Public cooperative housekeeping enterprises materially increased the visibility of women on public landscapes and showed that women could contribute to the public good as citizens before female suffrage was attained.

In the public cooperative housekeeping movement reform, women transformed private unpaid domestic tasks into paid public professions in institutions and businesses founded and operated by women for women. Housekeeping cooperatives replaced women's individual repetitive performance of housework in isolated male-dominated homes with shared performance of housework by a group of women in public institutions or businesses. Household tasks were more efficiently performed through cooperation, in some cases through division of women's labor into different specialized tasks.

Founding

Public housekeeping cooperatives were founded by women for economic and political reasons. The main goal of public housekeeping cooperatives was to transform private unpaid household labor into new women's public professions that would be equivalent in status and remuneration to men's professions. New female professions created in public cooperative housekeeping institutions by reform women included nurses, dieticians, nutritionists, social workers, public health workers, kindergarten teachers, day care providers, kitchen garden teachers, playground supervisors, domestic science teachers, home economics teachers, and librarians.

The professionalization of women's domestic tasks was symbolized and implemented with professional training courses and schools that used special, often scientific, equipment. Professional schools employed women *in* the professions to educate other women *for* those professions. The need to professionally educate women was an instrumental argument for founding women's colleges and opening up federally funded institutions of higher education to women.

Educated middle-class women created housekeeping cooperatives so that they would have time for intellectual and reform activities. They also sought to alleviate working women's double burden of work and housework by founding child-care and cooking cooperatives for working families.

Some community cooperatives were organized by middle-class women to facilitate their own housekeeping. The most numerous type of middle-class community cooperative was the dining club, in which ladies volunteered in organizing paid servants to produce meals for club members that were either eaten at the dining club house or delivered to members' homes. The latter were usually called cooked-food delivery services, and in a few cases were organized by working-class women.

Forms of Cooperative Work

Most public cooperative housekeeping enterprises were organized by middle-class reformers to assist working-class women and their families. Many of these cooperatives were housed in social settlements, where unmarried reformers lived cooperatively while

One of the goals of the women's cooperative housekeeping movement was to break down barriers that blocked women from entering various professions. This early-twentieth-century photograph shows women working as telephone switchboard operators, a job formerly dominated by men. *(Brown Brothers)*

offering a variety of programs to the surrounding poor, usually immigrant, and urban community. Housekeeping cooperatives organized by reform women and offered to working-class families included day nurseries, kindergartens, kitchen gardens, playgrounds, and public kitchens.

Day nurseries that provided physical care for young infants first appeared in the United States in New York City in 1854. Kindergartens were children's educational cooperatives initially founded by and for middle-class women. But more kindergartens were soon founded for working-class women, usually in settlements. Kindergartens used special toys to assist children in discovering the scientific order of nature. The kindergarten movement was founded in 1838 in Germany by Friedrich Froebel and in the United States in 1860 by Elizabeth Peabody of Boston.

Kitchen gardens were founded by Emily Huntington in 1875 in New York City to teach poor children middle-class housekeeping practices. Parents who perceived kitchen gardens as training for domestic service usually refused to send their daughters to be trained for this stigmatized profession. However, kitchen gardens were usually presented as training children of both sexes to help with housework at home, which was welcomed by most poor working parents.

The American playground movement developed out of a playground for young children founded in 1885 in Boston by the women of the Massachusetts Emergency and Hygiene Association. The playground for small children had a large sand box that was called a sand garden after those in Berlin visited by association member Dr. Maria Zakrzewska. Playgrounds offered cooperative child play supervised by kindergarten teachers. Photographs show that many playgrounds established in the yards of women's social settlements were racially integrated.

Public kitchens offered scientifically cooked food at cheap prices to the urban poor. Inspired by German Volkskitchens, the U.S. public kitchen movement was founded by Ellen Swallow Richards, the first female student and professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. At public kitchens, reformers had to change their original Yankee menu and offer more ethnic foods to be patronized by poor immigrants for more than hot water and broth.

The most widespread type of cooperatives founded by middle-class women for working women were the cooperative homes for single working women, which offered a safe and pleasant alternative to boarding houses that charged high rents and offered single women no protection against the advances of male boarders in nearby rooms. The increasing number of single working women in cooperative homes indicated that women valued the cooperative facilities, such as laundries, libraries, gymnasiums, classes, and social clubs, as well as the lower costs compared to many commercial boardinghouses. At the same time, a number of single working women objected to restrictive rules imposed in some cooperative homes for working women, especially religious ones. In Chicago, middle-class reform women maternalistically running YWCAs responded to the objections of resident working women by loosening some rules, permitting more socialization with men in parlors, establishing resident governance bodies, and building more private single rooms.

The municipal housekeeping movement involved even larger-scale socialized housekeeping at the level of the entire community. Reform women made an analogy between the household and the community, and argued that women were needed as moral housekeepers and mothers for the entire community, to clean up the dirt in streets and factories that endangered their families, especially children, with a dirty and therefore unhealthy environment as well as corrupted products such as adulterated milk and butter.

The professionalization of women's domestic roles in the municipal housekeeping movement led male public officials to appoint women as municipal playground commissioners, board of education members, street inspectors, garbage inspectors, factory inspectors, juvenile justices, and juvenile probation officers.

Playgrounds were cooperative housekeeping spaces also founded by women's organizations for municipal housekeeping purposes because they were considered orderly natural green spaces associated with women and God. Therefore, playgrounds were considered a higher moral influence over children that could prevent them from falling into juvenile delinquency as a result of contact with the corrupting temptations on the streets of men's "sinful cities of stone," as reformers called them.

Origins of Public Cooperatives

The roots of women's public cooperative housekeeping institutions include traditions of family and neighborhood cooperation. The earliest predecessors to the movement are probably cooperative agrarian practices in which neighboring farm women worked together to accomplish tasks such as husking corn (called husking bees), sewing quilts (sewing bees), and spinning thread. The most popular nineteenth-century domestic manual, *The American Woman's Home*, by Catherine Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, further advised women to organize their children to cooperate in housekeeping.

Other roots of women's public cooperative housekeeping institutions include communitarian ideologies and practices. People who felt they could not reform the entire society and culture withdrew to form perfect cooperative societies in miniature, sometimes with the hope they would be emulated by the society at large.

Early ideologies supporting cooperative housekeeping advocated communal living, including the ideal elite commune dependent on slave labor that was designed by Plato in *The Republic* in the fourth century B.C.E. and reproduced in St. Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516). Christian communal living ideals drawn from the apostolic commune in the Bible supported the development not only of monasteries but also of abbeys and nunneries in which women cooperated in housework as early as the eleventh century. Nuns and monks operated the earliest charitable community cooperatives, including almshouses and orphan asylums.

The communitarian ideology of Christianity became codified in law in the American colony of Pu-

ritan New England, which was a religious state. Laws against the sins of usury and price gouging were based on biblical principles. As men increasingly participated in the development of capitalism in the eighteenth century, the values and practices required for capitalistic success, including the sins of usury and unfair pricing, drew men away from the church.

The majority of church members became women, who maintained communitarian cooperative values and practices in the domestic sphere. Women came to be considered innately more pious and moral than men because their domestic sphere was closer to nature and God and removed from participation in sinful capitalistic practices. Thus, cooperative housekeeping and communal living were widely associated with Christian morality and with women.

In America, women's charitable organizations founded and operated cooperative housekeeping organizations to raise orphaned girls, called female orphan asylums, starting in the early nineteenth century. Women's charitable organizations also founded cooperative homes for poor or unemployed working-class women and elderly women.

Religious communes were often viewed by their members as the perfection of society—heavens on earth. A number of Christian heretical communes with cooperative housekeeping fled persecution in Europe to establish communes in America. Nineteen Shaker communes were established under the leadership of Ann Lee between 1774 and 1826, three Rappite Harmony society towns were founded by George Rapp between 1805 and 1824, seven Amana Inspirationist communes were established after 1854, and three communes of Oneida Perfectionists were founded by John H. Noyes between 1847 and 1878.

Many nineteenth-century communes were based on the European nonsectarian philosophy of communitarian socialism, which was inspired by the American Revolution. In the late eighteenth century, the idea that equality should apply to women as well as men was argued by feminists on the eve of the French Revolution, including Judith S. Murray in the United States in 1790, Olympe de Gouges in 1791 in France, and Mary Wollstonecraft in 1792 in England. Communitarian Socialists Count Henri de Saint-Simon and Charles Fourier argued that equality of the sexes could be attained through socialization of private housework into public cooperatives, as well as cooperative factory labor by workers. Charles Fourier stated that "The degree of emancipation of women is the natural measure of general emancipation."

Fourier's ideas, translated into English and interpreted by his disciple Albert Brisbane, were implemented in a variety of what were called "Associationist experiments" or "Fourierist Phalanxes" in the United States and Europe, predominantly 1840 to 1860. The most impressive was the Familistere or Social Palace at Guise, France, erected by Fourierist Jean-Baptiste-André Godin starting in 1859. The complex of buildings housed several hundred iron workers and their families in apartments with private kitchens, but also included a cooperative dining hall, cooperative child-care center, and café. The most renowned Socialist communitarian experiments in America included fifteen Owenite communes (1820s–1830) founded by the wealthy industrialist John Owen, the racially integrated Nashoba commune (1827) founded by feminist Frances Wright, Brook Farm (1841–1846) founded by unitarian minister George Ripley, and thirty Fourierist Associations (1840–1960), which combined science and religion.

In communes, cooperative housekeeping was often facilitated by inventions. The Shakers invented a washing machine, the common clothespin, an apple peeler and corer, a pea sheller, a cheese press, a round oven, and a conical stove for heating irons. At the Social Palace in Guise, France, reformers created bathtubs with adjustable bottoms for children or adults, laundry tubs that expelled water by spinning, and innovations in heating, lighting, and ventilation. The Oneida perfectionists used the latest heating, lighting, and sanitation devices, and invented an improved washing machine, a mop wringer, an institutional potato peeler, and a "lazy susan" to facilitate food service.

Outside of communes, women reformers proposed and implemented cooperative housekeeping businesses and institutions in communities. Women's public cooperative housekeeping enterprises comprised the first pay-for-housework movement. The reformers advocated removing aspects of housework from the home and transforming them into paid public professions and businesses.

In America, community cooperative housekeeping was proposed in 1834 in Caroline Howard Gilman's book *Recollections of a Housekeeper*, which advocated the professionalization of housekeeping services, including cooking establishments to provide families with prepared food. In 1865, Harriet Beecher Stowe, in her story "Christopher Crowfield" in *House and Home Papers*, proposed a Model Christian Neighborhood of ten to twelve families with a shared laundry and bake house. In an 1868 article for the suffrage

journal *The Revolution*, Stowe sketched "A Model Village of New England" with a town laundry, bakery, and cook-house. She described her experience living in Europe and obtaining multicourse dinners from a neighborhood cook-shop. Stowe's Model Christian Neighborhood reappeared in 1869 in *The American Woman's Home*. In their manual, the Beecher sisters also designed a school that included instruction and participation in cooperative housekeeping by the elementary school's pupils.

The Cambridge Cooperative Housekeeping Society

In the United States, the earliest effort at implementing cooperative housekeeping ideas outside of a commune appears to be the Cambridge Cooperative Housekeeping Society (CCHS) in Cambridge, Massachusetts, founded in 1869 by Melusina Fay Peirce, wife of Harvard professor Charles Peirce, who founded the philosophy of pragmatism. Melusina had gained an unusual scientific education at the Agassiz Young Ladies' School founded by Elizabeth and Louis Agassiz, who was a geology professor at Harvard. After Melusina Fay met Charles Peirce, who was also a student of Louis Agassiz, and married him in 1862, Melusina "joined him [Charles] in his early scientific work," according to one biographer, and was "something of a scientist in her own right," according to another. This context elucidates why Zina, as she was called, rebelled at the "costly and unnatural sacrifice" of women's wider talents to "the dusty drudgery of house ordering."

A number of factors influenced Zina's interest in founding housekeeping cooperatives. First, she had personally experienced the widespread modern conflict between woman's role as housekeeper and her desire to express her intellectual talents. Second, during her childhood, Zina had seen neighborhood women cooperatively organize to perform her mother's sewing tasks so she could develop her strong musical talents. Zina believed that her mother's life had been ended prematurely by hard domestic labor. Third, Zina's writings show the influence of her great aunt Caroline Howard Gilman's book *Recollections of a Housekeeper* (1834), which advocated the professionalization of housekeeping services, including cooking establishments to provide families with prepared food. Zina's earliest article on cooperative housekeeping in the *World*, July 11, 1864, imagined an association of fashionable ladies who voluntarily supervised lower class women in producing and distributing food to families who paid for the service.

In 1869, Zina proposed the Cambridge Cooperative Housekeeping Society, according to ideas in her ground-breaking series of articles in the *Atlantic Monthly* from November 1868 to March 1869. The CCHS prospectus stated that it would follow the practices of the famous cooperative store established in England by the workman's organization, the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers, which sold store subscriptions to raise money to buy goods that were then sold to members at retail prices. The profits were then divided among the members according to the amount of their purchases.

The CCHS lost money and was disbanded in 1871 for a number of reasons, which Zina Peirce detailed in her final report as CCHS treasurer, and in her 1884 book *Cooperative Housekeeping: How to Do It and How Not to Do It.* The main reason the cooperative laundry, bakery, and store failed was the interference of the husbands of the cooperating women, who were predominantly Harvard professors. In her book, Zina recorded comments by husbands who objected to their wives cooperating for the comfort of other men; some husbands complained that wives who went to meetings of the CCHS inconvenienced them inasmuch as they were therefore unavailable for their household duties, such as sewing on a button. Zina pointed out with some irony that husbands who were abolitionists had no compunction about enslaving their wives to housework.

A number of husbands allowed their wives to join the CCHS only on condition that they would never actually use the cooperatives. This meant that the loads of clothes were too small to permit the large machines bought for the laundry to be run profitably. And groceries rotted on the cooperative store's shelves because many families were afraid to risk the loss of their regular suppliers of groceries. Furthermore, the cooperative bakery produced a batch of bread that went stale on the shelves for lack of a delivery man and wagon. Following the dominant gender ideology that limited women to the domestic sphere of the home, wives and their female servants expected goods to be delivered from the public sphere to their homes, even though in this case most of the members' homes were within a fifteen-minute walk of the cooperative building.

Zina made the mistake of creating a board of husbands to oversee the CCHS, with the idea that she would be able to manipulate them. Instead, the husbands reorganized the CCHS. They replaced Zina's

egalitarian cooperative organizational structure commonly associated with women, in which three different committees of women organized each cooperative, with a male-hierarchical organizational power structure that put Zina in charge of all the cooperatives, discouraging the cooperation she sought among women in the CCHS.

Despite the failure of the Cambridge Cooperative Housekeeping Society, Zina Peirce was famous in the reform community for her theoretical articles and designs for community cooperative housekeeping. Her ideas and designs of a community cooperative in a neighborhood of kitchenless houses strongly influenced Charlotte Perkins Gilman and later reformers who proposed neighborhoods of middle-class kitchenless houses and community cooperative kitchens, dining clubs, and child-care facilities.

Women as well as men designed cooperative neighborhoods and communes, These women ranged from Melusina Fay Peirce to Charlotte Perkins Gilman and Alice Constance Austin, who in 1916 designed kitchenless houses and cooperative facilities for the Socialist commune of Llano del Rio in Antelope Valley, California.

Conclusion

Cooperative housekeeping and municipal housekeeping were major social movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that transformed American culture with new women's gender ideology, public professions, institutions, and businesses. The professionalization of women's domestic tasks in the public sphere further justified women's higher education for these professions. Women's access to higher education and new women's public professions were major culture-change processes that were instrumental to the movement for female suffrage.

Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT
1848–1920

Before the early 1970s, when women's history became a legitimate academic pursuit and women began writing their own history, suffrage was barely mentioned in textbooks, let alone militant activism by suffragists. Few know that it was women seeking the vote who *first* picketed the White House for a political cause and that these courageous women faced jail, hunger strikes, and forced feedings. Few know about the groups and leaders who fought for and against suffrage, and about the years of strategizing and education in their seventy-two-year struggle for enfranchisement.

"We hope the contribution we have made may enable some other hand in the future to write a more complete history of the most momentous reform that has yet been launched on the world—the first organized protest against the injustice which has brooded over the character and destiny of one-half the human race." So stated suffrage pioneers Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage in the introduction of Volume I of the six-volume series, *The History of Woman Suffrage* (1887).

In the nineteenth century, two great reforms were rapidly pressing forward, propelled by the controversy of earnest, consecrated protagonists on the one hand and bitter, hostile antagonists on the other—the antislavery and antiliquor movements. Both appealed strongly to the humanitarian sympathies of educated women. Whether the effort of women had any appreciable effect on either movement between 1800 and 1850 may be debated, but it is certain that these reforms furnished the most impelling motive leading women to emerge from their seclusion to take part in public affairs.

They came timidly at first, but, with the discovery that the majority of men not only did not want their help but expressed their antagonism in phrases and tones of bitter contempt, the spirit of many women was stung into resentment. They chafed at the restraint of individual liberty, and the bravest boldly defended the right of any woman to give service to any cause and in any manner she chose. Thus, the stage was set in the fight for woman suffrage.

Stanton and her friend, devout Quaker Lucretia Mott, began their activism as abolitionists, as did many of the early suffragists. They deeply resented the male abolitionists who would not allow them to speak at the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840. Women were excluded from participation and forced to sit in a curtained balcony as the men debated. Stanton's new husband, Henry B. Stanton, was an abolitionist leader. She seethed as her male colleagues conducted "the crucifixion [of woman's] pride and self-respect, the humiliation of [her] spirit."

The first women's rights convention, called by Stanton, Mott, Martha C. Wright, Mary Ann McClintock, and Jane Hunt, was held in 1848 at the Wesleyan Church in Seneca Falls, New York. Stanton described the meeting in the *History of Woman Suffrage* (1887) as follows:

> It had been decided to have no men present, but as they were already on the spot, and as the women who must take the responsibility of organizing the meeting and leading the discussions shrank from doing either, it was decided, in a hasty council around the altar, that this was an occasion when men might make themselves pre-eminently useful.
>
> James Mott, tall and dignified, in Quaker costume, was called to the chair; Mary McClintock appointed secretary, Frederick Douglass, Samuel Tillman, Ansel Bascom, E.W. Capron, and Thomas McClintock took part throughout the discussions. Lucretia Mott, accustomed to public speaking in the Society of Friends, stated the object of the Convention, and in taking a survey of the degraded condition of woman the world over, showed the importance of inaugurating some movement for her education and elevation.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON

(1815–1902)

Born on November 12, 1815, in Johnstown, New York, Elizabeth Cady was educated at the Troy Female Seminary (now Emma Willard School) in Troy, New York. Intellectually gifted, she excelled in Greek and read law informally in the office of her father, Daniel Cady, a U.S. congressman and later a New York Supreme Court judge, before marrying. While studying law, she learned of the discriminatory laws under which women lived and determined to win equal rights for her sex.

In 1840 she married Henry Brewster Stanton, a journalist and abolitionist, and they attended the international slavery convention in London while on their honeymoon. The exclusion of women delegates from the floor of the convention angered Stanton and Lucretia Mott, who became a mentor to the younger Stanton, and led them to organize women to win greater equality. She and Mott called the first Woman's Rights Convention in the United States in 1848 at Seneca Falls, New York. Stanton drafted the Seneca Falls Convention's Declaration of Sentiments and argued forcefully for a suffrage clause to be included in the bill of rights for women that was drawn up at the convention. She became a frequent speaker on the subject of women's rights and circulated petitions that helped secure passage by the New York legislature in 1848 of a bill granting married women's property rights.

In 1851, she met Susan B. Anthony, and they formed a lifelong working relationship. Stanton, the better orator and writer, was perfectly complemented by Anthony, the organizer and tactician. Among their earliest targets were the laws that discriminated against married women, denying them the right to hold property, or wages, or guardianship of their children. In 1854, Stanton received an unprecedented invitation to address the New York legislature; her speech resulted in new legislation in 1860 granting married women the rights to their wages and to equal guardianship of their children.

During the Civil War, Stanton worked for abolitionism. In 1863, she and Anthony organized the Woman's National Loyal League, which gathered more than 300,000 signatures on petitions calling for immediate emancipation. The movement to extend the franchise to African-American men after the war, however, reemphasized the disenfranchisement of women and led her and her colleagues to redouble their efforts for woman suffrage.

Stanton helped organize and was president of the National Woman Suffrage Association (1869–1890). After it merged with a rival group to become the National American Woman Suffrage Association, she served as president from 1890 to 1892 of the new organization. With Anthony as publisher, she and Parker Pillsbury edited (1868–1870) *The Revolution*, a women's rights magazine. In 1878, she drafted a federal suffrage amendment that was introduced in every Congress thereafter until women were granted the right to vote in 1920. As a writer and lecturer she strove for legal, political, and industrial equality of women and for liberal divorce laws. She compiled with Susan B. Anthony and Matilda Joslyn Gage the first three volumes of the six-volume *History of Woman Suffrage* (1887) and wrote an autobiography, *Eighty Years and More* (1898). Stanton died in New York City on October 26, 1902.

James G. Lewis

They saw parallels between their lives as women and those of the slaves. Thus, they planned the convention intending to give the Seneca Falls gathering of 300 activists (including 40 men) the focus they needed to change their legal and political status. This was the first public protest of women's political, social, and economic inequality. They used the Declaration of Independence, a document ratified seventy-two years earlier, in 1776, which had failed to include women, as the basis for the Declaration of Sentiments. The Seneca Falls signers held "these truths to be self-evident, that all men *and women* are created equal."

Stanton first introduced the "radical" concept of votes for women as part of the Declaration of Sentiments. "It is the sacred duty of the women of this country to secure for themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise," declared Stanton.

Indeed, it might just as easily be argued that the struggle for women's rights in America really began with the Revolution itself. Certainly, women were fired by the revolutionary rhetoric of human rights and political liberties. And the war profoundly affected women's lives, changing forever their sense of themselves as citizens of the republic. A review of women's status in the American colonies, and the changes wrought and hopes unrealized by the Revo-

THE DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS, 1848

In 1848, women's rights advocates gathered at a convention in Seneca Falls, New York. The Declaration of Sentiments, modeled after the U.S. Declaration of Independence, demands equal rights for women in society. It was signed by a committee of one hundred: sixty-eight women and thirty-two men.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume among the people of the earth a position different from that which they have hitherto occupied . . . a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to such a course.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of those who suffer from it to refuse allegiance to it, and to insist upon the institution of a new government, laying its foundation on such principles . . . as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of the women under this government, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to demand the equal station to which they are entitled.

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. . . .

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she had no voice.

He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men . . .

Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

He has made her, morally, an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, her master . . .

He has so framed the laws of divorce . . . and in case of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given, as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of women—the law, in all cases . . . giving all power into his hands.

After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single, and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration. He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law, she is not known.

He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her.

He allows her in church, as well as state, but a subordinate position, claiming apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the church.

He has created a false public sentiment by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women . . .

He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and to her God.

He has endeavored . . . to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation . . . and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed, and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States.

Source: Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *A History of Woman Suffrage,* vol. 1 (Rochester, NY: Fowler and Wells, 1889).

SENECA FALLS RESOLUTIONS, 1848

The Seneca Falls Resolutions of 1848 represent the first elocution of women's equality with men in the United States and set the stage for nationalizing the expansion of the women's rights movement.

Whereas the great precept of nature is conceded to be, "that man shall pursue his own true and substantial happiness." Blackstone, in his Commentaries, remarks, that this law of Nature being coeval with mankind, and dictated by God himself, is of course superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries, and at all times; no human laws are of any validity if contrary to this, and such of them as are valid, derive all their force, and all their validity, and all their authority, mediately and immediately, from this original;

Therefore, Resolved, That such laws as conflict, in any way, with the true and substantial happiness of woman, are contrary to the great precept of nature, and of no validity; for this is "superior in obligation to any other."

Resolved, That all laws which prevent woman from occupying such a station in society as her conscience shall dictate, or which place her in a position inferior to that of man, are contrary to the great precept of nature, and therefore of no force or authority.

Resolved, That woman is man's equal—was intended to be so by the Creator—and the highest good of the race demands that she should be recognized as such.

Resolved, That the women of this country ought to be enlightened in regard to the laws under which they live, that they may no longer publish their degradation, by declaring themselves satisfied with their present position, nor their ignorance, by asserting that they have all the rights they want.

Resolved, That inasmuch as man, while claiming for himself intellectual superiority, does accord to woman moral superiority, it is pre-eminently his duty to encourage her to speak, and teach, as she has an opportunity, in all religious assemblies.

Resolved, That the same amount of virtue, delicacy, and refinement of behavior, that is required of woman in the social state, should also be required of man, and the same transgressions should be visited with equal severity on both man and woman.

Resolved, That the objection of indelicacy and impropriety, which is so often brought against woman when she addresses a public audience, comes with a very ill-grace from those who encourage, by their attendance, her appearance on the stage, in the concert, or in feats of the circus.

Resolved, That woman has too long rested satisfied in the circumscribed limits which corrupt customs and a perverted application of the Scriptures have marked out for her, and that it is time she should move in the enlarged sphere which her great Creator has assigned her.

Resolved, That it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise.

Resolved, That the equality of human rights results necessarily from the fact of the identity of the race in capabilities and responsibilities.

Resolved, therefore, That, being invested by the Creator with the same capabilities, and the same consciousness of responsibility for their exercise, it is demonstrably the right and duty of woman, equally with man, to promote every righteous cause, by every righteous means; and especially in regard to the great subjects of morals and religion, it is self-evidently her right to participate with her brother in teaching them, both in private and in public, by writing and by speaking, by any instrumentalities proper to be used, and in any assemblies proper to be held; and this being a self-evident truth, growing out of the divinely implanted principles of human nature, any custom or authority adverse to it, whether modern or wearing the hoary sanction of antiquity, is to be regarded as a self-evident falsehood, and at war with the interests of mankind.

Seneca Falls Resolutions
Seneca Falls Conference
Seneca Falls, New York 1848

Source: Seneca County Courier, July 14, 1848. http://www.memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/nawbib:@field(NUMBER+@band(rbnawsa+n7548)).

THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN
BY FREDERICK DOUGLASS, 1848

Antislavery leader Frederick Douglass, in a July 1848 editorial in The North Star, *expresses his strong support for the women's rights movement and the Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments.*

One of the most interesting events of the past week, was the holding of what is technically styled a Woman's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls. The speaking, addresses, and resolutions of this extraordinary meeting were almost wholly conducted by women; and although they evidently felt themselves in a novel position, it is but simple justice to say that their whole proceedings were characterized by marked ability and dignity. No one present, we think, however much he might be disposed to differ from the views advanced by the leading speakers on that occasion, will fail to give them credit for brilliant talents and excellent dispositions. In this meeting, as in other deliberative assemblies, there were frequent differences of opinion and animated discussion; but in no case was there the slightest absence of good feeling and decorum. Several interesting documents setting forth the rights as well as the grievances of women were read. Among these was a Declaration of Sentiments, to be regarded as the basis of a grand movement for attaining the civil, social, political, and religious rights of women. We should not do justice to our own convictions, or to the excellent persons connected with this infant movement, if we did not in this connection offer a few remarks on the general subject which the Convention met to consider and the objects they seek to attain. In doing so, we are not insensible that the bare mention of this truly important subject in any other than terms of contemptuous ridicule and scornful disfavor, is likely to excite against us the fury of bigotry and the folly of prejudice. A discussion of the rights of animals would be regarded with far more complacency by many of what are called the *wise* and the *good* of our land, than would be a discussion of the rights of women. It is, in their estimation, to be guilty of evil thoughts, to think that a woman is entitled to equal rights with man. Many who have at last made the discovery that the negroes have some rights as well as other members of the human family, have yet to be convinced that women are entitled to any. Eight years ago a number of persons of this description actually abandoned the antislavery cause, lest by giving their influence in that direction, they might possibly be giving countenance to the dangerous heresy that woman, in respect to rights, stands on an equal footing with man. In the judgment of such persons, the American slave system, with all its concomitant horrors, is less to be deplored than this *wicked* idea. It is perhaps needless to say, that we cherish little sympathy for such prejudices. Standing as we do upon the watch-tower of human freedom, we cannot be deterred from an expression of our approbation of any movement, however humble, to improve and elevate the character of any members of the human family. While it is impossible for us to go into this subject at length, and dispose of the various objections which are often urged against such a doctrine as that of female equality, we are free to say that in respect to political rights, we hold woman to be justly entitled to all we claim for man. We go farther, and express our conviction that all political rights that it is expedient for man to exercise, it is equally so for woman. All that distinguishes man as an intelligent and accountable being, is equally true of woman; and if that government only is just which governs by the free consent of the governed, there can be no reason in the world for denying to woman the exercise of the elective franchise, or a hand in making and administering the laws of the land. Our doctrine is that "right is of no sex." We therefore bid the women engaged in this movement our humble Godspeed.

Source: The North Star, [Rochester], July 28, 1848.

lution, rendered the expressed frustration of the women at Seneca Falls understandable.

During the Revolutionary War, women had proven themselves adept at running businesses and family farms. Abigail Adams, who was married to a prominent member of the Continental Congress, ran their farm and produced the entire family income while her husband, John, engaged in politics. Yet, when she wrote to him in Philadelphia and expressed her desire that he remember women in constructing the new nation's laws, he treated her request as a joke.

Early American culture prescribed specific tasks and subordinate status to women. Women managed the domestic-sphere duties, which included, in addition to child rearing, cooking, cleaning, washing, spinning, weaving, gardening, raising poultry, tending cattle, and trading in the local market. Under English common law, a married woman was "covered" by her

RESOLUTIONS OF THE FIRST NATIONAL WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION

WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS,

October 23–24, 1850

Two years after the Seneca Falls Resolutions, the National Woman's Rights Convention was held in Worcester, Massachusetts, in October 1850. The convention is considered to be a critically important moment in the struggle for women's rights in the United States.

WHEREAS, The very contracted sphere of action prescribed for woman, arising from an unjust view of her nature, capacities, and powers, and from the infringement of her just rights as an equal with man,—is highly injurious to her physical, mental, and moral development; therefore,

RESOLVED, That we will not cease our earnest endeavors to secure for her political, legal, and social equality with man, until her proper sphere is determined, by what alone should determine it, her Powers and Capacities, strengthened and refined by an education in accordance with her nature.

RESOLVED, That every human being of full age, and resident for a proper length of time on the soil of the nation, who is required to obey law, is entitled to a voice in its enactments; that every such person, whose property or labor is taxed for the support of government, is entitled to a direct share in such government.

RESOLVED, That women are clearly entitled to the right of suffrage, and to be considered eligible to office; the omission to demand which, on her part, is a palpable recreancy to duty; and the denial of which is a gross usurpation, on the part of man, no longer to be endured; and that every party which claims to represent the humanity, civilization, and progress of the age, is bound to inscribe on its banners, Equality before the law, without distinction of sex or color.

RESOLVED, That political rights acknowledge no sex, and therefore the word "male" should be stricken from every State Constitution.

RESOLVED, That the laws of property, as affecting married parties, demand a thorough revisal, so that all rights may be equal between them;—that the wife may have, during life, an equal control over the property gained by their mutual toil and sacrifices, be heir to her husband precisely to the extent that he is heir to her, and entitled, at her death, to dispose by will of the same share of the joint property as he is.

RESOLVED, That as women alone can learn by experience, and prove by works, what is their rightful sphere of duty, we recommend, as *next steps,* that they should demand and secure

1. *Education* in primary and high schools, universities, medical, legal, and theological institutions, as comprehensive and exact as their abilities prompt them to seek, and their capabilities fit them to receive;
2. *Partnership* in the labors, gains, risks, and remunerations of productive industry . . . ;
3. *A co-equal share* in the formation and administration of law, Municipal, State, and National, through legislative assemblies, courts, and executive offices;
4. Such unions as may become the guardians of pure morals and honorable manners—*a high court of appeal* in cases of outrage which cannot be and are not touched by civil or ecclesiastical organizations . . .

RESOLVED, That a Central Committee be appointed by this Convention, empowered to enlarge their numbers: on (1) Education; (2) Industrial Avocations; (3) Civil and Political Rights and Regulations; (4) Social Relations; who shall correspond with each other and with the Central Committee, hold meetings in their respective neighborhoods, gather statistics, facts, and illustrations, raise funds for purposes of publication; and through the press, tracts, books, and the living agent, guide public opinion upward and onward in the grand social reform of establishing woman's co-sovereignty with man. . . .

RESOLVED, That since the prospect of honorable and useful employment, in after life, for the faculties we are laboring to discipline, is the keenest stimulus to fidelity in the use of educational advantages, and since the best education is what we give ourselves in the struggles, employments, and discipline of life; therefore, it is impossible that woman should make full use of the instruction already accorded to her, or that her career should do justice to her faculties, until the avenues to the various civil and professional employments are thrown open to arouse her ambition and call forth all her nature.

RESOLVED, That every effort to educate woman, until you accord to her rights, and arouse her conscience by the weight of her responsibilities, is futile, and a waste of labor.

RESOLVED, That the cause we are met to advocate,—the claim for woman of all her natural and civil rights,—bids us remember the million and a half of slave women at the South, the most grossly wronged and foully outraged of all women; and in every effort for an improvement in our civilization, we will bear in our heart of hearts the memory of the trampled womanhood of the plantation, and omit no effort to raise it to a share in the rights we claim for ourselves.

Source: Resolutions of the First National Woman's Rights Convention. As reported in the Proceedings at Worcester, Massachusetts, October 23–24, 1850.

husband. The name given to her legal status was *femme covert*, which meant that she had virtually no rights at all. Everything she owned and everything she earned belonged to her husband. She did not even have legal claim to her own children.

For more than 200 years, women complained about their lot—about their exclusion from participating in public affairs, about being denied education, about religious rules that oppressed them, about their subordinate status in the community, and about their dependence on undependable men. Such protests, however, were likely to be infrequent, private, and voiced only when some particular humiliation compelled a woman to violate the stricture that she remain silent and subservient.

Two years after Seneca Falls, in 1850, the first national convention for women's rights was held at Worcester, Massachusetts, with nine states represented. The call had been signed by sixty-one men and women, among whom were Wendell Phillips, Lucy Stone, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Abby Kelly Foster, William Lloyd Garrison, Harriot K. Hunt, William H. Channing, Lucretia and James Mott, A. Bronson Alcott, and Samuel May. Before the meetings ended, an association was formed with Paulina Wright Davis of Rhode Island, the editor of *Una*, a magazine for women, at its head. Throughout the 1850s, national women's rights conventions were held annually, as were numerous local and regional meetings. By the 1860s, efforts for women's rights had become a movement.

Anthony Meets Stanton

Susan B. Anthony, the other towering figure of the woman suffrage movement, did not meet Stanton until three years after Seneca Falls. They met in 1851 through Amelia Bloomer, who edited a temperance newspaper, the *Lily.* A member of a Massachusetts Quaker family, Anthony had resigned a teaching position in a bitter protest over discrimination against women and joined the temperance movement, an experience that taught her "the great evil of woman's utter dependence on man for the necessary means to aid reform movements." Initially, Anthony was not convinced that woman suffrage was really needed. Stanton had to persuade the younger Anthony that no reform movement would be successful as long as women were denied the ballot. Anthony's conviction was strengthened in 1852 when she was denied the right to speak at a temperance rally because of her sex.

Under the tutelage of Stanton, whose exceptional writing and inventive thinking complemented her own organizational and political skills, Anthony began her lifelong devotion to woman suffrage and securing legal equality for women. Anthony and Stanton had a remarkable working relationship for more than fifty years, each supplying abilities the other lacked. Henry Stanton once described it this way to his wife: "You stir up Susan, and she stirs the world."

In many ways, the two women were polar opposites. Anthony never married, while Stanton was the mother of seven. While Stanton was tied down with domestic duties, she counted on her friend to represent her in meetings she could not attend. She resented the constant household and child-rearing obligations and her dependence on her father and husband.

Along with Stanton and Anthony, Lucy Stone, one of the movement's greatest orators, played vital leadership roles in the women's rights movement for more than half a century despite their differences. Gage, another important early suffragist, was a staunch supporter of the movement when she attended the 1852 convention in Syracuse, New York. Her writings against slavery and in favor of women's rights were prolific. She spent many years as a close ally of Stanton and Anthony until they fell out in their later years over differing philosophical approaches to obtaining women's rights.

It took a long time for women's rights to win any popular support, even among women. Most people, male and female, approved separate spheres for men and women. Anthony was convinced that women failed to support suffrage because they did not realize what its absence cost them.

To its critics, woman suffrage was a very radical demand, threatening the very foundations of society. Ministers, journalists, and social commentators dismissed women's rights advocates. Anti-suffragists associated suffrage with divorce, promiscuity, child neglect, and as the source of all social evils. One of the most prominent churchmen of the time, the Rev. Horace Bushnell of Hartford, Connecticut, was horrified at the idea of women voting. His tract, *Women Suffrage: The Reform Against Nature*, is a tour de force of the anti-suffragists' argument: a woman's power lay in her beauty and her dependence. Any attempt to assert authority violated her nature, so it must inevitably fail. The indictment of Christianity in 1893 with Matilda Joslyn Gage's *Woman, Church and State* and Stanton's *The Woman's Bible* in 1895 also brought

derision for the movement. One book, originally published in 1897, argued against woman suffrage as being antithetical to both democracy and progress. Its premise, intended to be an answer to the arguments made in the multivolume *History of Woman Suffrage* was that women could progress only in relation to the general progress of humanity.

Civil War and Suffrage Efforts

With the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, women suspended their activities on their own behalf to devote all their energies to the "noble purpose" of freeing the slaves. Stanton and Anthony formed the Woman's National Loyal League in May 1863, launching a massive petition drive that delivered some 400,000 signatures to Congress the following year in support of the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution prohibiting slavery.

Once its ratification in 1865 was accomplished, Stanton, Anthony, Stone, Mott, and others formed the American Equal Rights Association (AERA) to press for universal adult suffrage, combining demands for African-American and woman suffrage into a single campaign. From the beginning of the movement, abolitionists encouraged the equality of women, but they did not think the public was ready for the idea and that the association of the two could doom the franchise for blacks.

The Fourteenth Amendment, adopted in 1868, created fresh difficulties for the suffragists by introducing the word "male" into the Constitution, thereby explicitly repudiating woman suffrage. Difficulties were increased by the Fifteenth Amendment, prohibiting federal and state governments from denying the vote to anyone "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude," submitted to the states in 1869. Stanton and Anthony felt intense betrayal, renounced their male collaborators, and argued for the development of an independent political position for women's rights.

In 1869, the American Equal Rights Association split into two warring factions after deep philosophical differences surfaced on the best strategy to achieve woman suffrage. Lucy Stone, Henry Blackwell, Julia Ward Howe, Henry Ward Beecher, Antoinette Brown Blackwell, and others formed the "more moderate" American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), which supported suffrage laws at the state level and believed the cause of the newly freed slaves came first and women could wait. Stanton, Anthony, and Gage disagreed, believing the cause of women's rights was paramount. Their group, the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), committed itself to a progressive platform of sweeping social change in women's status and a constitutional amendment on their own behalf. Their motto was: "Men their rights and nothing more; women their rights and nothing less."

The NWSA opposed the Fifteenth Amendment and pushed for a Sixteenth Amendment that would enfranchise women. Their short-lived publication, *The Revolution*, was the movement's first paper of national scope and promoted a wide variety of reforms. With financier George Francis Train and David M. Mellis, financial editor of the *New York World*, as backers, the paper appeared on January 8, 1868. Parker Pillsbury, one of three men who supported NWSA's formation, edited the paper for two years with Stanton. Anthony was publisher, while Gage was a major editorial contributor. By challenging the sincerity of both political parties in their attitude on suffrage, it became at once a power in the political field. In the words of Stanton: "Some denounced it, some ridiculed it, but all read it."

In 1872, Anthony attempted to vote and sought arrest to test the validity of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments which she, Stanton, and Victoria Woodhull insisted applied to women. She was indicted for "knowingly wrongfully and unlawfully voting for a representative to the Congress of the United States." She was found guilty and fined; she insisted she would never pay. Virginia Minor, a suffragist from St. Louis, succeeded in getting the issue before the U.S. Supreme Court, but, in 1875, the Court ruled unanimously that citizenship did not automatically confer the right to vote and that the issue of woman suffrage should be decided within the states.

NWSA and AWSA competed for leadership of the women's movement for twenty-one years. Both engaged in massive organizing and educational efforts, by traveling and lecturing, distributing leaflets and pamphlets, petitioning state legislatures to support suffrage referenda, and securing thousands of signatures on petitions. Anthony also lobbied the U.S. Congress diligently, but only one congressional vote was held before 1890 and it failed.

The suffrage movement gained a valuable ally when noted temperance leader Frances Willard, president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, led her organization to support suffrage in 1880. The state WCTU chapters endorsed suffrage and distributed suffrage literature. Even though Willard was an

SUSAN B. ANTHONY (1820–1906)

Along with her long-time friend and political collaborator, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony is probably the most widely recognized women's rights activist. Remembered for her political genius and persistence, Anthony devoted her life to the campaign for women's equality and succeeded in improving women's economic, domestic, and educational status.

Born on February 15, 1820, in Adams, Massachusetts, Anthony grew up in a progressive Quaker atmosphere, where women participated in church affairs on an equal basis with men, and young girls were encouraged to pursue advanced education. Anthony was taught at home until age seventeen, when she attended the Friend's Boarding School in Philadelphia. One year later, she took a teaching job to support her family, who lost the cotton mill business they owned. After a series of further business losses, the Anthony family moved to the Rochester, New York, area to farm. In 1846, she became head of the Girls' Department of the Canajoharie Academy in Canajoharie, New York. Three years later, disillusioned with unequal pay and lack of opportunities for advancement for women teachers, Anthony left to help manage the family farm. Despite leaving teaching, Anthony never abandoned her belief in education for women. In 1881, she organized a campaign to admit female students to the all-male University of Rochester. Although it took nearly twenty years, women were finally admitted, but only after Anthony put up $2,000 of her own meager funds to finance housing for female students.

The Anthony family home was a popular gathering place for liberal intellectuals and social reformers and was engulfed in discussions about antislavery, temperance, and the budding women's rights movement. As leader of the local Daughters of Temperance in Canajoharie, Anthony showed a talent for public speaking and fundraising, and later became the president of the Rochester branch. Despite hard work for temperance, in 1852, Anthony was prevented from speaking at a rally because of her sex. Undaunted, Anthony founded the Woman's State Temperance Society of New York. Throughout the 1850s, Anthony worked for a variety of social reforms, serving as speaker for the American Anti-Slavery Society; advocating for equal voting rights for women members of the New York State Teachers' Association; demanding equal pay for women teachers; and organizing for passage of the Married Women's Property Act (1860), giving married women in New York State possession of their own earnings and guardianship of children in the case of divorce.

From the day they met on the streets of Seneca Falls, New York, in 1851, the friendship and political alliance between Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton developed into an unstoppable force. Linked by outrage at social injustice and their desire to be part of reform, they worked together on abolitionist and temperance causes, forming in 1869 the National Woman Suffrage Association, the era's driving force for women's rights. Stanton and Anthony launched a fifty-year campaign to secure the right to vote for women through an amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Anthony was a tireless advocate, traveling to virtually every state and territory in the Midwest and West to educate and organize women and in support of women's suffrage. Anthony often averaged more than one hundred speaking engagements in a single year and testified at numerous congressional hearings.

Anthony did much more than just talk about women's right to vote–she voted! In 1872, protesting women's exclusion from the ballot box, Anthony organized a group of friends to attempt to cast their votes in Rochester, New York, planning to sue election officials when the women were turned away from the polls. To her surprise, their votes were accepted. Several weeks later, U.S. marshals arrested Anthony and charged her with illegal voting. At her trial in June 1873, Anthony was not allowed to speak in her own defense and was found guilty by the jury and fined $100. Despite her refusal to pay the fine, she was never imprisoned and the fine remained uncollected.

In 1889, Anthony helped organize the International Council of Women in London, and in 1904 she founded with Carrie Chapman Catt the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Berlin. She preserved thousands of documents chronicling the women's movement in the multivolume *History of Woman Suffrage,* edited with leading women's rights activists.

Anthony died in Rochester on March 13, 1906, fourteen years before the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, granting women the right to vote, was ratified. Although Anthony did not live to cast a legal vote, she left a legacy of social, political, legal, and educational reforms that improved the status of all the women who came after her. She also left them with a role model for the tireless pursuit of a dream, buoyed by her conviction that "failure is impossible."

Linda Czuba Brigance

AWSA member, she invited Anthony to speak before the group. This helped create support for suffrage among women who might never have become involved in the movement. The unintended consequence of this new alliance was that a powerful enemy of suffrage emerged—the liquor industry. This alliance caused great concern for Stanton and Gage, who saw the suffrage movement becoming more conservative and moving away from their broader agenda for women's rights. Anthony felt that the only important issue was the vote and that any woman who supported suffrage for whatever reason was an ally.

By 1889, the fierce animosity between the two suffrage groups was slowly abating due to younger members. Anthony met Stone secretly to discuss a merger. Gage found the idea absurd. The two groups were quite different. Stanton and Gage considered the real issues to be women's oppression by the church, the state, the capitalist, and the home. This was not the way AWSA saw it. When NWSA members committed civil disobedience by voting, the AWSA spoke out against the tactic. But Gage, as chair of the NWSA Executive Committee, was not consulted since her opposition was so fierce. Anthony called a meeting when Gage was out of town and proceeded to ram through the merger, which caused great consternation for numerous NWSA members since it was not put to a vote of the membership. The AWSA and NWSA combined into the NAWSA, and Gage, who felt deeply betrayed, went off to form her own group, the Woman's National Liberal Union. Stanton, who had been indifferent to the merger, was elected NAWSA president, Anthony became vice president, and Stone was head of the executive committee. Anthony took command of the organization and became president in 1892 and remained in office until 1900 when her protégé Carrie Chapman Catt, took over.

The pioneering work of Lucy Stone, combined with the intellectual and organizational partnership of Stanton and Anthony, dominated the drive for woman suffrage from the mid-nineteenth century until their deaths in 1893, 1902, and 1906, respectively. Despite their unflagging efforts and Anthony's rallying cry, "Failure is impossible!" uttered at her last public appearance shortly before her death, success did not come in their lifetimes. But their legacies inspired others to keep fighting.

Perhaps the most significant legacy of the suffrage struggle was the creation of a new political culture. Before victory was achieved in 1920, it was the suffragists who led the debate with banners, placards, and buttons—all items seen in political campaigns today, but unheard of and unused before the suffrage debate. The suffragists used color to denote political symbolism. The colors of the united suffrage movement were purple (for the royalty of womanhood), white (for purity in politics and in the home), and yellow or gold representing the crown of victory. Yellow had been a particularly important color because it represented enlightenment, and so yellow flowers, such as sunflowers and roses, were prevalent in suffrage imagery. Anthony was also identified with the yellow rose of suffrage. Supposedly her mother planted a yellow rose bush at their home in Rochester, New York, and she embraced the yellow rose as a suffragist symbol. The sun's rays symbolized the dawn of a new day for women. Tricolor sashes, ban-

Despite harassment, arrest, and public ridicule, Susan B. Anthony spearheaded the feminist movement from the 1850s until her death in 1906. A passionate advocate of equal rights, her motto was "Failure Is Impossible." The Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution, ratified in 1920 and granting women the right to vote, is often called the "Anthony Amendment." *(Library of Congress)*

ners, and "Votes for Women" buttons were worn during parades and other public appearances and have become much sought after memorabilia.

Woman Suffrage and the Race Question

In the early 1900s, hundreds of small local women's groups consolidated into large federations like the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Council of Jewish Women, and the National Association of Colored Women, with many of their members supporting suffrage. Black women occasionally joined clubs dominated by white women but were, by and large, not made to feel welcome. Sojourner Truth early on had recognized the link between racism and sexism and became an eloquent spokesperson for civil rights and women's rights.

Black women, as victims of both racial and gender prejudice, had different reform agendas, which included a strong emphasis on racial uplift, as well as gender equality. Black women started clubs around the country to address their communities' most pressing needs—establishing settlement houses for blacks migrating to urban areas, funding libraries and schools, pushing legislation against lynching, protesting aspects of Jim Crow segregation, and working to win the vote. Soon, they became aware, as white women had, of the importance of a national network. They organized themselves into the National Association of Colored Women (NACW), a coalition of affiliated clubs numbering over 50,000 members.

Among the leadership in the black women's suffrage movement were Ida B. Wells (Barnett), who founded the Alpha Suffrage Club in Chicago in 1913, the first black women's suffrage organization, and Mary Church Terrell, who founded the Colored Woman's League in 1892 and was founding president of the NACW in 1896. Wells, a friend of Anthony, and Terrell, who reminded white women of black women's double oppression, were the only two women invited to the NAACP's organizational meeting and became charter members.

Terrell addressed the 1890 NAWSA convention in Washington, D.C., and spoke out from the floor: "As a colored woman, I hope this Association will include a resolution on the injustices of various kinds of which colored people are the victims. . . . My sisters of the dominant race, stand up not only for the oppressed sex but also for the oppressed race!"

Regrettably, the schism that developed after the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments put the early suffragists at odds with their long-time allies from the abolitionist movement. NAWSA used racist and nativist arguments extensively as it plotted its "Southern Strategy" to garner support. Henry Blackwell, Lucy Stone's husband, crafted an argument that woman suffrage, far from endangering white supremacy in the South, could actually strengthen it. Woman suffrage with educational or property restrictions would disqualify most black women without "having to disenfranchise black men and risk congressional repercussions." Catt and Anthony went on speaking tours and held their 1895 convention in Atlanta where they bowed to their southern hosts' insistence that they keep Frederick Douglass, their long-time suffrage ally, away. He died later that year. Still, they pursued the strategy of distancing themselves from black supporters until 1903 when the region's politicians failed to be swayed and resisted "petticoat government."

Although the Nineteenth Amendment did not differentiate as to which women would gain the right to vote with its passage, many black women, particularly in the South, were systematically denied enfranchisement due to literacy tests, poll taxes, and other forms of intimidation. Prior to 1920, black women were often denied full participation in the suffrage movement because suffrage leaders feared they would lose the support of the white southerners. After the Nineteenth Amendment's passage in 1920, the fate of back women's voting rights remained an important political issue within the women's movement.

Adella Hunt Logan, a Tuskegee faculty member, wrote in the NAACP publication, *The Crisis*, that if white women needed the vote to protect their rights, then black women needed the ballot even more. Alice Paul, another prominent suffrage leader, publicly advocated the right for all women to vote. Yet her actions often contradicted this view. In 1913, Paul became the leader of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, which in 1917 became the National Woman's Party. She urged NAWSA to change its state-based strategy and throw its power behind the effort to secure a federal suffrage amendment. Historians view her leadership as crucial to the successful congressional passage of the Suffrage Amendment in 1919 and its ratification in 1920.

However, this achievement was not reached without some sacrifice of black women's rights. Many southern white women did not support universal women's suffrage. Opposing black suffrage, they advocated educated suffrage, a strategy that erected barriers to nonwhite voters—women as well as men. Some southern white women endorsed state suffrage

for white women only. Because of the power of white southern politicians in the federal government, northern white women who advocated a constitutional amendment realized that they needed the support of white southern women if they were to get the federal amendment passed. As a result, anti-black suffrage sentiments developed among northern suffragists, who felt that it was expedient to ignore black women, as well as among southern white women, who believed in white supremacy.

In 1913, Paul organized a suffrage parade outside the White House. Before the parade, she expressed sympathy for black women's suffrage, but when the parade began, suffrage leaders asked Wells not to march with the Chicago delegation and Terrell's Washington, D.C., contingent was asked to march at the end of the parade. Wells angrily refused, but Terrell's group agreed to do so. Paul and other leaders were more concerned about offending southern white women. Moreover, Paul would not publicly state that she endorsed black female suffrage.

In 1919, Paul described her goal as "removing the sex qualification from the franchise regulations . . . to see to it that the franchise conditions for every state were the same for women as for men." This statement was a subtle way of telling the white population that black women could be just as easily disenfranchised by state laws as black men had been. She was forewarning black women even before suffrage was passed that she would do little to tamper with the right of states to disenfranchise black women.

In the South after 1920, black women who tried to vote experienced physical and economic intimidation, poll taxes, and educational and character requirements. Paul and the NWP did nothing to stop this. Stating that the enfranchisement of black women was a race issue, not a women's issue, Paul argued that black women should address the people who blocked their access to the vote rather than the NWP.

Black women were often denied the right to speak at NWP meetings; Paul said there was no room on the schedule for them. However, when black women did speak before the NWP, their opinions were severely criticized. Black women became increasingly frustrated by the lack of attention to their needs. Addie W. Hunton led a delegation of sixty black women from fourteen different states to urge Paul to make the race question a prime concern. Hunton believed that Paul was hostile to the cause of black women. When the suffrage victory celebration was held in Washington, D.C., in 1921, Terrell asked Paul whether she endorsed enforcement of the Nineteenth Amendment for all women, and Paul refused to say that she did.

Thus, the two principal arguments involving race that characterized the movement were that white women ought not to be the political inferiors of black men and that woman suffrage would not threaten white supremacy.

Woman Suffrage Becomes Mainstream

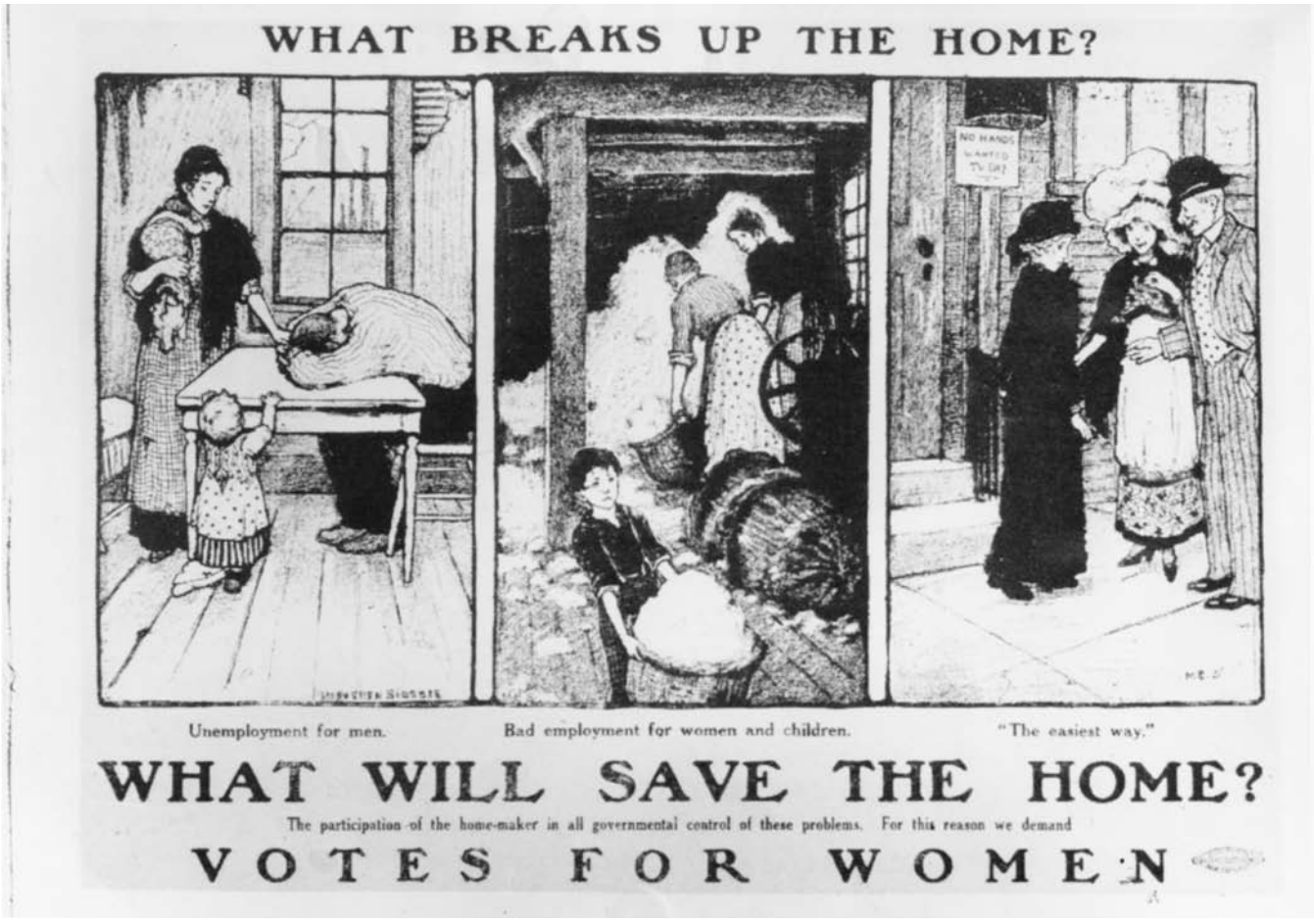
After Catt took the helm of NAWSA, she molded the organization into a tightly controlled lobbying machine. She considered the liquor industry the invisible enemy and charged that its corrupt practices in American politics delayed the woman suffrage victory. However, other changes at the turn of the century, outside the suffrage movement, were aiding the cause.

During the Progressive Era of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the quest for woman suffrage started to become more of a mainstream issue. More activists joined the movement as women's roles in society expanded, and they saw the need for reforms strengthened by legislation. Around the country, men and women who supported Progressive reforms, such as workers' protection, and an end to child labor, political corruption, and unsafe food and drugs, recognized that women's votes could help secure these efforts.

Middle-class reformers such as Jane Addams, founder of Hull-House in Chicago, Florence Kelley, executive secretary of the National Consumers League, Rose Schneiderman, labor organizer with the Women's Trade Union League, and Agnes Nestor, president of the International Glove Workers Union, worked diligently for suffrage as a way to achieve improved conditions for workers.

Harriot Stanton Blatch, Stanton's daughter, returned to New York in 1902 after many years of living in England where she observed the radical and innovative British suffrage movement. She was determined to bring more working-class women into the suffrage movement to improve their economic status. She organized the Equality League of Self-Supporting Women in 1907, which became the Women's Political Union. Blatch excelled at pulling together political alliances between middle-class reformers and working-class women to rally for suffrage, infusing the campaign with new life and broadening its constituency.

After Catt stepped aside from the NAWSA leadership after four years to care for her dying husband,


WHAT BREAKS UP THE HOME?
Unemployment for men.
Bad employment for women and children.
"The easiest way."
WHAT WILL SAVE THE HOME?
The participation of the home-maker in all governmental control of these problems. For this reason we demand
VOTES FOR WOMEN

Suffragists argued that granting women the ballot would solve a host of social problems. *(Brown Brothers)*

Dr. Anna Howard Shaw took over. A veteran suffragist, medical doctor, and Methodist minister, Shaw embodied the essence of an emancipated woman. While her compelling oratory championed suffrage in every state in the Union, Shaw lacked Catt's vision and organizational skills, and she struggled to steer NAWSA for eleven years until Catt returned in 1914 after her husband's death. In that capacity, Catt, who was a brilliant and effective organizer, speaker, and fundraiser for the cause, spearheaded the final ratification effort in Tennessee in 1920.

Paul, who had studied and been active in the British suffrage movement, which stressed holding "the party in power responsible" for the amendment's fate, infused a new element of political imagery and street theater into the suffrage debate. She led a parade of 8,000 through the streets of Washington to draw attention to the cause and in protest of Woodrow Wilson's inauguration in 1913. The massive suffrage parade was led by a tall, stunning young woman in flowing white robes on horseback. Thousands of women assembled in costumed marching units, holding colorful banners, and marched toward the White House accompanied by suffrage bands and floats. One Baltimore newspaper described the parade scene, as recalled in *The Perfect 36: Tennessee Delivers Woman Suffrage* (1998):

> Eight thousand women, marching in the woman suffrage pageant today, practically fought their way foot by foot up Pennsylvania Avenue, through a surging throng that completely defied Washington police, swamped the marchers, and broke their procession into little companies. The women, trudging stoutly along under great difficulties, were able to complete their march only when troops of cavalry from Fort Myers were rushed into Washington to take charge of Pennsylvania Avenue. No inauguration has ever

WHY WOMEN SHOULD VOTE
BY JANE ADDAMS, 1915

Jane Addams explains the importance of a leader in the women's suffrage as a means of alleviating the social ills of society. In the pamphlet, excerpted here, Addams explains that women both serve as primary caregivers in the family and take responsibility for the broader public health and educational needs of society.

This paper is an attempt to show that many women today are failing to discharge their duties to their own households properly simply because they do not perceive that as society grows more complicated it is necessary that women shall extend her sense of responsibility to many things outside of her own home if she would continue to preserve the home in its entirety. . . . A woman's simplest duty, one would say, is to keep her house clean and wholesome and to feed her children properly. Yet if she lives in a tenement house . . . she can not fulfill these simple obligations by her own efforts because she is utterly dependent upon the city administration for the conditions which render decent living possible. Her basement will not be dry, her stairways will not be fireproof, her house will not be provided with sufficient windows to give light and air, nor will it be equipped with sanitary plumbing, unless the Public Works Department sends inspectors who constantly insist that these elementary decencies be provided. . . .

If women follow only the lines of their traditional activities, here are certain primary duties . . . which no one woman or group of women can adequately discharge unless they join the more general movements looking toward social amelioration through legal enactment.

The first of these . . . is woman's responsibility for the members of her own household that they may be properly fed and clothed and surrounded by hygienic conditions. The second is a responsibility for the education of children: (a) that they may be provided with good books; (b) that they may be kept free from vicious influences on the street; (c) that when working they may be protected by adequate child-labor legislation.

(a) The duty of a woman toward the schools which her children attend is so obvious that it is not necessary to dwell upon it. But even this simple obligation cannot be effectively carried out without some form of social organization, as the mothers' school clubs and mothers' congresses testify, and to which the most conservative women belong because they feel the need of wider reading and discussion concerning the many problems of childhood. . . .

(b) But women are also beginning to realize that children need attention outside of school hours; that much of the petty vice in cities is merely the love of pleasure gone wrong, the over-restrained boy or girl seeking improper recreation and excitement. . . . Women traditionally have had an opportunity to observe the plays of children and the needs of youth, and yet in Chicago, at least, they had done singularly little in this vexed problem of juvenile delinquency until they helped to inaugurate the Juvenile Court movement . . .

(c) As the education of her children has been more and more transferred to the school, so that even children four years old go to the kindergarten, the woman has been left in a household of constantly narrowing interests, not only because the children are away, but also because one industry after another is slipping from the household into the factory. . . . The clothing and household linen are not only spun and woven, but also usually sewed by machinery; the preparation of many foods has also passed into the factory and necessarily a certain number of women have been obliged to follow their work there . . . Because many thousands of those working in factories and shops are girls between the ages of fourteen and twenty-two, there is a necessity that older women should be interested in the conditions of industry. The very fact that these girls are not going to remain in industry permanently makes it more important that some one should see to it that they shall not be incapacitated for their future family life because they work for exhausting hours and under insanitary conditions. . . .

In closing, may I recapitulate that if woman would fulfill her traditional responsibility to her own children; if she would educate and protect from danger factory children . . . ; if she would bring the cultural forces to bear upon our materialistic civilization; and if she would do it all with the dignity and directness fitting one who carries on her immemorial duties, then she must bring herself to the use of the ballot—that latest implement for self-government. May we not fairly say the American women need this implement in order to preserve the home?

Source: Jane Addams, *Why Women Should Vote* (New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1915).

Patriotic images, slogans, and official documents are all invoked in this massive sign sponsored by the National Progressive Woman Suffrage Union. *(Brown Brothers)*

produced such scenes, which in many instances amounted to nothing less than riots.

The mistreatment of many socially prominent women in the parade was embarrassing to the new Wilson administration. Congress held hearings into police failure to protect them, and the police chief was fired. Paul got exactly what she wanted: the issue of woman suffrage squarely on the front pages.

She continued to agitate. She and her followers chained themselves to the White House gates, where they were spat on and ridiculed. After several months of protest, in June 1917 more than 200 of her followers were arrested for "obstruction of sidewalk traffic" and put in Occoquan Workhouse in Virginia and the Washington, D.C., jail. But for every protester arrested, there was another to take her place. They endured hunger strikes and forced feedings in jail to draw attention to their belief that they were political prisoners and, also, to embarrass the Wilson administration into supporting the Nineteenth Amendment.

Even though Catt and Paul vehemently disagreed with one another and their strategies differed on achieving the ultimate goal of a federal amendment, the movement needed both to succeed. While Paul and news about World War I were capturing national headlines, NAWSA suffragists continued to quietly win support state by state, city by city.

Catt's "Winning Plan" bolstered grassroots democracy as she urged NAWSA leaders in the states to

Huge crowds, including many children, line Fifth Avenue in New York City to watch a suffrage parade in 1916. *(Brown Brothers)*

support state referenda. She believed that once a state passed some form of woman suffrage, its congressional representatives and senators would become de facto supporters of a federal amendment. As more states passed woman suffrage, support in Congress increased, making passage of a constitutional amendment more likely.

NAWSA's lobbyists, led by Maud Wood Park, were collectively known as the "Front Door Lobby" because they were up front and aboveboard in their tactics. By keeping detailed cards on every legislator's promise as to how he would vote, they pioneered grassroots lobbying. In January 1917, Paul and her National Woman's Party began "Silent Sentinels" in front of the White House, hurling President Wilson's words in support of democracy in Europe back in his face on their banners and placards. Paul knew how to orchestrate political dissent for maximum effect, often to the dismay of NAWSA. This served to keep the issue before the public and persuade elected officials to act.

When President Wilson finally endorsed the Nineteenth Amendment on January 9, 1918, and it passed Congress on June 4, 1919, the battleground shifted to the states, where thirty-six of the then forty-eight states were needed for ratification. Wisconsin became the first state to ratify on June 10, 1919.

A string of victories followed. By the summer of 1920, thirty-five states had ratified, eight had rejected it, and, with no other state even close to ratifying, the pro-suffrage forces looked to Tennessee. Tennessee became known as "The Perfect 36"—the last state that could possibly ratify the Nineteenth Amendment and make it law.

Countdown in Tennessee

The fight in Tennessee began on June 19, when Tennessean Sue Shelton White, a close colleague of Alice

PRESIDENT WILSON IS DECEIVING THE WORLD
WHEN HE APPEARS AS THE PROPHET OF DEMOCRACY
PRESIDENT WILSON HAS OPPOSED THOSE WHO
DEMAND DEMOCRACY FOR THIS COUNTRY
HE IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DISFRANCHISEMENT
OF MILLIONS OF AMERICANS
WE IN AMERICA KNOW THIS
THE WORLD WILL FIND HIM OUT.

By demonstrating in front of the White House, woman suffrage leaders sought to showcase the hypocrisy of President Woodrow Wilson, who was fighting World War I "to make the world safe for democracy" and yet was denying democracy to half of all Americans. *(Brown Brothers)*

Paul, sent Governor Albert H. Roberts, a Democrat, a letter requesting a special session of the legislature. Other prominent Tennesseans requested the governor call a special session so women could vote in the August 5, 1920, state primary. The opposition was so vociferous that Governor Roberts called the special session for August 9 (conveniently after his party primary, which had been particularly fierce).

NAWSA leader Catt knew this final battle in Tennessee was going to be tougher than any other. She came to Tennessee in July expecting to stay a few days, but was there for nearly six weeks at the Hermitage Hotel in downtown Nashville. She wrote on August 15: "I've been here a month. It is hot, muggy, nasty, and this last battle desperate. Even if we win, we who have been here will never remember it with anything but a shudder."

What became known as "The War of the Roses" began with the anti-suffrage forces wearing the American Beauty red rose depicting their femininity and their efforts "to save Southern womanhood." The pro-suffrage forces countered with the yellow rose. Legislators arriving by train at Union Station in Nashville for the special session wore the rose reflecting their position on suffrage pinned to their lapels. One non-committal legislator sported a talisman rose (a yellow rose with red stripes).

The Tennessee Senate voted 25–4 in favor of the Nineteenth Amendment on August 13; the House of Representatives was poised to change the course of American history during that hot, sultry summer of 1920.

After the Senate's overwhelming vote in favor, Catt wrote NAWSA headquarters: "We are one-half of one state away from victory." There were staunch supporters in the House, starting with Memphis Democrat Joe Hanover, who was the second youngest member of the General Assembly and a Polish immigrant who came to the United States as a child. Distressed that his mother could not vote, he ran for

the House so he could cast his vote in favor of the Nineteenth Amendment because he believed so strongly in the right to vote for all Americans. He was known as "the man who took democracy seriously." He became the floor leader, a strong ally of Catt's, and kept the pro-suffrage forces together, which was no easy task.

The seventy-two-year struggle had come down to one last vote in the Tennessee House of Representatives. Representative Hanover led a united Memphis/Shelby County delegation with Representative T.K. Riddick of Memphis, who introduced the amendment, emphasizing that refusal to enfranchise women was "a relic of barbarism."

After all the parliamentary maneuvering, vote trading, and the devastating defection of Speaker Seth Walker to the anti-suffrage side, debate began on Wednesday, August 18.

Oration after oration reviewed seventy-two years of familiar arguments until, abruptly, a self-assured Speaker Walker turned over his gavel to Representative William Overton, another staunch anti-suffragist, then made his way down to the House floor and asked to be recognized. With melodramatic flourish, he was making it known that the "Antis," just as suffragists had calculated, had at least forty-nine sure votes, a majority of those present and voting.

"The hour has come. The battle has been fought and won, and I move you, Mr. Speaker, that the motion to concur in the Senate action go where it belongs—to the table!" And now his strategy was clear. As double insurance, Walker was moving to kill the amendment by tabling it. Any still uneasy fence-sitters could more easily justify a vote to table than an outright vote against.

Antis chorused, "Second the motion." Suffragists clamored for recognition. Overton ordered the roll call to begin. There were no surprises. Harry Burn's name came early in the roll; he voted in favor of tabling. Other members answered according to expectations until the name Banks Turner was called . . . The roll call went on, but before the final vote could be announced, Turner rose. "I wish to be recorded as against the motion to table." Suffragists gasped in joy. On a tie vote, 48–48, the motion was defeated. The Nineteenth Amendment was still alive in Tennessee.

But not for long. The motion to table had failed on a tie vote. It seemed certain that the original motion to concur in the Senate's ratification would do likewise. Realizing this, Walker immediately called for a vote on the original motion. Once more the agony of the roll call began. And this was the vote that counted.

The first two recorded votes were "aye" followed by four "nays." Harry Burn, a Republican who was the youngest member of the General Assembly, had been counted as a sure "Anti" since he wore the red rose. But he had not told anyone of a letter he had received that morning from his mother, Febb Ensminger Burn, of Niota in East Tennessee. She had written:

> Dear Son: Hurrah, and vote for suffrage! Don't keep them in doubt. I noticed some of the speeches against. They were bitter. I have been watching to see how you stood, but have not noticed anything yet. Don't forget to be a good boy and help Mrs. Catt put the 'rat' in ratification.
> Signed, Your Mother.

When his name was called, Harry Burn said "aye" so quickly that many did not realize what had happened. Banks Turner decisively shouted his "aye," and the resolution was carried 49–47. Seth Walker immediately jumped to his feet and cried out, "I change my vote from 'nay' to 'aye' and move to reconsider." It was too late.

Pandemonium prevailed. Women were screaming, weeping, singing. They threw their arms about each other and danced in the jam-packed aisles. Suffragist legislators tore off their yellow boutonnieres and threw them in the air to meet the gentle rain of yellow rose petals floating down from the galleries above!

The next day, Representative Burn rose on the floor of the House and responded to critics: "I want to take this opportunity to state that I changed my vote in favor of ratification because: 1) I believe in full suffrage as a right, 2) I believe we had a moral and legal right to ratify, 3) I know that a mother's advice is always safest for her boy to follow, and my mother wanted me to vote for ratification."

Reflections on the Suffrage Movement

In 1923, Catt wrote in her book, *Woman Suffrage and Politics*:

> To get the word "male" in effect out of the Constitution cost the women of this country 52 years of pauseless campaign. . . . During that time they were forced to conduct 56 campaigns of referenda to male

New York women cast their ballots for the first time. After a seventy-two-year struggle launched in Seneca Falls in 1848, women won the right to vote nationwide following ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1920. *(Brown Brothers)*

voters; 480 campaigns to get Legislatures to submit suffrage amendments to voters; 47 campaigns to get State constitutional conventions to write woman suffrage into state constitutions; 277 campaigns to get State party conventions to include woman suffrage planks; 30 campaigns to get presidential party conventions to adopt woman suffrage planks in party platforms, and 19 campaigns with 19 successive Congresses.

Millions of dollars were raised, mainly in small sums, and expended with economic care. Hundreds of women gave the accumulated possibilities of an entire lifetime, thousands gave years of their lives, hundreds of thousands gave constant interest and such aid as they could. It was a continuous, seemingly endless, chain of activity. Young suffragists who helped forge the last links of that chain were not born when it began. Old suffragists who forged the first links were dead when it ended. . . .

It is doubtful if any man, even among suffrage men, ever realized what the suffrage struggle came to mean to women before the end was allowed in America. How much time and patience, how much work, energy, and aspiration, how much faith, how much hope, how much despair went into it. It leaves its mark on one, such a struggle.

The suffragists, who maintained their dedication and perseverance over the years, proved that peaceful revolution works. Whenever issues of equality for women are studied and debated, knowledge of woman suffrage history is always helpful. It shows that nothing is new. Every argument ever used to defeat equality was first used in the struggle for woman suffrage.

Paula F. Casey

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Women's Movement and Social Activism 1865–1920

The nineteenth-century United States witnessed widespread organizing among white, middle-class women. Activists participated in religious, moral reform, antislavery, suffrage, and educational campaigns to elevate their status as well as to help those less fortunate than they, Taking their activism seriously, they wrote constitutions and by-laws, elected officers to oversee proceedings, circulated petitions to change laws, and gave public lectures to promote their goals. With the approach of the Civil War, however, women's reform took a back seat to the sectional conflict between the North and South. Now Union and Confederate women used their skills and energies to aid the Cause. They served as nurses, worked as camp followers, created the Sanitary Commission and other patriot organizations, and went into public school teaching, for many men, who had traditionally instructed children, were caught up in the war effort.

In many ways, the sectional confrontation between the North and South benefited women by broadening their societal role, by creating new work opportunities, and by freeing over 2 million female slaves. The struggle for women's emancipation, however, suffered, splitting the movement into two ideological camps. One side argued for universal suffrage, proclaiming that the time was ripe for blacks and women to receive the inalienable right to vote. Others asserted that it was the "Negro's Hour" and that women should temporarily take a back seat and focus on obtaining the vote for black men, who had been denied basic civil and political rights for centuries. Despite this setback in the women's rights campaign, the war opened up new opportunities and avenues for women's civic and political involvement.

Americans were noted for their volunteer enthusiasm, with the last third of the nineteenth century witnessing an even greater outpouring of associations. The growth in urbanization, industrialization, and immigration brought tremendous changes in the lives of women and men, poor and rich alike. The public and domestic landscapes took on unfamiliar sights as poverty swelled, child and female labor became norms, tenements towered over polluted cities, and factories bellowed their stacks in unprecedented numbers. Intellectuals, politicians, journalists, and social reformers expressed grave concern over the plight of the worker, often newly immigrated from southeastern Europe. Women, no less than men, led the march to cure these social ills.

At this time, women were increasingly gaining access to higher education, with many not marrying. Since the early nineteenth century, society had viewed women as inherently morally superior to men. Accordingly, women would naturally strive for the best interests of others and would restore purity and bring moral clarity to societal problems. Women had a special civic duty and mission to care for those less fortunate, especially women and children. College-educated women seized this opportunity to step into the public sphere and organize around a plethora of issues. Women's clubs, temperance societies, labor associations, settlement houses, birth control groups, suffrage organizations, and educational institutions blossomed. And as we will see, such involvement led women into political and government matters.

Education

In the nineteenth century, educational opportunities grew dramatically. The aftermath of the American Revolution gave rise to the notion that "citizens" needed to be educated for the newly created democratic nation to succeed. One result of this phenomenon was the education of young girls. As mothers, middle-class, white women now had the responsibility of raising virtuous, patriotic-spirited sons, the future leaders of tomorrow. Such a formidable shift in attitude opened the doors of education for both boys and girls. Even more importantly for women, not only

EMMA WILLARD (1787–1870)

Emma Willard was born Emma Hart in Berlin, Connecticut, on February 23, 1787, and was the next-to-last of seventeen children. Encouraged by her father, she began to acquire an education beyond the ordinary from an early age. In 1802, she enrolled in the Berlin Academy, her first school, where her progress was so rapid that by 1804 she was teaching in it; in 1806 she had charge of it for a term. In 1807, she taught briefly in an academy in Westfield, Massachusetts, and then became the principal of a girls' academy in Middlebury, Vermont, where in 1809 she married John Willard, a physician twenty-eight years her senior, and briefly stopped teaching to raise his children and her new baby.

Her husband's son lived with them while attending Middlebury College, and from him Emma learned of the vast difference in the education of men and women. Women were discouraged from learning mathematics, geometry, and the sciences because such subjects were thought to be beyond a woman's comprehension. Borrowing the young man's textbooks, she learned such subjects as philosophy and geometry. In 1814, with the family in financial difficulties, she opened a school in her home where she taught these and other subjects.

Inspired by her success, in 1818 she sent the New York legislature a plan for improving female education. The institution she envisioned would not be a private academy, such as already commonly existed, but a publicly endowed seminary supervised by a board of public men, precisely as the best institutions for young men were governed. At her expense, the plan was published and sent to some of the most prominent men in the country. President James Monroe, Thomas Jefferson, and John Adams all read the document and approved its philosophy. The state legislature dismissed Willard's ideas as nearly heretical, but Governor DeWitt Clinton invited her to move to New York State. She opened her school in 1819 at Waterford even before receiving funding. The promised financial support never materialized.

In 1821, after receiving funding from the Troy, New York, town council, which had raised money to build a school for girls, Willard founded the Troy Female Seminary. The school pioneered the teaching of science, mathematics, and social studies to girls, and offered collegiate education to women and new opportunity to women teachers. It antedated Mary Lyon's Mount Holyoke Seminary (later College) by sixteen years and the first public high schools for girls (in Boston and New York City) by five years. The school attracted students from families of wealth and position and by 1831 had an enrollment of over 300, more than 100 of whom were boarding students.

Willard wrote a number of textbooks on such diverse subjects as biology, geography, and history, a journal of her investigative trip abroad in 1830, and a volume of poems. In 1838, she retired from the school, by which time hundreds of graduates, many of them teachers and all of them shaped by her philosophy, had carried her vision across the country. She devoted the remainder of her life to the improvement of common schools and to the cause of woman's education. Willard died in Troy on April 15, 1870. The Troy Female Seminary was renamed the Emma Willard School in 1895 and has remained a women's-only college preparatory school.

James G. Lewis

did female training include the domestic activities of cooking, cleaning, and decorative arts but educators also introduced the traditionally academic topics of science, history, government, and civic affairs. By 1850, numerous schools had sprung up with the explicit idea of creating a female educational standard equivalent to that found in elite male schools. Mirroring contemporary thought, rigorous studies should not interfere with a woman's ultimate goal of being a good wife and mother.

Emma Hart Willard, born in 1787 on a farm in Connecticut, was a pioneer in female education. As a child Willard displayed a precocious mind and with the encouragement of her father cultivated independent thinking. By the age of thirteen, she had not only had the young girl's typical education of ornamental subjects but had also taught herself more academic topics such as geometry. She quickly became a favorite in her community as a tutor to both girls and boys, and in the spring of 1807 she had gained employment as an assistant at the academy in Westfield, Massachusetts. Willard, with her appetite for teaching and learning, worked in a variety of academies, and after unsuccessful lobbying for state funds to support female education, she opened the Troy Female Seminary in 1821. Under Willard's direction the school flourished, emphasizing rigorous studies on par with the best male schools. Troy graduates worked as teachers throughout the United States, and those who came into contact with them admired their manners

and grace, a reflection of the tone that Willard had set for her pupils. Even though she had energetically sought to provide her students a solid, traditional education, she maintained that boys and girls should not receive exactly the same instruction, for marriage and motherhood were paramount in a woman's life. Nevertheless, Emma Willard and her Troy Seminary cultivated intellectual curiosity among young women, and in many ways she and her academy became prototypes for others interested in female training such as educational pioneers Catharine Beecher and Mary Lyons and their nineteenth-century ventures into women's education in the Northeast.

Oberlin College

In 1833, the opening of Oberlin College provided another critical step in the advancement of women's education. From its inception Oberlin welcomed women, and in 1835 it opened its doors to African Americans. Oberlin, an evangelical community founded to train teachers and preachers, established a precedent in coeducation. To make the college affordable to a broad base of pupils, all students were required to perform chores, with the women cleaning, laundering, cooking, and ironing, and the men tilling the soil, planting the food stuffs, and caring for animals. Such cost-cutting techniques allowed for women to receive education at a time when many families viewed a girl's training limited to household studies and her higher learning not worth the expense. In spite of the inviting and encouraging environment, female students were still treated differently than their male peers.

Oberlin educators set up a "Female Department" to oversee the curriculum and welfare of the young women. The young female scholars were closely guarded with a house mother in their sleeping and living quarters, but they could decide for themselves whether to pursue a rigorous, traditional academic curriculum or to concentrate on one that emphasized the domestic arts. Many coeds took advantage of this opportunity and studied the more demanding curriculums. Female graduates such as Lucy Stone, abolitionist and women's rights advocate, and Lucretia Mott, a leader in the abolitionist movement, matriculated at Oberlin and provided role models for future generations of young girls who dared to envision lives outside of the private sphere.

Female Education

By the end of the Civil War, female education had grown dramatically. The emerging trend in public education, the impact of the war, and the expansion of universities with passage of the Morrill Land Grant Act in 1862, all contributed to the expansion and acceptance of public and private education. The meaning of education and the type of training that sprang up took on an array of forms, ranging from learning the bare rudiments of literacy to acquiring technical knowledge to earning advanced degrees in universities. Most importantly, however, the growth in public education created a need for teachers, and young women, both black and white, filled this gap.

For some young women, the limited instruction provided in teacher training schools was not enough, and they started filling the ranks of the new universities, especially in the West and Midwest. For many proponents of female education, a woman's true education would not be found in these coeducational establishments. Often admitted only to help cut costs and relegated to traditional female programs, college administrators did not have serious intentions of providing quality studies for women, even barring them from certain courses such as anatomy. All-female colleges provided the answer to this void. Here young women would have access to curriculums that rivaled those of the best male colleges such as Harvard and Yale. Perhaps even more importantly, the female enrollees lived and studied in environments conducive to cultivating a sense of self, community, identity, and confidence.

After the founding of Vassar in 1861, considered the first of these female-centered schools, a string of well-endowed, rigorously academic female colleges emerged. From 1865 on, the colleges, known as the "seven sisters," (Barnard, Bryn Mawr, Mount Holyoke, Radcliffe, Smith, Vassar, and Wellesley) often had female professors and encouraged a sense of pride in their student populations. Despite such support, these early educational pioneers had a difficult hill to climb. Many contemporaries viewed a woman's intellect as inferior and education as a detriment to her health. For example, Edward Clarke, a leading opponent of women's higher learning, argued adamantly against women's education. In his widely read and received book, *Sex in Education* (1873), Clarke maintained that a woman did not have the physical or emotional stamina to withstand rigorous studies. He asserted that intellectual pursuits would weaken the brain, sometimes driving a woman to mental breakdown and ultimately destroying her reproductive capacity. These early schools therefore had to prove that females possessed the capability and the physical strength for intellectual achievement. The

question persisted: How were these all-female colleges to combine the traditional tenets of womanhood with intellectualism?

One way to overcome these hurdles was to design a curriculum specific to women. Following the beliefs of M. Carey Thomas, pioneer in women's education and long-time president (1894–1922) of Bryn Mawr College, one of the "seven sisters" founded in 1885, women's educators proved to be innovators in this area. Convinced, like Thomas, that women and men had the "same love of abstract truth," the women's colleges designed curriculums tailored to a woman's particular needs. In addition to providing quality liberal arts programs, instruction also included traditional female courses such as art, music, and domestic science, with an intensive physical activity component. To make the schools more palatable for the female sex and their families, educators crafted a home-like atmosphere with the girls sleeping and eating together, as well as performing domestic chores such as cleaning. The mission of the schools still remained ambivalent. Just what was the purpose of a woman's advanced instruction? But under the veil of this domestic atmosphere, fewer and fewer opponents challenged the validity of women's colleges.

The establishment of the all-female colleges was a turning point in the history of women. At the least, the women-centered schools boosted self-esteem and confidence, provided an experience outside the home, and proved that women possessed the ability for higher learning free of mental or physical repercussion. No matter how much the founders and school organizers tried, these young women's experiences created a feeling of sorority in which they identified with one another, encouraging a female culture that allowed them the opportunity to develop and shape new roles and choices in society, not only for themselves but also for generations of women to come.

The Club Movement

As previously noted, women and men had a long, rich history in association. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, following in the footsteps of past generations, women energetically organized and established women's clubs in unprecedented numbers. Middle- and upper-class black and white women comprised the majority of the membership, and the groups generally followed formal organizational rules patterned after parliamentary procedures, including officers, minutes, and regular reports. Most of the participants came from similar class backgrounds, but on the whole racial prejudices and tensions kept members from forming integrated clubs. Exclusion prevailed, with blacks being welcomed in name only and more often than not barred from activities. Such discriminatory actions, however, did not deter black women from founding their own clubs and incorporating race-specific issues into their agendas.

In 1868, Jane Croly, journalist and magazine editor, founded Sorosis. Croly was born in 1829 in England, and in 1841 her father moved his family to the United States. Upon her father's death in 1854, Croly was left virtually penniless. The following year she came to New York City and was quickly accepted into the newspaper world. For the next several years Croly, under the pen name of "Jennie June," worked at several papers writing columns for the "ladies" department. Even though she wrote columns devoted to fashion, gossip, and the domestic arts, she did not hesitate to criticize the limiting societal position of women. From the beginning, she lamented the crippling long, heavy, and hooped dress style and complained that the middle-class housewife lived a life of restless leisure. To alleviate some of these ills, Croly advocated women's education, but she recommended limited instruction for woman's main responsibilities, which should revolve around her duties as wife and mother. In a somewhat ambiguous tone she also expressed a special concern for what she believed to be the plight of the unemployed, middle-class working girl. Through her writings, she provided a type of career network informing young women of newly created jobs and directing them to employers where available positions existed.

In 1868, a chance occurrence spurred Croly to form the famous woman's club Sorosis. The New York Press Club had put together a dinner honoring Charles Dickens, and members did not invite women because the club was exclusively male. Inspired by this event, "Jennie June" organized a club for women, calling it Sorosis. Because of the highly visible nature of Sorosis's origins, it is often viewed as the beginning of the modern women's club movement. That same year Caroline Severance and Julia Ward Howe, both antebellum reformers, professional women, and women's rights advocates, began another club, the New England Woman's Club (NEWC). The establishment of these groups reflects the growing interest of women in joining in activities outside their homes, while remaining devoted to domestic ideals. For their participants, the clubs served as cultural and social centers, and they embodied a variety of purposes. Sorosis, for example, focused on traditional issues, while NEWC took on a more activist role, including

women's rights concerns in its agenda. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, clubs for middle-class, middle-aged women quickly caught on, growing in popularity and springing up throughout the United States.

Club Activities

These associations allowed women to explore nondomestic matters without challenging their traditional roles. Unlike the temperance or suffrage movements, the agendas of most clubs were vague, permitting women to associate in the public realm in a nonpoliticized way. Club activities often had literary overtones and served as sources of education for its members, many of whom, unlike their daughters, had had limited access to scholarly instruction. By the early twentieth century, in an atmosphere of and belief in change for the betterment of society, clubs now included more potentially controversial issues. The official statement of the national umbrella organization, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, emphasized the need to concentrate "on our own social order." Working on the local level, groups supported libraries, hospitals, playgrounds, women's education, social settlements, women's suffrage, and health services, to name only a handful of their successful programs. Still, the majority of women's clubs retained a noncontroversial tone, mirroring the interests of its local chapters. By World War I, club membership had swelled to over 1 million, and their collective agendas had touched on virtually all of the social and moral issues of the day.

Clubs also played a major role in the lives of middle-class African-American women. Club pioneers Josephine Ruffin and Fannie Barrier Williams had membership in the prestigious NEWC and the Chicago Woman's Club, respectively. Both women came from prestigious families; in addition, Ruffin's husband was a Harvard-trained judge and Williams's spouse was a successful lawyer. The white club members limited their activities, and controversy continually swirled around Ruffin and Williams. Black activists, realizing their limiting and discriminatory positions in the white associations, increasingly founded exclusively black clubs. Ruffin organized Boston's Era Club and put together a National Conference of Colored Women in 1895, and Williams joined the National Association of Colored Women, a collaboration of two earlier federations.

In 1896, Margaret Murray Washington, educator and wife of Tuskeegee's founder Booker T. Washington, and Mary Church Terrell, college-educated and daughter of the first black millionaire in the United States, formed the National Association of Colored Women. In many respects, the black women's clubs were similar to white female associations serving the needs of their communities. They established day nurseries, staffed reading rooms, and directed welfare projects, as well as addressed women's education, employment, and suffrage issues. In a very significant way, however, black women's clubs differed in that their agendas often included issues of specific concern to their race.

Having been denied basic social, civil, and legal rights, these club activists championed the cause of their people. They fought against lynching, and a one-woman crusade led by suffragist, club woman, and educator Ida B. Wells argued for moral purity and sought freedom from white male exploitation. They contended that white society viewed black women as morally loose, thus enticing white male sexual emotions. Following this line of thought, black men could not control their sexual nature and thrust themselves onto unwitting white women. Through example, these innovators intended to change such stereotypes by acting in a manner reflecting the epitome of moral purity and intellectual ability. Eventually, they hoped to beat down prejudice, provide opportunities for women of all races, and elevate the lives of African Americans.

TEMPERANCE

The early nineteenth century had witnessed the emergence of an anti-saloon campaign affiliated with the evangelical notion that drinking alcohol is a sin. Women had organized and participated in moral reform activities, often condemning alcohol and taverns, which they viewed as destructive to the stability of home and family. In the 1870s, a movement in Ohio against the use of alcohol again emerged, associated with female prayer groups—small cadres of women who congregated together usually outside of the church in their homes to worship God. Acquainted with poverty, crime, family abuse, loss of job, and ill repute, female and male evangelists had long struggled against the saloon and fought to close its doors. Their successes were short-lived, however, and soon after the shutting of a saloon, it often was reopened. With the founding of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) in 1874, the crusade against alcohol surged full steam ahead.

In the early 1870s, a "Woman's Crusade" barreled through the Midwest. Ohio reformer and Civil War relief worker Annie Wittenmyer quickly climbed on

RESOLUTION IN WASHINGTON COURT HOUSE, OHIO December 25, 1873

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union was founded in 1874 by women who believed that alcohol consumption contributed to problems in families and social harmony. The organization advocated that only through abstaining from alcohol could families be protected. The following is the Resolution in Washington Court House that led to the formation of the organization.

Knowing as you do the fearful effects of intoxicating drinks, we, the women of Washington, after earnest prayer and deliberation, have decided to appeal to you to desist from this ruinous traffic, that our husbands and sons be no longer exposed to this terrible temptation, and that we may no longer see them led into these paths that go down to ruin, and bring both soul and body to destruction.

We appeal to the better instincts of your hearts in the name of desolated homes, blasted hopes, ruined lives, widowed hearts; for the honor of our community; for our prosperity; for our happiness; for our good name as a town; in the name of God, who will judge you, as well as ourselves; for the sake of your souls, which are to be saved or lost, we beg, we implore you to cleanse yourselves from this heinous sin, and place yourselves in the ranks of those who are striving to elevate the ennoble themselves and their follow men: and to this we ask you to pledge yourselves.

Source: Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio.

the band wagon, and in 1874 she helped to organize the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Along with the corresponding secretary, Frances Willard, Wittenmyer traveled on the lecture circuit and tirelessly circulated pamphlets to recruit followers and spread the WCTU's message. Within a few years, an ideological rift emerged between younger members, led by Willard, who embraced a wide range of causes including women's rights, and Wittenmyer, who wanted to focus exclusively on temperance. Eventually, Willard's group gained control, and when she took over the presidency in 1879, the organization rapidly grew in strength. Proselytizing a "do it all" philosophy and possessing expert organizational and strategic skills, Willard brought the WCTU onto the national stage.

Under Willard's tutelage, the WCTU took on issues of a radical flavor. The association not only desired to rid society of alcohol, but now its members also advocated societal reform generally. Championing causes from prostitution to political corruption to women's suffrage, members blamed men for tainting their world and demanded that they change their sinful ways. Willard, like many of her female counterparts, relied on traditional arguments of religion and social welfare to rally support for her concerns. Women, for example, should advocate suffrage, for having the right to vote would help them protect their homes. The National WCTU stood behind all these issues, but members could choose to embrace those most dear to their hearts. This strategy allowed for many different people with many views to join the WCTU, and ignited a large, diverse following.

The WCTU was organized on many levels, including local, state, and federal chapters. Participants held annual conventions with all the trimmings and overtones of politics, with "delegates, banners, flags, and music" permeating. This temperance group clearly gave women a sense of self outside of the home and family, and despite the differences in their priorities, WCTU affiliates proudly displayed their association with badges and white ribbons. Willard managed to mobilize thousands of women, and by 1911 they claimed membership of 245,000, comprising the single largest women's group to date.

More and more, Willard grew restless, and as illness befell her, she spent extended periods of time in England. Although her unorthodox views faced harsh criticism, she managed to maintain her leadership role. At the openly contentious national convention in 1897, Willard continued to hold onto the WCTU's presidency and her uncompromising, comprehensive agenda. But in less than a year she died at the age of fifty-eight of anemia. At her funeral service, followers displayed an outpouring of love and support, with over 2,000 attending. After Willard's death, the WCTU took on a more moderate tone, emphasizing its original message of temperance.

WOMEN PROGRESSIVES

By the late nineteenth century, U.S. society had grown increasingly impersonal. With the rise in urbanization, immigration, and industrialization, the gap between rich and poor had steadily widened. Growth in industry required a large, cheap pool of labor, with southeastern European immigrants responding to the call for an inexpensive labor supply. Now, in addition to economic factors, cultural and racial factors deepened the tensions between labor and management. In

FRANCES ELIZABETH WILLARD
(1839–1898)

Born on September 28, 1839, in Churchville, New York, Frances Willard grew up in Oberlin, Ohio, and in Janesville, Wisconsin Territory. Known as Frank to her friends, she was a sturdy, independent, and strong-willed child of the frontier who graduated from Northwestern Female College in 1859. In 1871, she was named president of Evanston College for Ladies and dean of women at Northwestern University when the latter absorbed Evanston. After leaving the university in 1874, she helped organize the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and in 1879 became its president. She devoted most of her life to the organization of women for the prohibition of alcoholic beverages but was active in other causes as well, especially that of woman suffrage.

In the 1870s, as the prohibition movement gained credence among women, a group of Chicago women invited Willard to become president of their temperance organization. In October 1874, she was elected secretary of the newly organized state temperance society, and in November, at the Cleveland organizing convention, she was chosen corresponding secretary of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). The latter post led to considerable demand for her services as a lecturer. In 1876, she also became head of the National WCTU's publications committee.

She resigned as president of the Chicago WCTU in 1877 and worked briefly as director of women's meetings for the evangelist Dwight L. Moody. Later in the year she left the National WCTU, in large part because of the resistance of President Annie Wittenmyer to her wish to link the issues of liquor prohibition and woman suffrage. Her attempts to gain women the vote in Illinois failed. At the National WCTU's 1879 convention, Willard succeeded Wittenmyer and remained president of the WCTU for the rest of her life.

Under her leadership, the WCTU quickly became an organization able to mount campaigns of public education and political pressure on many fronts. Willard traveled constantly and spoke frequently—in 1883 she spoke in every state of the Union—and was a regular lecturer at the summer Lake Chautauqua meetings in New York. She then took the movement global. When a convention of delegates from twenty-one nations met in Boston in 1891 to form the World's WCTU, Willard was elected president. In 1888, she joined May Wright Sewall at the International Council of Women meeting in Washington, D.C., and laid the groundwork for a permanent National Council of Women, of which she was first president in 1888–1890. She also helped organize the General Federation of Women's Clubs in 1889.

Willard's attempt to push the WCTU into active politics ultimately failed in part because of her continued efforts to link suffrage with prohibition. Over the years she wrote frequently for periodicals and for WCTU publications. Her autobiography, *Glimpses of Fifty Years*, was published in 1889. In her later years she spent much time in England, where she came under the influence of the Fabian Socialists. After a year of failing health, she died in New York City on February 18, 1898. In 1905, a statue of her became one of Illinois's two submissions to Statuary Hall in the U.S. Capitol.

James G. Lewis

the early and mid-nineteenth century, manufacturers had largely relied on native-born workers to fill their employment needs. Undoubtedly, early factory conditions were not ideal, but owners had felt a certain social and moral responsibility toward their employees, many of whom attended the same churches and lived in the same neighborhoods they did. Proprietors now had to deal with people with whom they shared few social or cultural connections and who looked, acted, and spoke differently. Viewing the immigrant as inferior, employers showed little concern for this new breed of worker, who lived in unsanitary, crowded tenements and who toiled for little pay and long hours in dangerous, filthy work environments. In an attempt to overcome these horrific conditions, middle-class women and men sought to alleviate worker exploitation.

Depending on the cultural expectations of an immigrant group, many women, alongside husbands and children, toiled in the factories. Others found alternative ways to meet family needs. Some took care of boarders in crowded one-room apartments; others scavenged the streets for food and other necessities; and yet other female family members participated in the outwork system. This type of job involved piecework, and compensation depended on the speed with which one could accomplish the various manual tasks required to put together an item. Children as young as three years old worked alongside their mothers in tenements with little lighting, ventilation, and sani-

tation. Survival required contributions from all family members, and even then immigrant factory workers could barely make ends meet. Such devastating and deplorable living and working conditions drew the attention of the Progressives, young journalists, photographers, social scientists, and intellectuals who demanded change to this inhumane situation. A massive social reform campaign emerged, with women, mostly college-educated, at the forefront of the immigrant's plight.

Jane Addams and the Settlement House Movement

Jane Addams, born in 1860 into a prominent Illinois family, was a pioneer in the settlement house movement. In 1881, she graduated from Rockford Female Seminary, a girl's college patterned after the all-female colleges in the East. Much to the surprise of many, she thrived in this intellectual and community-spirited environment, actively participating in and organizing numerous clubs, including the debating team and literary society. Unlike many of her peers Addams never considered marriage, wanting to continue her studies. Unfortunately, within a few weeks after graduation her father died and she fell ill to a childhood illness. Sick and increasingly depressed, she decided to take a European tour to cure herself, but Addams returned to the States even more downhearted and restless. Lacking any direction, she lived with various family members as the spinster aunt and sister. Hoping to gain purpose and her health, in 1887 she again traveled to Europe, and this time Addams discovered what would become her lifelong work. For reasons unexplained she became more and more drawn to the poor, and at the end of her European trip she visited Toynbee Hall, a settlement house in one of London's worst slums. Toynbee, founded and run by young radical male college graduates, catered to poor men, providing job training and shelter. This house of social welfare inspired Addams to establish Hull-House in Chicago, a settlement focusing on the concerns of the working poor, especially women and children.

In 1889, Addams, along with the support of her school friend Ellen Gates Starr, established Hull-House, one of the first and most prominent settlement houses in U.S. history. The idea of a settlement patterned after that in London was not new. About the same time Hull-House opened, Smith College graduates founded the College Settlement, later known as Henry Street Settlement, in New York. Both centers were responding to the growing concern over urban social problems, especially those of the poor, immigrant laboring classes. As the hub of the meat-packing industry, Chicago provided Addams a perfect place to showcase her cause.

Addams had inherited ample funds from her father and so had the resources with which to begin her crusade. In contrast to other social service centers, one of the first priorities of the founders of the Hull-House in 1889 was to locate their settlement in the midst of those who would most need its services instead of in a respectful, safe neighborhood. Carefully choosing a building in one of Chicago's poorest immigrant districts, the activists moved into a rundown mansion and promptly opened its doors to the needy. Hull-House sponsored a wide array of programs, including classes on child rearing and nutrition, and it also provided resources for working mothers such as day nurseries, kindergartens, and youth clubs. Education played an important role in this settlement, and Addams and her coworkers established debating clubs, reading rooms, and art galleries. They also offered university extension classes. Addams and her fellow settlement house workers essentially provided social welfare services to the poorest of the poor, while also encouraging the immigrants to adopt Western ways of language, dress, food, religion, and culture.

Florence Kelley and Women's Activism

Settlement houses also filled a void for their college-educated, middle-class female participants. Like the sorority and leadership built during their college days, settlements provided these women with a place in which they could use their talents and skills, often in decision-making roles. With the rising interest in the poor and the establishment of Hull House, alumnae now had a recognizably important and significant role in the public sphere. Because of the notion of a woman's natural moral righteousness, female reformers had a special mission to improve the lives of women and children and to clean up the ills of society. With the growing interest in the rapidly changing societal landscape created by industry, women could use their natural abilities to aid the plight of the immigrant worker. In many ways, Florence Kelley's life epitomized the settlement experience.

Born in 1859 into an elite Philadelphia Quaker family, Kelley grew up in an atmosphere filled with politics and social activism. Her father had been one of the founders of the antislavery Republican Party, and her aunt Sarah Pugh, who largely raised her, was president of the important Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society and regularly attended women's suf-

FLORENCE KELLEY SPEAKS OUT ON CHILD LABOR AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE

PHILADELPHIA, PA, July 22, 1905

In a speech in Philadelphia on July 22, 1905, Florence Kelley—an advocate of socialism, women's rights, and civil rights—explains the relationship between child labor and the absence of women's suffrage rights.

We have, in this country, two million children under the age of sixteen years who are earning their bread. They vary in age from six and seven years (in the cotton mills of Georgia) and eight, nine and ten years (in the coal-breakers of Pennsylvania), to fourteen, fifteen and sixteen years in more enlightened states.

No other portion of the wage earning class increased so rapidly from decade to decade as the young girls from fourteen to twenty years. Men increase, women increase, youth increase, boys increase in the ranks of the breadwinners; but no contingent so doubles from census period to census period (both by percent and by count of heads), as does the contingent of girls between twelve and twenty years of age. They are in commerce, in offices, in manufacturing.

Tonight while we sleep, several thousand little girls will be working in textile mills, all the night through, in the deafening noise of the spindles and the looms spinning and weaving cotton and wool, silks and ribbons for us to buy.

In Alabama the law provides that a child under sixteen years of age shall not work in a cotton mill at night longer than eight hours, and Alabama does better in this respect than any other southern state. North and South Carolina and Georgia place no restriction upon the work of children at night; and while we sleep little white girls will be working tonight in the mills in those states, working eleven hours at night.

In Georgia there is no restriction whatever! A girl of six or seven years, just tall enough to reach the bobbins, may work eleven hours by day or by night. And they will do so tonight, while we sleep.

Nor is it only in the South that these things occur. Alabama does better than New Jersey. For Alabama limits the children's work at night to eight hours, while New Jersey permits it all night long. Last year New Jersey took a long backward step. A good law was repealed which had required women and [children] to stop work at six in the evening and at noon on Friday. Now, therefore, in New Jersey, boys and girls, after their 14th birthday, enjoy the pitiful privilege of working all night long.

In Pennsylvania, until last May it was lawful for children, 13 years of age, to work twelve hours at night. A little girl, on her thirteenth birthday, could start away from her home at half past five in the afternoon, carrying her pail of midnight luncheon as happier people carry their midday luncheon, and could work in the mill from six at night until six in the morning, without violating any law of the Commonwealth.

If the mothers and the teachers in Georgia could vote, would the Georgia Legislature have refused at every session for the last three years to stop the work in the mills of children under twelve years of age?

Would the New Jersey Legislature have passed that shameful repeal bill enabling girls of fourteen years to work all night, if the mothers in New Jersey were enfranchised? Until the mothers in the great industrial states are enfranchised, we shall none of us be able to free our consciences from participation in this great evil. No one in this room tonight can feel free from such participation. The children make our shoes in the shoe factories; they knit our stockings, our knitted underwear in the knitting factories. They spin and weave our cotton underwear in the cotton mills. Children braid straw for our hats, they spin and weave the silk and velvet wherewith we trim our hats. They stamp buckles and metal ornaments of all kinds, as well as pins and hat-pins. Under the sweating system, tiny children make artificial flowers and neckwear for us to buy. They carry bundles of garments from the factories to the tenements, little beasts of burden, robbed of school life that they may work for us.

We do not wish this. We prefer to have our work done by men and women. But we are almost powerless. Not wholly powerless, however, are citizens who enjoy the right of petition. For myself, I shall use this power in every possible way until the right to the ballot is granted, and then I shall continue to use both.

What can we do to free our consciences? There is one line of action by which we can do much. We can enlist the workingmen on behalf of our enfranchisement just in proportion as we strive with them to free the children. No labor organization in this country ever fails to respond to an appeal for help in the freeing of the children.

For the sake of the children, for the Republic in which these children will vote after we are dead, and for the sake of our cause, we should enlist the workingmen voters, with us, in this task of freeing the children from toil!

Source: PBS. *Great American Speeches: 80 Years of Political Oratory.* Available at www.pbs.org/greatspeeches/timeline/f_kelley_s.html.

frage meetings. Educated at Cornell University, Kelley had hopes of graduate study but was shut out of the University of Pennsylvania. She then went to Zurich where women could receive a Ph.D. There she married, had three children, and became radicalized as a Socialist. She and her husband returned to the States, where she obtained various newspaper jobs but quickly tired of the female-centered pieces assigned to her. After a while, her husband grew frustrated over his failed attempts at practicing medicine, and he started beating her. After a year or so, she fled to Chicago and ended up as a resident of Hull House where she found the companionship and resources to pursue goals outside of domesticity. Like many of her peers, Kelley became involved in fighting worker exploitation.

Kelley wanted more than the traditional role allotted to women, especially married ones, and Hull House and its network of activists provided her with the niche she long desired. After several years working with women and children through settlement activities, in 1893 Illinois governor John Peter Altgeld appointed her chief factory inspector. During her term, she managed to get legislation passed that limited the age, hours, and working conditions of women and children. In 1899, she returned to New York where she served as secretary of the National Consumers' League from 1899 to 1932, the year of her death.

Founded in 1899 in New York, the League sought to bring working- and middle-class women together. League founders Maud Nathan and Josephine Lowell believed that laboring women should be provided a safe place in which to work and that they should be paid a livable wage. Nathan and Lowell asserted that middle-class women had the domestic responsibility to ensure that the goods they purchased were produced in safe, sanitary environments. In this way, the concerns of working- and middle-class women intersected, and under Kelley's leadership the NCL instituted the "white label," indicating that members had inspected these factories and that they found safe, clean labor conditions. The working woman could hope to be employed in decent workplaces and to receive fair wages, and the female consumer could aid her immigrant sister, as well as her family, by buying merchandise and food produced in sanitary and respectable workplaces. As can be seen through Kelley's experiences, settlement social reform activities propelled women into local, state, and federal politics, and were both an acceptable alternative to and compatible with marriage.

College-educated African-American women also established settlement houses. The end of the Civil War freed millions of slaves, most of whom lived in the South and were homeless, jobless, and penniless, and were surrounded by racism and violence. In 1908, wives of professors at the all-black Spelman and Morehouse colleges founded the Atlanta Neighborhood Union. These settlements provided many of the same services as the white centers, but they also encompassed a broader agenda, including race-specific issues. Members argued that racial exclusion and prejudice could not be separated from the economic problems facing African Americans. Until segregation and racial violence were alleviated, African Americans would stand very little chance of rising out of poverty. These female activists viewed lynching as a poignant example of the problems of their people; they flew into action and, along with programs to improve education, health, and employment, energetically campaigned against racism.

SUFFRAGE

The organized suffrage movement can be traced to 1848 with the Seneca Falls Convention. Female abolitionists Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott had been denied seats at the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840. At that time the two women, appalled that they could not participate in a conference devoted to human rights, vowed to hold a meeting focusing on women's issues. Because of family responsibilities and distance constraints, it took eight years for the women to put together a convention, but their dedication to this cause never waned. In 1848 in upstate New York, many of these activists were meeting to discuss the role of Quakers in the antislavery campaign and saw this as a perfect opportunity to investigate women's issues. In an atmosphere of reform, the women organized a conference in less than two weeks with over 200 in attendance and with manifold concerns on the agenda, including women's education, employment, legal status, dress reform, and the vote.

By all accounts, the meeting was a success and saw all of their concerns, except the most radical—that of suffrage—unanimously passing. From then on, women held annual women's rights meetings, and by the start of the Civil War, numerous organizations had sprung up throughout the nation. Most were on local or regional levels without formal state or national networks and without written rules, officers, or managers. A tone of spontaneity thus guided the women, with small groups going on speaking engagements,

organizing petitions, and lobbying state legislatures. The signing of the Fifteenth Amendment, which granted black men the legal right to suffrage, stirred the women's rights' voting advocates.

In 1869, the women's coalition splintered into two opposing factions. One side, led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, organized the National Woman Suffrage Association and advocated universal suffrage, arguing that all, black and white, women and men, should receive the vote. With Lucy Stone at the helm, the other side founded the American Woman Suffrage Association and maintained that it was "the Negro's Hour," that activists should concentrate on securing the vote for black men who had been denied rights for centuries. As the argument went, after freed men were ensured of the right to exercise suffrage, it would then be woman's turn. During the next couple of decades, the women did not make much progress, often fighting one another and lacking their base constituency, which had been grounded in the antislavery crusade. In 1890, after years of struggle, the groups reunited forming the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). Suffragists established formal channels for campaign strategy, and the membership and leadership of the NAWSA overlapped with the temperance, club, settlement house, and labor movements. As seen in other crusades, however, women organized along racial lines, denying African-American and foreign-born females meaningful membership in the mainstream groups.

Growth of the Suffrage Movement

By the early twentieth century, suffrage had become a controversial issue and, led by mostly white middle- and upper-class women, had become the central issue of the feminist crusade. Although most organizing women belonged to charity, prohibition, or literary clubs, the issue of women voting had now taken center stage. The exact number of proponents is unclear, but it is evident that suffragists did not encompass a monolithic group, and, depending on temperament, personality, and policy, they drew attention to their cause in a multitude of ways.

As the suffrage campaign grew stronger, so did its critics. Opponents of women's emancipation argued that women and men had inherently different roles and functions in society. Women were the moral caretakers, and they had a special responsibility to care for home and family. It was the men in their families, usually husbands, who should manage affairs outside the domestic realm. Men therefore took care of politics, and their vote would consider the best interests of the entire household. Some suffragists seized this argument based on "difference" to mold support for their cause.

Increasingly, suffragists themselves differed over why women should receive the vote. All agreed that women possessed a moral superiority and that with their vote society would take on a cleaner, purer tone, which was especially important at a time of grave political and corporate corruption. But was it because of a woman's difference that she deserved suffrage or was it because of her equality to man? In addition, disagreement deepened over the best and most effective strategies to use to achieve women's suffrage. Again a split in the movement occurred; this time the controversy involved ideology and strategy.

Two basic views emerged. On the one hand, proponents argued that it was exactly because of woman's difference that she should directly participate in political matters. Because of her moral righteousness and her concern for those less fortunate, she would act for the best interests of society as a whole, not allowing greed to interfere with her decisions. On the other side, most advocates did not dispute the notion of difference but maintained that women deserved suffrage, as well as other legal and civil rights, because of their equality to men. At the same time, arguments ensued over the best ways to go about working toward female enfranchisement. One faction asserted that modest, traditional tactics, such as petitions, lobbying, and speeches, should be used to garner support for women's suffrage, while others proclaimed that militant approaches such as hunger strikes, arson, and disruption should be utilized. Alice Paul, lawyer and feminist, led the way for a militant struggle.

Paul, inspired by leading British suffragettes and mother-and-daughter team Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst, insisted on using aggressive confrontation tactics. With Paul's encouragement, militant supporters broke away from the NAWSA and in 1913 founded the Congressional Union. But it was with the establishment of the National Woman's Party (NWP) in 1916 that Paul and her followers appeared on the suffrage stage as a major force.

From its inception, the NWP adopted a militant agitation strategy. The group organized rallies and marches, often with overtones of violence. To draw attention to their plight, NWP members, largely white and from the upper and middle classes, burned effigies of President Woodrow Wilson, chained themselves to the White House fence, and had to be

Five men peer into the window of the headquarters of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. Many Americans feared that woman suffrage would divide families, disrupt marriages, and undermine society. *(Library of Congress)*

force-fed in jail. These unladylike actions evoked much attention from the press, putting the suffrage campaign into the national limelight. At the same time, Paul had shifted her group's strategy to obtain the vote. Instead of legislating female enfranchisement state by state, Paul and her followers lobbied for a constitutional amendment. They argued that trying to change laws in individual states would take too long and that in the end women would still not have a guaranteed national right to legal enfranchisement. Women had received the vote in some Western states, and Paul had seen the long and bitter fights suffragists had encountered in their struggles to obtain the vote there. She maintained that a federal amendment would be the only way to ensure female enfranchisement for all women. Carrie Chapman Catt, feminist, president of the NAWSA, and a prominent international suffragist, had a long history of state legislating and led her group in this direction. Both sides tirelessly worked on gaining the vote for women, and in spite of their personal and political squabbles, each played a vital role in female enfranchisement in the United States. After seventy-two years of struggle, on August 26, 1920, with the ratification of Tennessee, women finally received the right to vote with the Nineteenth Amendment.

African-American Women and Suffrage

African-American women also participated in the campaign for women's suffrage. In their numerous social and political groups such as the Alpha Club, established by Ida B. Wells in Chicago, and the National Association of Colored Women, a collaboration of black female activists, African-American women organized fundraisers, circulated petitions, lobbied legislators, and participated in suffrage parades. They regarded female enfranchisement as especially important because in their eyes racism and sexism were intimately intertwined. Ida B. Wells had long insisted that the widespread use of lynching to punish male crimes was associated with male and female, black and white stereotypes of lust and sexuality. Possessing the right to vote would give these female innovators leverage in their struggle against racism, enabling them to bring justice to their unfairly accused brothers, to improve education, to protect themselves against while male abuse, and to secure working rights and opportunities. Similarly, politicians would now have to take heed and consider the needs and concerns of African Americans inasmuch as the black vote could be a critical turning point in deciding the outcome of an election.

From its inception, Paul proclaimed that the NWP welcomed black membership; it even had some prominent black participants such as Mary Church Terrell. To keep the support of their white membership, especially in the South, however, black suffragists were not placed in visible decision-making positions, nor were they welcomed openly to participate in the NWP's activities. An incident in 1917 summarizes the African Americans' position in the white suffrage campaign. The NWP had orchestrated a march down Pennsylvania Avenue in front of the White House to bring attention to the cause of women's suffrage. This was to be a well-publicized and important demonstration. Mary Church Terrell, who had insisted on joining the NWP, was now informed that she could not march arm-in-arm with her sister suffragists as Paul had promised her. On the urging of other members who refused to participate in the protest if Terrell did, Paul thought it best to discourage Terrell from attending. Mary Terrell and other Black suffragists, like their white counterparts, nevertheless played an important role in alleviating the widespread use of lynching, increased opportunities in education, and provided role models for both white and black young women.

Birth Control

Until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, custom had largely dictated the use of contraceptives with little interference from the law. The legal system traditionally stayed out of such family affairs, stepping in only under questionable circumstances surrounding the death of a mother or child. Passage of the Comstock Law in 1873 forbidding the sale, manufacture, mailing, importation, and distribution of birth control information or devices changed all that. Now anyone who disseminated birth control literature, advice, or instruments was often arrested and jailed. This shift had little impact on middle-class women, who had personal physicians to take care of their health concerns. Those most affected were the poor, immigrant women, who did not have access to health services, whose culture did not freely discuss contraception, and whose husbands often objected to their wives exercising reproductive autonomy.

Margaret Sanger

Margaret Sanger, anarchist, labor organizer, and settlement house nurse, saw firsthand the devastation of these women's plights. Born in 1879 into a family of eleven, Sanger witnessed her own mother's health problems associated with childbirth and the stress of unrelenting debt to provide for a large family. Educated at a private preparatory school, in spite of her father's objections, Sanger refused to lead the life of a housewife. Similar to other educated women of her day, she tried her hand at teaching but realized that it did not suit either her temperament or her ambitions. After marrying and having three children, she tried to settle into a traditional home life, but she found herself restless. Eventually, she and her husband moved to Manhattan where she found the female companionship and radical causes she had longed for. Working as a home nurse to immigrants, Sanger discovered her calling.

As a healthcare giver to the poor, Sanger witnessed the complications of births, abortions, poor nutrition, and large families. To solve and alleviate these dreary situations, she proposed that women understand their bodies and that an integral part of this care included reproductive knowledge. Sanger went so far as to advocate that women control their own bodies. In order to provide information to those who lacked access to physicians, Sanger researched and published pamphlets outlining the medical aspects of reproduction and contraception. Under the Comstock Law, she was indicted for illegal dissemination of obscene ma-

terial; to avoid jail, she went to Europe on a self-imposed exile. She returned to the United States a year later, when the government dropped its case against her. According to Sanger, the death of Sadie Sachs, a poor immigrant in a New York tenement, caused her to take even more legal risks, plunging her into an aggressive birth control campaign.

Sachs had experienced several complicated births and had asked her doctor for reproductive information. The physician advised her to have her husband sleep on the roof. Needless to say, Sachs again became pregnant and performed a self-induced abortion, resulting in a slow and painful death. Sanger had counseled Sachs, but she did not have the medical resources to help her prevent pregnancies. Sachs's death stirred such deep emotions in Sanger that she decided to spend her life helping women acquire safe and accurate birth control information. Sanger used this tragedy, whether myth or not, to marshal support for her cause and was more determined than ever to open a clinic where poor women would have access to medical advice and contraceptive materials.

Sanger, with the assistance of her sister, realized her dream with the opening of the Brownsville Clinic in 1916 in Brooklyn. In the ten days before the police closed its doors, over 450 women swarmed to the center seeking professional healthcare. With the arrest and jailing of Sanger and her sister, her cause drew national attention, evoking great sentiment. Although she lost her court case, which pleaded for women's access to reproductive information, the judge ruled that doctors could dispense contraceptive information to women for the prevention of disease. This legal decision paved the way for the ultimate success of the birth control crusade, for until then, only men could receive medical information to prevent venereal disease.

By the end of the second decade of the twentieth century, Sanger had shifted gears and had adopted a "doctors-only" policy, which reinforced the professional position and control of doctors over women's bodies. She divorced her husband in 1922 and married millionaire J. Noah Slee, who provided her the freedom and financial backing to continue her crusade. Sanger broke ties with the radical vanguard, supported eugenics as a rationale for birth control, and utilized her elite social contacts to raise funds for her cause. Even though Sanger's philosophy of reproductive autonomy ceased, she established a prototype for the modern birth control movement. In 1921, she founded the American Birth Control League, which in 1942 became the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, arguably the most vocal and influential force on women's reproduction today. Two years later, she organized the Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau, a teaching and research facility intended to disseminate accurate medical birth control information and to uncover and dispel birth control myths. The center, staffed mostly by female doctors, also created a network of clinics throughout the United States, reaching 300 clinics by 1938.

Mary Ware Dennett

A history of the birth control movement in the United States would not be complete without an examination of Sanger's rival Mary Ware Dennett. Home decorator, suffragist, pacifist, and sex education advocate, Dennett was born in 1872 into a family of Old New England stock. Educated at the local schools and then at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Dennett became a prominent artist. Despite her artistic acclaim and recognition, she was unsure of her ability and grew increasingly interested in political affairs such as women's suffrage, socialism, and pacifism. At the same time, Dennett, like many other Progressive reformers, fought against the ills of population explosion. In 1914, with Sanger exiled in Europe, Dennett, along with other birth control advocates, seized her absence as an opportunity to reshape the movement into a more moderate group that rejected militant tactics in favor of legal reform.

Dennett was never able to galvanize a large following comparable to those of her counterparts, but she never lost sight of the need for woman's reproductive autonomy and continued to work on the right of women to control their own bodies. As Sanger grew increasingly conservative, arguing that women should rely on doctors for their reproductive information, Dennett became more and more radical, insisting that sex education and birth control were intimately linked. Until women understood how their bodies functioned sexually, they would not fully comprehend contraception, and to assist women Dennett wrote numerous articles on the pleasures and joys of sex. Her uncompromising stance did not go unnoticed, and in 1928 she was fined $3,000 for circulating her essay. Her conviction drew an outpouring of support, and for awhile she had the recognition that had eluded her. In the 1930s, as women gained access to safer birth control information and as rumors of war swirled, Dennett turned to her earlier cause for peace. Unlike Sanger, Dennett continued to take the bumpier road of radical causes. Even though the two activists remained rivals and never collaborated, they ac-

knowledged their mutual worth and efforts in the birth control campaign. And despite the movement's twists and turns, the early birth control crusade led to the collapse of antilegislation providing access to reproductive information and helping to shape and give rise to the struggle for reproductive autonomy—a struggle that still goes on today.

Labor Activism

In contrast to the other movements examined, lower-class working women unquestionably played a major role in labor activism. Labor organizing revolved around the unskilled who often toiled under sweatshop conditions or around the skilled tradesmen who had organized somewhat successfully in the American Federation of Labor, established in 1886 by Samuel Gompers. Women, usually excluded from all unions, found uneasy allies with the reform-minded middle-class females. Together they strove to improve working conditions and wages, to provide training for increased employment opportunity, and to include women's issues on union agendas.

By the early twentieth century, women's work patterns had changed. In addition to finding employment in jobs directly related to the domestic sphere such as boarding, outwork, service, and sewing, women also filled positions as secretaries, retail clerks, and teachers. Although the type of work a woman performed depended on local opportunities, ethnic attitudes, and family traditions, the single largest area of female employment was in factories. With the rise in urbanization and industrialization, an increased demand for a large, cheap pool of labor emerged, and immigrant women, alongside their male counterparts, gained employment in the unskilled sectors of manufacturing, especially in the textile end. Despite her dominance in this industry, the female worker was often excluded from joining the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the organizing arm of the garment industry.

Women's Exclusion from Unions

Traditionally, union structures were not conducive to female participation. Often labor groups revolved around skills, and women were not welcome to join trade apprenticeships. Similarly, union members held meetings late at night when women had the responsibilities of home and family; moreover, the meetings took place in saloons, which were bastions of male superiority and dominance, and in many cases male unionists showed outright hostility toward female workers. Perhaps the biggest obstacle, however, lay in the women themselves. Most were young and viewed factory work as temporary until they married. Consequently, they were willing to put up with poor working conditions for a short period if their only other choice was to go to meeting halls late at night in unfamiliar neighborhoods to encounter hostile union members. A couple of unions, however, welcomed women.

The Knights of Labor, founded in 1869, and the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), established in 1905, were the two notable exceptions. Both groups welcomed blacks and whites, women and men, skilled and unskilled, and the IWW even invited employers to join with the hope of forming a cooperative type of industry. These associations encompassed a wide range of issues but were largely unsuccessful. Agendas were too diffuse, infighting broke out, and unskilled workers did not have much bargaining power over management. By the late 1880s, the Knights had lost what little power they had to the AFL, and the IWW's alliances with radical political groups as well as their support of violent agitation made them too extreme for most workers. In the end, the female worker would find her bargaining chip in the garment industry organizing with other women.

Textile manufacturing, dependent on immigrant labor, was the largest industry in New York, with workers, often entire families, toiling up to eighty hours a week under sweatshop conditions. Whether engaged in outwork at home or laboring on the machines in factories, workers were exposed to polluted, unhealthy work environments. By the second decade of the twentieth century, New York monopolized the women's clothing industry, including the latest trend, the shirtwaist. By 1900, 65,000 women worked in textile manufacturing, with most of them making women's clothing. In fact, they dominated the shirtwaist industry, comprising four-fifths of the 40,000-member workforce, most of whom were immigrants: two-thirds were Russian Jews, one-quarter Italian, and a small portion native-born whites. Only a few hundred black women worked in the industry, for they were virtually excluded from industrial work, except in the busy season or as scabs or in other menial roles. Not surprisingly, throughout the garment trade, men usually held the most skilled and highest paying positions either as supervisors or in the skilled position of cutter. Women and children, in defiance of child labor laws, were at the bottom, were paid by the piece with speed determining wage, and were forced to work up to fifteen hours a day.

To make matters even worse, factory owners

hired subcontractors to handle much of the piecework, and this middleman received a lump sum for completing the required tasks. The work was performed in the factory on machines rented from the owner, and the profit for the subcontractor depended on the quickness of the workers. In an attempt to increase profits and cut down on overhead expenses, supervisors often physically and verbally abused employees. Known for the harmful tactics that employers used, subcontracting ignited a rallying cry around which women organized.

The Women's Trade Union League

By the early 1900s, 25 percent of the shirtwaist workers participated in subcontracting. All female garment workers were especially subject to layoffs, economic depressions, and wage cuts, but women who toiled under a middleman were even more vulnerable to employment fluctuations. In the 1890s and early 1900s, the workers' condition worsened. Depression and panic caused layoffs and wage cuts, and increasingly employers squeezed labor to make more profits. In 1906, with the founding of Local 25, the Ladies Waistmakers Union, women gained a foothold in union organizing in the textile sector.

Young women under the age of twenty-five dominated the shirtwaist industry. Foreign-born or the daughters of immigrants, these women received hostility from all sides. Working for low pay and long hours in filthy, unsafe conditions, many of them strove to better their situations. Seven women and six men started Local 25, a division of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, an organization for those who worked on women's clothing. The local had few expectations of success. The garment industry had a bleak record when it came to organizing, and three years after its origins Local 25 still only had 100 members and a treasury of less than $5. Opportunity came about as an unexpected result of a strike in 1909.

In 1903, with the founding of the Women's Trade Union League, middle-class reformers and female workers had formed an alliance. The League had a dual purpose: to organize women into the trade union movement and to integrate working-class women's concerns into the women's rights campaign. Because of the male-dominated culture of unions and because of indifference, even hostility, toward female members, the middle-class reformers and their working-class collaborators realized that they had huge obstacles to overcome, not only with management but among themselves as well.

Much to the surprise of many, the 1909 shirtwaist strike grew rapidly. Spontaneously, 200 employees at the Rosen Brothers Shirtwaist Company left their jobs and demanded higher pay. Their success, a 20 percent wage increase and union recognition, encouraged others to do the same. Membership in Local 25 swelled dramatically, with over 1,000 joining in the first few weeks, and workers of other shirtwaist companies began striking. At first, employers did not fear the interruptions, for it was the slow season and there were plenty of unemployed ready to take the place of the striking workers. With the assistance of the well-connected WTUL, however, the strikes became a powerful force with which factory owners had to reckon.

Coalitions between the middle and working classes were hard to come by. Priorities often differed, and antagonisms flared over agendas and leadership. This time, however, a united front emerged. Middle-class reformers could provide many resources such as money, food, and child care, and their mere presence gave credibility to the labor movement, eliciting media attention to the workers' plight. In the early strikes, the activists decided that men should stay behind, having only females on the picket lines. This tactic, they hoped, would limit or even alleviate completely the violence from police as well as from the "thugs" hired by employers. Even with only females picketing and with the presence of New York socialites, violence broke out.

Union leaders, including Clara Lemlich, Local 25, cofounder and Russian immigrant, organized a mass meeting to call for a general strike; over 5,000 attended. After an impassioned speech by Lemlich (an employee of the Leiserson factory) and in defiance of prominent labor leader Samuel Gompers, the workers voted for a general strike. To the great surprise of many, within a few days 20,000 to 30,000 walked off their jobs, virtually crippling their employers. To galvanize even more support, WTUL members launched a citywide campaign recruiting lawyers, patrons, and volunteers to staff picket lines, relief stations, and information centers. The women managed to gain positive attention from many spheres and through marches and rallies extended its support to a broad base, including Socialists, male unionists, and the local elites. The strike quickly spread to Philadelphia, and WTUL activists organized their Chicago and New York branches to help out. Such widespread activism renewed the controversy over black workers. Few had managed to join the unions not only because of their scarce numbers or because owners largely exploited them as scabs, but also because of the racism exhibited

by the female employees themselves. It would be decades before any effective measures would change the black worker's struggle.

Within a month, the manufacturer's association made an agreement with officers of Local 25 promising safer work environments, reduction in hours, provisions for free work materials, paid holidays, and the rehiring of strikers. But employers refused to recognize unions and implement closed shops. Workers turned down the contract, maintaining that without the backing of unions enforcement of the agreement would be impossible. By January, public support for the strikers had waned, and it was more and more difficult for those left on the picket lines. Within a month Local 25 signed a contract. Employers granted strikers many of their demands, such as pay increases, better working conditions, and fewer hours, but they still would not accept the union.

Within a couple of years the workers' world was again shattered. Despite laws forbidding the locking of emergency doors, the Triangle Shirtwaist Company continued this dangerous practice. In 1911, amidst the flammable textile work environment, a fire quickly spread throughout the building. Unable to escape, 146 of 400 female workers perished, with many jumping from ninth-story windows to flee the flames of the inferno. As a crowd gathered in the street below, the woes of the worker were reawakened.

Clearly, working women and men still had a long hill to climb, but the activism of these early female organizers provided inroads for all of labor, with at least some improvement in factory conditions. Even though management did not meet all of labor's demands and repeatedly fell back into old habits, the garment worker had proven that she could muster the support needed to galvanize a large and successful strike. This early labor activism showed how much enthusiasm could be garnered and the power of workers, even those unskilled, when united. This event thus evoked a sense of pride in the working man and woman, and instilled fear in the factory boss, for he now had a vision of what was yet to come. And at least for a while, working- and middle-class women formed an alliance, albeit uneasy, for the betterment of their gender. Nonetheless, concerns over protective legislation would hamper the cooperation of these diverse groups of women. Just how much would laws limiting the hours and type of work that a woman was allowed to do benefit her? Or would they exclude women from precious positions in the better paid skilled sectors?

Conclusion

By 1920, women had organized on many fronts and had succeeded in achieving many of their goals. They had the right to suffrage, had access to institutions of higher learning, had made inroads to birth control information, and had increasingly created new opportunities in the public sphere in the areas of teaching, social work, labor organizing, and civic affairs. All women benefited, but clearly the white, middle-class woman gained the most. Despite such achievements, there were limits on women's acceptable role, and in many ways the traditional tenets of womanhood and motherhood persisted. Still women had carved out a niche for themselves and had broadened their sphere to include activities in the public realm, paving the path for future generations of organizing women.

Sue Wamsley

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African-American Women's Movement 1865–1920s

Frances Ellen Watkins Harper (1825–1911) was the leading "race woman" of her era. Born to free blacks in Baltimore, Harper received a good education, taught school, and wrote poetry, novels, and political tracts. When Maryland passed a law in 1853 that forbade free blacks from crossing its borders, Harper left her teaching job and joined the antislavery circuit. Nicknamed the "Bronze Muse," Harper combined her commanding stage presence with an unmatched command of language to become the leading symbol of black womanhood of her era. After the Emancipation Proclamation, Harper continued her work for racial uplift through temperance, moral reform, and women's rights by joining Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony in the formation of the American Equal Rights Association (AERA). But when Stanton and Anthony opposed the Fifteenth Amendment because it failed to give women the vote, Harper left the AERA and joined the American Woman Suffrage Association, which had supported the Reconstruction Amendments, the three post–Civil War additions to the Constitution that abolished slavery, guaranteed black citizenship, and secured black male suffrage. She was present when Anna Julia Cooper and Fannie Barrier Williams challenged white women to protest the rape of black women in the South and was a founding member of the National Association of Colored Women. In 1892, she published her most famous work, *Iola Leroy*, which explored the meaning of race and the responsibility of African-American women to racial equality. Harper's career served as a bridge between African-American women's antislavery work and their post–Reconstruction civil rights movement.

African-American Women and Workers Rights

This civil rights movement emerged out of the failures and disappointments of Reconstruction. In the years following the Civil War, former slaves and free blacks alike attempted to reunite families and seek economic opportunities that would free them from white control. For a brief period, Reconstruction offered hope as African-American men gained citizenship rights and actively participated in Southern political life. But for most freedmen and women economic opportunities proved more elusive as Black Codes and sharecropping prevented many from owning their own land. Still, former slaves sought to control their own labor, especially that of women as black women's ability to labor for their own families rather than for whites became an important symbol of that independence.

Despite their efforts to labor on behalf of their own families, 70 percent of African-American women in the South worked for a wage. Younger women generally worked as house maids and child nurses, while older women chose occupations that gave them more flexibility. For women in Atlanta, the occupation of choice was that of laundress because they could work outside the homes of whites and control the pace of their work. This desire to control the conditions under which they worked brought laundresses into conflict with their white employers. When those employers attempted to gain more control over the rates they paid or when they encouraged competition from Chinese men, African-American women organized boycotts. Large-scale job actions took place throughout the South in the post–Reconstruction period. For example, in 1866 in Jackson, Mississippi, laundry workers called a citywide strike, while in Atlanta laundresses boycotted their white patrons in 1881. In both instances, women drew on the political skills they had learned as Republican Party workers and as members of labor unions and churches. Their actions resulted in less competition from Chinese laundries and, in some instances, in establishing uniform pay rates. Their actions demonstrated the desire of

FRANCES ELLEN WATKINS HARPER (1825–1911)

Born in Baltimore, Maryland, on September 24, 1825, Frances Watkins was the daughter of free black parents. Born free in a slave city, she was raised by an abolitionist uncle whose school for black children she attended and was well enough educated that by 1845 she published her first volume of poetry, *Forest Leaves*. At age thirteen she went to work as a domestic in a Baltimore household but continued her education on her own. She also taught sewing to support herself.

In 1854, she gave her first antislavery lecture and thereafter continued to give such lectures throughout the Northeast. She also gave recitations of her poems and published her second volume, *Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects* (1854), which soon made her the best-known African-American poet of the era. It addressed the subjects of motherhood, separation, and death and contained the antislavery poem "Bury Me in a Free Land." Its narrative voice reflected the storytelling style of the oral tradition. She also contributed to various periodicals. Her story, "The Two Offers," published in 1859, was said to be the first published by a black American author.

The abolitionist controversy and the consequent increasing stringency of slave laws in the South drew her into the public arena. In August 1854 in New Bedford, Massachusetts, she delivered a public address on "Education and the Elevation of the Colored Race." Her success there led to a two-year lecture tour in Maine for the state Anti-Slavery Society, and from 1856 to 1860 she spoke throughout the East and Midwest. She then married Fenton Harper in 1860. But when he died in 1864, she returned to lecturing on a variety of social causes.

After the Civil War, Harper made several lecture tours of the South speaking on education, temperance, and other topics, and in 1872 she published *Sketches of Southern Life*, a series of poems told in black vernacular. From 1883 to 1890, she was in charge of activities among blacks for the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union. She became a director of the American Association of Education of Colored Youth in 1894, and in 1896 she helped organize the National Association of Colored Women, of which she was elected a vice president in 1897. In her later years, she also took up the cause of women's rights. Her extensive writings—including more volumes of poetry, a travel book, and a novel—no longer have much literary status, but they were important in providing a new image of and for African Americans. She died in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on February 22, 1911.

James G. Lewis

African-American women to control their workplace and their ability to draw on past political experience to effect change.

While working-class women organized to gain control of their work, middle-class African-American women looked to education and social welfare institutions to improve not only their status but that of the folk—the poor African Americans. In the years following the Civil War, former abolitionists and ministers looked to the "talented tenth" to lead African Americans. White allies sought out the best men and women of the race to infuse middle-class values into poor communities and to serve as a bridge between blacks and whites. To this end, white religious leaders and former abolitionists sponsored educational institutions, such as Spelman College, to train the talented tenth. Founded in 1881 by the Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society and run by white missionaries Sophia Packard and Harriet Giles, Spelman trained African-American women to become teachers, nurses, and missionaries. A donation from John D. Rockefeller allowed the seminary to move into its own building; it was named after Rockefeller's first wife, Laura Spelman Rockefeller. Within one year, the seminary grew from eleven students to over 200. In 1901, it awarded its first college degrees, and in the 1920s, it hired its first African-American women faculty members.

CHURCHES AND RELIGION

The movement toward self-help through moral uplift only grew stronger as Reconstruction fell apart and African-American men lost most of the political opportunities they had gained in the 1860s and 1870s. With the failure of Reconstruction, African-American communities turned inward, developing businesses and social institutions that catered to their communities rather than to white patrons. As the institutions most independent of white control, black churches became the leading social, cultural, and political institutions within their communities. African-American women raised funds for these churches and built their social welfare programs. Although African-American women played a key organizational role within black

churches, they were often excluded from leadership positions and the ministry. Increasingly, African-American women found this exclusion intolerable as their education provided them with the tools to interpret the Bible and make complex theological arguments. Frustrated by their exclusion, Baptist women such as Virginia Broughton and Mary Cook looked to the Bible for examples of female leadership and developed arguments based on religion for women's leadership. Both organized local women's organizations in their respective states of Tennessee and Kentucky and developed effective statewide women's groups. In 1900, five years after African Americans had formed their own arm of the Baptist Church—the National Baptist Convention—Nannie Helen Burroughs (1879–1961) addressed its national convention. In a speech entitled "How Sisters Are Hindered from Helping," Burroughs claimed that African-American women felt a "righteous discontent" at their marginalized role within the church. That speech, combined with the power women's organizations had gained within state churches, convinced the Baptist Convention to approve a separate women's arm—the Woman's Convention.

Burroughs became the leading force within the Woman's Convention. She served as its secretary until 1948 when she assumed its presidency, a position she held until her death in 1961. Throughout her tenure, she worked to maintain the autonomy of the Woman's Convention. In 1907, Burroughs claimed that the Woman's Convention represented 1.5 million Baptist women. In the years following the founding of the Woman's Convention, its leaders practiced "Social Christianity," a Progressive-era movement that linked individual salvation to improving social conditions. Northern Baptist women worked to mitigate the effects of urbanization on African-American women by developing vocational schools and allying with white Progressives such as Frances Kellor. In 1909, Burroughs founded the National Training School for Women and Girls, which continues to operate today. The goal of these schools was to professionalize domestic service by training African-American women to apply middle-class values to their work. Burroughs and her supporters believed that such training would elevate African-American women's status and provide them with living wages.

The Woman's Convention did not shy away from political issues. In 1914, it joined the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) campaign to eradicate racist stereotypes in textbooks and movies. The Woman's Convention also advocated boycotting newspapers and organizations that mistreated African-American people, and it worked for woman's suffrage.

Call for Rights in the Church

Although most African-American women were Protestant, Catholic women also organized institutions for self- and community improvement. In New Orleans, African-American women of the Sisters of the Holy Family founded a convent that educated African-American girls and provided individual African-American women to play an influential role in their community. Faced with continuous poverty and racism both within and outside the Catholic Church, the convent's Mother Superiors were forced to negotiate with church officials and move the convent around the city while continuing to provide social welfare services and educational opportunities to young women. Like their Protestant counterparts, the Sisters of the Holy Family believed that combating vice and infusing middle-class moral (Catholic) values into the poor African-American community that surrounded the convent was essential to uplift and racial advancement.

A strong belief in women's ability to change the course of civilization motivated women's demands for an expanded role within their churches and within the African-American community in general. As African-American men were politically disenfranchised, lynched, and economically marginalized, African-American women argued that they had a responsibility and opportunity to take up the fight that African-American men appeared to be losing. This fight entailed not only fighting for their own rights within the African-American community but also organizing against the violence that terrorized African-American communities. African-American women took leadership roles in the antilynching movement.

Antilynching

In March of 1892, Thomas Moss and two other men were lynched in Memphis, Tennessee. On the surface, this lynching was like the hundreds of lynchings of African Americans that had occurred in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. But this event would galvanize the political careers of two of the most prominent "race women" of the period—Ida B. Wells (1862–1931) and Mary Church Terrell (1863–1964)—both of whom were friends of Moss and both of whom were outraged by his lynching. The co-owner and editor of Memphis's African-American

newspaper, *The Free Speech*, Ida B. Wells responded to Moss's lynching with a blistering editorial that instructed African Americans to leave Memphis. Her words began a large black migration west to Oklahoma. For two months, Wells's attacks on the white leaders of Memphis were relentless. In May, Wells anonymously penned her most famous editorial, which challenged the myth that African-American men raped white women. "Nobody in this country believes that old threadbare lie that Negro men rape white women;" Wells wrote, "if Southern men are not careful, they will overreach themselves and public sentiment will have a reaction; a conclusion will then be reached that will be very damaging to the moral reputation of their women." Outraged by the editorial, white newspapers called for its author's removal and a mob burned the offices of the *Free Speech*. Fearing for her life, Wells moved to Chicago and began an antilynching campaign that secured her place as the leading race woman of her era.

Wells's antilynching campaign was the most famous of a long line of civil rights activities that defined her life. Born in Holly Springs, Mississippi, a few months before President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, Wells left college early to support her siblings through a teaching career after her parents died. In 1884, she gained national attention when she sued the Chesapeake, Ohio and Southwestern Railroad for forcing her to move from the first-class car to a "colored" car. When the Tennessee Supreme Court reversed the decision of a lower court's ruling that had decided in Wells's favor, Wells turned to journalism to fight racial oppression. In 1889, she became the co-owner of the *Free Speech*. Two years later she was fired from her teaching job for an editorial that criticized the lack of support for African-American schools. For the next twenty years, Wells used pen and podium to expose the idea that organized political violence was rooted in the nexus between race, sexuality, and gender. She also organized African-American suffrage clubs and community groups in her adopted city of Chicago.

To challenge the myth that the lynching of African-American men was justified by their inherent desire to rape white women, Wells gathered statistics from the *Chicago Tribune* and her own research into hundreds of lynchings. She discovered that less than one-third of those cases involved even an accusation of rape. Wells noted that the deciding factor in lynchings was not rape but rather economic competition. Lynchings, Wells concluded (and historians have since verified her claims), were designed to maintain white control over the labor of African-American people. Wells published her findings in a series of pamphlets that included *Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases* (1892) and *A Red Record* (1895); *Southern Horrors* was published after African-American women's groups raised $500. When her writings failed to sway Northern opinion, Wells traveled to England in an effort to exert economic pressure on Southern societies dependent on the English cotton market. Wells's campaigns resulted in a decrease in the number of lynchings in the first decade of the twentieth century.

Wells's writing on lynching attacked the popular belief that white women were more moral than African-American women. This idea, Wells argued, encouraged violence against African-American women and excepted white women from moral responsibility for their own sexual choices. Instead, Wells argued that virtuous womanhood was based on behavior, specifically on the willingness to stand up to and testify against racial violence.

The National Association of Colored Women

Such attacks on the monopoly that white women claimed on morality were essential to the political organizing of African-American women. One way that African-American women accommodated to sexual violence and charges of sexual immorality was through what one historian has called "the culture of dissemblance"—that is, "a code of silence around intimate matters as a response to discursive and literal attacks on black sexuality." Middle-class African-American women attempted to silence such attacks by practicing the "politics of respectability," a strategy through which African-American women attempted to build coalitions with white women based on their common identification as mothers and Christian women. These strategies had limited success. For example, African-American women formed alliances within the Woman's Christian Temperance Union over a common desire to eliminate drinking. But as African-American women increasingly recognized, such strategies failed to strike at the heart of a racialized discourse that allowed for individual exceptions but still defined blacks as inferior. As Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, the African-American suffragist who fought against slavery, explained at the founding of the National Association of Colored Women, "year after year, southern women have protested against the admission of colored women into any organization on the ground of the immorality of our women and be-

cause our reputations have only been tried by individual work, the charge has never been crushed." The importance of crushing this charge was brought home to Ruffin and other leaders of the black community when whites attacked the reputation of Wells in particular and African-American women in general to silence the antilynching movement.

When Ruffin moved to organize a national response to such charges, she called on the leaders of state and local women's clubs. Although African-American women had organized clubs since the 1790s, the last two decades of the nineteenth century had witnessed an explosion in the number of these clubs. In 1892, Mary Church Terrell, Anna Julia Cooper, and Mary Jane Patterson organized the Colored Woman's League of Washington, D.C. Soon women along the Eastern seaboard as well as in the South and Midwest began forming women's clubs. These clubs subscribed to ideals of racial uplift through self-help and believed that the home in general and mothers in particular held the key to the future of the race. They designed their programs to assist poor blacks through the creation of kindergartens and home visits. Club women believed that the adoption of middle-class ideals of respectability by all segments of the African-American population was essential to racial progress.

As historian Deborah Gray White notes, "for the women who proclaimed the 'woman's era,' the sum of their equation was the superiority of women in matters concerning the moral welfare of black people, and the equality of black men and women in everything else." These ideas were formulated by the organic intellectuals of the African-American women's movement. Perhaps the most famous of these intellectuals was Anna Julia Cooper, whose seminal work, *A Voice from the South* (1892), criticized African-American men for limiting black women's educational opportunities. Like other African-American women intellectuals, Cooper argued that the progress of the race was dependent on the status of women. In one of the most famous expressions of black feminist thought, Cooper wrote, "only the Black Woman can say 'where and when I enter, in the quiet, undisputed dignity of my womanhood, without violence and without suing or special patronage, then and there the whole Negro race enters with me." Like many white reformers, Cooper argued that black women's role as mothers uniquely positioned them to influence society and promoted within them values for a more just and less violent society. She called on white women to use their positions as mothers and teachers to teach antiracism, and she urged black men to support women's desire for political and religious leadership. One of the first African-American women to obtain a bachelor's, master's, and Ph.D., Cooper was more comfortable with books and ideas than with the day-to-day demands of political organizing.

The formation of a national organization that could enact this vision was left to leaders like Mary Terrell, who would become the first president of the National Association of Colored Women, and Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, the founder of Boston's New Era Club. Born in Memphis, Tennessee to former slaves who built a successful business, Terrell lived a relatively privileged life. She eventually earned a master's degree from Oberlin College and, like upper-class white women, toured Europe after her graduation. That tour enabled Terrell to master a number of European languages, which later proved useful when she lectured on American racism in Europe. After her tour, Terrell returned home to begin her career as an educator. But Moss's lynching interrupted Terrell's plans. Outraged by her friend's murder, Terrell joined Frederick Douglass in protesting Moss's lynching and sought an audience with President Benjamin Harrison. Denied that audience, Terrell channeled her frustrations into a sixty-year political career that relentlessly attacked racial injustice. To this end, she allied with controversial leader Booker T. Washington. That alliance and her emphasis on pragmatic politics brought her into conflict with Wells; when Terrell actively sought to prevent Wells from taking over the presidency of the NACW in 1907, some began to question Terrell's leadership style. Terrell remained a charismatic speaker and effective organizer who inspired African-American women and formed effective alliances with white women. Despite her alliance with Washington, she did not share his view that it was imprudent to argue for equal political rights. She organized African-American women for woman's suffrage and was a member of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. In 1908, she joined Washington's arch-rival, W.E.B. Du Bois, in forming the NAACP.

Defending Black Women

In 1895, Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin (1842–1924) called club women together in defense of black womanhood. A leader among Northeastern club women, Ruffin began her political career before the Civil War when, along with her husband, she recruited black men into

the colored regiments of Massachusetts. In 1893, Ruffin edited the *Women's Era*, the first African-American newspaper owned and run by African-American women. Club women met at Ruffin's behest to protest a letter written by James Jack, president of the Missouri Press Association, which accused African-American women of "having no sense of virtue and of being altogether without character." A year after meeting to protest this letter, African-American club women founded the National Association of Colored Women. With the motto, "Lifting as we climb," the NACW sought to provide a national voice to the community work done by African-American women. They established regional networks to coordinate the work of otherwise autonomous clubs. The responsibility of the NACW was to communicate on the national level the messages that club women promoted in their local work. Those messages emphasized the importance of women's work to the creation of the nation and the "uplift of the race." The national organization also hoped to promote issues of concern to African-American women within predominantly white women's organizations. Upon its founding, the NACW had a membership of 200 clubs; by 1916, it had grown to over 1,500 affiliates.

Although the NACW was the largest national organization of African-American women, other more specialized groups also emerged on the national stage. The Association for the Protection of Colored Women helped rural women migrating to Northern cities to find housing, community, and employment. Such organizations often emerged from the experiences of African-American women. For example, the Phillis Wheatley Association, a settlement house for African-American women, was the result of a decade-long project begun by Jane Edna Hunter, who sought to help migrating black women because of her own inability to find decent housing and wages when she migrated to Cleveland in 1905. In 1908, at Howard University, African-American women formed the first black sorority—Alpha Kappa Alpha. In the years that followed, black sororities formed throughout the East to support and provide professional networks to educated African-American women.

Unfulfilled Expectations

African-American women expected that these national organizations would strengthen their position within the women's movements in general. Although some white women formed alliances with African-American women, most white women's clubs were segregated or excluded African-American women altogether. In 1900, in what became known as the "Ruffin incident," the General Federation of Women's Clubs (GFWC) refused to recognize Josephine Ruffin as a delegate from the New Era Club when its members realized that it was a black club. The GFWC subsequently instructed its state federations not to approve applications from black clubs, effectively keeping the GFWC an all-white organization. A similar incident took place in 1913 during the parade for woman's suffrage sponsored by the NAWSA. Bowing to the desires of Southern representatives, the leaders of the NAWSA segregated the parade, refusing to allow Ida B. Wells to march with the Illinois contingent. Wells waited for the parade to begin and joined the Illinois delegates. Individuals like Ruffin and Wells simply refused to leave "white-only" conventions and demonstrations, in essence forcing white women to integrate their organizations. Nonetheless, such humiliations increasingly frustrated efforts by white and black women to ally on common issues such as woman's suffrage.

African-American women not only pressed for inclusion, but they also demanded that whites incorporate issues of violence against African-American people within their political agendas. For example, during the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893, white women invited a carefully selected group of African-American women to address the Exposition in part to protest the exclusion of African Americans from that event. Rather than bowing to white women's desire for inoffensive addresses, Fannie Barrier Williams and Anna Julia Cooper challenged the sexual mythology that defined black women as inherently sexually promiscuous and protested their continued rape in the South. They also called on white women to protest this violence. Similarly, Mary Terrell and other African-American women joined the predominantly white International League for Peace and Freedom to use that organization's resources to combat lynchings. Their activity encouraged peace organizations to incorporate issues of racial justice into their definitions of peace work.

Disunity in the Movement

As historians of African-American women have illustrated, African-American women and men were not always united in their quest for racial equality. Personality clashes as well as disagreements over strategy and goals divided the women's movement and sometimes alienated it from lower class women and

African-American men. African-American women's claims that they were the new leaders of the black community offended some African-American men, who felt either betrayed by African-American women's criticisms of their leadership or simply believed that women had overstepped their boundaries through their public demands for equal rights. Some African-American men argued that women's participation in politics was unladylike and threatened the home. More conservative African-American women such as Margaret Murray Washington agreed. They challenged the need for suffrage, arguing instead that African-American women should restrict their work to the home and traditional community-based social welfare work rather than arguing for equal citizenship. To some degree, these debates mirrored those between Booker T. Washington, who emphasized self-help and economic advancement over political goals, and W.E.B. Du Bois, who emphasized higher education and citizenship.

The African-American women's movement's emphasis on respectability and investment in middle-class values alienated them from the folk. Like their white counterparts, middle-class African-American women often defined poverty, as at least in part a problem of the folk culture and values. They looked toward vocational training and the acceptance of middle-class moral standards as the means by which poor African-American peoples could combat economic marginalization.

Improving the status of the folk also included attacks on the religious and cultural expressions of poor blacks. African American middle-class women formed anti-vice societies that attacked not only organized prostitution and drinking but also dance halls and musical expression in which sexuality seemed to be on public display. Teachers such as Mamie Fields, who worked in rural communities, often attacked the values of rural blacks, demanding that her students relearn domestic habits more in keeping with the middle-class home. Fields also criticized rural churches and ministers as corrupt and inefficient. The Sisters of the Holy Name expelled students who did not adopt their standards of Catholic middle-class womanhood. Middle-class African-American reformers saw the seeds of the race's destruction within the cultural expressions of poor rural and urban communities; as members of the talented tenth they were responsible for instilling respectability within the homes of all African Americans.

Despite these limitations, African-American women developed social welfare institutions and political organizations and shaped feminist ideologies that challenged the racial and sexual violence of post–Reconstruction society. Their work reduced lynchings, built community institutions, improved educational opportunities for women, and shaped a literary culture that nurtured future African-American women. It is no coincidence that the Harlem Renaissance, which spawned a new generation of African-American women intellectuals, followed this work. Like the organic intellectuals who preceded them, the women of the Harlem Renaissance critiqued lynching, examined racial oppression, and offered new explorations of such issues as passing and lesbianism. The works of intellectuals like Anna Julia Cooper and Ida B. Wells are now recognized as founding texts in American feminist thought. Both the NACW and the Woman's Convention remain important organizations within the black community as they continue to provide social welfare institutions and political opportunities for African-American women. These organizations would prove vitally important to and thrust women into the forefront of the modern civil rights movement.

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Women and the Progressive Movement

Women were intensely involved in the Progressive movements of the early twentieth century, demanding equal rights and social justice for themselves but also advocating a wide variety of other reforms. Progressivism was a complex phenomenon that defies easy characterization because it encompasses so many different groups and goals, but there are several common elements. In general, Progressives opposed political and economic monopolies, worried about social disruptions resulting from rapid industrialization, immigration, and urbanization, and placed great confidence in science and efficient management techniques to solve contemporary public policy issues. Women reformers often worked with male colleagues on important projects, but males usually dominated mixed-sex efforts, so that much female activism arose from independent women's organizations with distinct and sometimes feminist objectives. There were many race, class, and other differences among reformers, however, which made coalitional efforts difficult and fractured the organized women's movement in the 1920s.

Women's Reform

Theories about social movements stress several elements, all of which catalyze female reform activity during this period: political opportunity, resource mobilization, and ideological framing. Distrusting established political parties and machines as monopolistic and corrupt, Progressives formed special interest groups and adopted indirect political methods such as lobbying and petitioning that disfranchised women had used for years. The extensive network of clubs and organizations developed by activist women in the late nineteenth century provided a crucial base of experience and resources. Finally, women used various rationales to justify their involvement in the public sphere. Some activists sought social justice through utopian socialism, labor organizing, or expanded social welfare and public health programs. Others challenged the confinement of women to the private, domestic sphere with the discourse of maternalism, or "municipal housekeeping." Arguing that the commercialization of many household functions and contemporary social problems required female involvement in public life, many women became radicalized by their experiences as reformers.

Special interest advocacy during the Progressive Era was widespread, but it was often fragmented, episodic, and hampered by race and class conflict. African-American women activists like Mary Church Terrell, Anna Julia Cooper, and Ida B. Wells-Barnett criticized the exclusionary practices of white women and formed independent organizations, including the National Association of Colored Women (1896). Female activists helped establish the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1909 but were frequently overshadowed by male leaders. As "race women" during a period of harsh segregation and disfranchisement, African-American women reformers sponsored improvement projects to "uplift" their communities and addressed pressing issues relating to female work, poverty, racial oppression, and domestic violence. Chinese-American, Mexican-American, and other racial-ethnic women shared similar concerns, but few native white women understood or appreciated these efforts, and many continued to target women of color in social control and "Americanization" campaigns.

Similar tensions characterized many Progressive reform efforts. Settlement houses, clinics, kindergartens, parks, and other facilities were often intended to help assimilate large populations of recent immigrants and to dampen potential social unrest. Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr established the first settlement house, Hull-House, in Chicago in 1889. By 1900, there were nearly 100 similar community centers in operation, providing helpful services to clients (although utilization was selective). In addition, settlement

houses gave many educated middle-class women new opportunities for constructive engagement, and some began to professionalize their activities into the new field of social work. During the Progressive period, they built and staffed both private and governmental organizations devoted to social welfare and public health. One of the most important of these was the Children's Bureau, established within the U.S. Department of Labor in 1912 and led by Julia Lathrop, a former resident of Hull House.

SUFFRAGE

Probably the most familiar aspect of Progressive women's activism is the final achievement of woman suffrage. By 1915, years of work resulted in a large, highly mobilized grassroots movement, four million women voters in the Western states, and experienced national leaders like Carrie Chapman Catt and Anna Howard Shaw of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). In addition, energetic younger women like Alice Paul and Lucy Burns of the National Women's Party (NWP) adopted direct action techniques and began confronting politicians with the demand for the federal amendment. Suffragists used many arguments to claim the vote, sometimes arguing that it was necessary to facilitate other reforms, but the demand for equal justice remained primary. This rhetoric seemed hypocritical to many observers, however, because white suffragists did not challenge the concurrent disfranchisement of African Americans in the South, hoping to win the support of Southern politicians for their cause. As a result, African-American activists like Wells-Barnett worked independently through their own suffrage organizations and clubs. The effect of World War I on the final passage of the federal suffrage amendment is debatable. Male politicians praised the NAWSA moderates under Catt's leadership for their patriotic participation but condemned Paul and the radicals, who served time in prison (complete with force feeding) for picketing the White House with signs that referred to "Kaiser [President] Wilson." Nevertheless, the suffrage amendment won ratification in 1920.

WOMEN AND LABOR

Modern suffragists adopted ideas and direct tactics from the labor movement and appealed to working-class constituencies partly because the presence of women in the workforce was a major social issue by the beginning of the twentieth century. Women wage-earners contravened Victorian mores about feminine domesticity, but many middle-class women sought expanded professional opportunities, while working-class families often relied upon female contributions for survival. Women workers were not generally welcome within the male-dominated trade unions, which tried to protect male jobs through gender and racial discrimination and segregation, so women had to organize separately or submit to male control in mixed locals. Reacting to the intransigence of the American Federation of Labor, middle-class reformers and women trade unionists formed a new organization in 1903, the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL). Despite internal class tensions, the League took an active role in many women's labor actions, most notably the great New York City garment workers strike in 1909–1910, the "Uprising of the Twenty Thousand." Disproving popular notions that young women were temporary workers who never organized, thousands of Jewish and Italian women went out on strike, and they received invaluable material and emotional support from the middle- and upper-class women of the WTUL. Although the male leaders of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union considered the strike a great victory, some shops refused to settle, including the Triangle Shirtwaist Company, the site of a terrible fire a year later.

The deaths of 146 people in the Triangle Shirtwaist Fire in May 1911 galvanized reformers, especially those who considered protective labor legislation as preferable to labor organization. Activists like Josephine Goldmark and Florence Kelley, who formed the National Consumers League in 1899, vigorously pursued this goal despite judicial resistance. Finally, Goldmark helped her brother-in-law, Louis Brandeis, win a landmark case in *Muller v. Oregon* (1908). They convinced the U.S. Supreme Court that the state had an interest in protecting women workers as the present and future "mothers of the race." Using this precedent, reformers won passage of maximum hours legislation for women in nineteen states between 1909 and 1917, and minimum wage laws in twelve states during this period. This argument was problematic, however, because it defined women as a separate and inferior class of workers, and it generated divisive conflict within the women's movement for many years. Another flawed but highly successful effort resulted in the establishment of "mother's pensions" in forty states between 1911 and 1920. In these programs, the government substituted for absent male breadwinners by providing "deserving" mothers with payments to support their children. Although inadequate funds carried the stigma of charity, and administrators discriminated on racial, moral, or other

grounds, these state programs provided the model for federal aid to dependent children as first established in the Social Security Act of 1935.

Labor legislation did not supplant the efforts of women labor organizers like Pauline Newman, Rosa Schneiderman, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, and others. Many working-class women and quite a few middle-class women were Socialists, usually as firm believers in the democratic process, but those who moved further left toward anarchism or communism found themselves systematically persecuted and their organizations crushed. This trend accelerated during and after World War I, which many scholars mark as the end of the Progressive period. After the war, foreign-born radicals were deported, including Emma Goldman, a famous free love and free speech advocate. Native-born radicals like birth control activist Margaret Sanger fared slightly better but usually by moderating their positions to avoid prosecution.

Women and Sexual Mores

The popularity of the birth control movement reflected a mini sexual revolution that occurred as economic advances and other factors helped modern women establish independent lives. Expectations about love, sex, and marriage shifted to emphasize personal fulfillment and companionate marriage, but these changes were very controversial. Conservatives condemned the decline of Victorian moral values, while Progressives complained that selfish individualism distracted women from reform activism. Efforts to control female sexual behavior were nothing new, and anti-prostitution campaigns were common in many urban areas, but reformers disagreed over whether abolition or regulation was the better approach. Middle-class women who campaigned to eliminate this social problem demonstrated ambivalent Progressive attitudes toward social justice and social control. Claiming sympathy for women forced into prostitution by poverty, they attacked the sexual "double standard" and the largely male interests that controlled the trade. Unfortunately, successful efforts to close bordellos resulted in the eviction of many prostitutes who found themselves in the streets with little protection.

As a social movement, Progressivism also needs to be understood within the international context of early twentieth-century modernism. Great hopes as well as deep concerns about the consequences of rapid economic, political, and social change were widespread at this time. Many countries were experiencing democratization movements, if not revolutions, with women prominently involved in these struggles. Women began to establish transnational organizations in the late nineteenth century with the International Council of Women, the International Woman Suffrage Association, the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Second Socialist International, and other groups. In the late 1910s, these connections were crucial to the growing peace movement, and many prominent Progressive women, notably Jane Addams, were active pacifists. The movement itself was not really an expression of progressive optimism, however, but rather a reaction to the dark forces of militarism and war. Many moralists and traditionalists were upset by the disruptions of modernism, and they responded with political repression nativism, and moral crusades, including prohibition. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) lost its radical edge after the death of its dynamic leader, Frances Willard, in 1898. In the twentieth century, the WCTU remained a large influential organization, but male leaders dominated the movement through the Anti-Saloon League. With much female support, the prohibitionists mobilized grassroots pressure to pass the federal Prohibition amendment in 1917.

Conclusion

Debate over reform goals, strategies, and achievements of women during the Progressive period has often stressed the difficulty of generalizing about this diverse social movement. A major source of Progressive-strength, middle-class white women won concrete legal rights, most notably the vote, helped redefine the nature of political power and influence, and established the organizational basis of the social welfare state. Their elitist assumptions often offended working-class and racial-ethnic reformers, limiting their cooperation and success as a coherent social movement, but the sum of female reform efforts during the Progressive period resulted in major gains for many women and recognition of their new public roles in modern society.

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Women and the Anti-Imperialist Movement

Nineteenth-Century Origins

American women's activism against American imperialism traces back to their involvement in the abolitionist movement. Imperialism is a policy of expansion promulgated by Western nations since the sixteenth century in which European powers and, later, the United States annexed, militarily suppressed, and extracted economic gains from poorer countries around the world. From the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, the United States began to expand militarily and economically in the Americas and Southeast Asia. Many women and men who opposed slavery protested the war against Mexico (1846–1848), particularly because of its potential for expanding slave territory. Women drafted and signed petitions as individuals, as church members, and as groups of "ladies" with a particular moral interest in ending slavery. These protests, like later attempts to oppose American imperialism, failed in their immediate goals, but they provided rare opportunities for women to enter national debates over foreign policy.

Anti-imperialism was relatively dormant in American politics during the ensuing decades. Women's devotion to the movement revived in the late nineteenth century, however, through their support for peace and international arbitration. Tellingly, arbitration committees formed within flourishing women's reform organizations like the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU, founded 1874) and the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA, founded 1890). Although these national groups formed around issues that appeared to be quite distinct from imperialism, their support for peace activism was consistent with their broader political critiques. Both the temperance movement and the suffrage movement protested violence; they regarded it as a social problem rooted in male aggression, exacerbated by the abuse of alcohol and by the political and legal oppression of women. Both movements promoted women's increased public participation because women's influence would counteract male tendencies toward violence and militarism. This outlook led them to make peace, arbitration, and anti-imperialism part of their agenda. In international conflicts, women's groups urged that Congress not resort to military intervention and pressed leaders to put aside their desires to acquire new territory to enrich the United States. S. Lillie Devereux Blake, a novelist, suffragist, and reformer, expressed this view at the 1895 NAWSA convention, when she condemned the greed of politicians who would "deluge the world in blood for a strip of land in Venezuela or a gold mine in Africa."

The Anti-Imperialist League

Anti-imperialist sentiments finally coalesced into an independent movement in reaction to the Spanish-American War in 1898. Some women activists continued to call for negotiation instead of violence, as they had in international conflicts earlier in the decade. Partly because the United States explained its involvement in the war as necessary to defend Cuban independence from Spanish brutality, and partly because of popular outrage over the explosion of the U.S. battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor, by the spring of 1898 there was little vocal opposition to the United States' declaration of war. Even the major peace organizations, such as the Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, chose to remain silent about U.S. intervention. Indeed, the conflict was soon nicknamed the "splendid little war" because of its brevity, popularity, and success.

As the armed conflict drew to a close, however, it became clear that the United States stood poised to gain an overseas empire as a result of the war. When the McKinley administration publicly announced its

intent to annex the Philippines, various new groups formed to counter imperialist policies. The most prominent of these organizations began at an anti-imperialist meeting at Boston's Faneuil Hall on June 15, 1898, some two months before the fight against Spain ended. Women comprised more than half the audience and remained crucial supporters when the Anti-Imperialist League officially formed in November of that year. Josephine Shaw Lowell is typical of former abolitionists who dominated the anti-imperialist movement. Originally supportive of American intervention in Cuba, she thought of the Philippine War as profoundly different: not a noble fight (as the U.S. Civil War had been) but a betrayal of America's principles and of its own revolutionary heritage. In consonance with her convictions, she became an active member of both the New England Anti-Imperialist League and the New York Anti-Imperialist League. She regularly provided the latter's founder, Edward L. Ordway, with advice based on her own lifetime of experience as an activist. Only illness and advanced age prevented her from doing more.

The movement raised various sets of objections to imperialism: constitutional, economic, racial, and historical (that is, it violated American traditions and ideals). Yet the Anti-Imperialist League's (AIL) failure to block ratification of the Treaty of Paris meant that in 1899 the United States gained possession of the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Guam, and established a military occupation of Cuba. The annexation of Hawaii in the midst of the Spanish-American War added to the new overseas empire. In the face of such developments, the AIL and its local branches across the country pressed for withdrawal of American troops from the Philippines and an end to colonization there. Through rallies, newsletters, and pamphlets, they publicized atrocities committed by the U.S. military during the Philippine Insurrection (1899–1902) that followed occupation—a brutal guerrilla war in which over 4,000 U.S. soldiers and over 220,000 Filipino insurgents and civilians were killed. The AIL's membership of over 30,000 drew from a remarkably broad spectrum, including Democrats and Republicans, labor activists and industrialists, urban reformers and isolationists. In time, the diverse constituency proved to be both a strength and a weakness.

Unsuccessful in obtaining the withdrawal of American troops from the Philippines, the movement faded after President William McKinley's decisive re-election in 1900. The AIL's subsequent goal of Philippine independence met with similar frustrations. Factions in Chicago and New England broke away to form the Philippine Independence League and the Philippine Information Society, respectively. The organization continued to be active through the 1920s, however, by which time even imperialists had turned away from the direct acquisition of colonies to less direct economic, political, military, and cultural influence in the Pacific and Caribbean.

Women's Contributions: Many Kinds of Activism

Although the AIL leadership was dominated by men, women contributed to the movement in crucial ways. First, women remained vital members of the AIL throughout its history; their visible support is evident from newspaper accounts of meetings, which regularly reported on the high percentage of women in attendance. Their presence was both active and vocal, including fundraising work, writing, and speaking on behalf of the movement. Jane Addams, for example, was among the most famous signers and speakers at the important Chicago Liberty Meeting in 1899. Beyond this, they forged key alliances with women's groups, including the WCTU and women's clubs, which helped to distribute pamphlets, tracts, and other anti-imperialist literature through their better established networks and stable memberships. Initially barred from elected positions, women were finally allowed to join the AIL's formal leadership after 1904. At that point, long-time members Jane Addams, Alice Thatcher Post, Josephine Shaw Lowell, and Lucia Ames Mead became vice presidents of the AIL.

Most importantly, women added their own analysis and concerns to the anti-imperialist platform. In contrast with anti-imperialist men, women activists tended to see imperialism, militarism, and women's oppression as inseparable issues that had repercussions beyond anticolonialism. Concerns about imperialism and colonization were, after all, not limited to the AIL but rather were shared by women's groups, including the WCTU, the National Council of Women, and the NAWSA, all of which publicly criticized U.S. occupation of the Philippines. Anti-imperialism enjoyed strong support from peace advocates as well, including prominent women pacifists such as Anna Garlin Spencer and May Wright Sewall. Many women chose to work and lobby against imperialism primarily from within those groups, as opposed to working within the AIL itself; only some, like Jane Addams, were active members in several organizations. Individual expression might also contribute to the cause,

as in the case of Katherine Lee Bates, author of "America the Beautiful" (originally written in 1893 and revised in 1904). Several of her poems from this period, including "The Pity of It," condemned American brutality in the Philippines as a violation of the ideal of freedom.

Lucia Ames Mead provides an excellent example of how intertwined anti-imperialism, peace, and women's rights could be for activists. Mead consistently held a "peace-first" policy but saw her work for the pacifist, anti-imperialist, and suffrage movements as all of a piece. She spoke at AIL rallies, often addressing women in particular, and published widely on the subject of the Philippines. Her writings, too (such as her later book, *Swords and Ploughshares*, 1912), criticized imperialism, militarism, and nationalism, sharply denying Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan's contention that expansion would lead to domestic security and even "moral elevation." Fittingly, she ascended simultaneously to leadership positions in the American Peace Society, the AIL, and the woman suffrage movement.

Women's groups and the peace movement often afforded women much greater opportunities for leadership than did the AIL. Moreover, these other organizations enabled women to carry the torch of anti-imperialism after the AIL had begun to decline. By 1900—when the AIL was attempting to recover from major electoral defeats—the WCTU took a particularly strong moral stand against U.S. military policies in the Philippines. Frances Willard, leader of the WCTU, protested that imperialist policies were the framework within which alcohol and drugs were being manufactured and exported to colonized natives of overseas possessions. She argued that this was both an immoral and ultimately untenable basis for empire.

Moral Criticism

Women, therefore, brought a particular focus of their own to the movement; for them, imperialism represented the excesses of a government that excluded women from political participation and that upheld aggression, competitiveness, and commercialism instead of purer "women's values." In her celebrated address, "Democracy or Militarism," delivered in Chicago on April 30, 1899, Jane Addams traced a recent rash of murders in her neighborhood to the nation's enthusiasm for war. Local violence should come as no surprise, she declared, when even "the little children on the street played at war, day after day, killing Spaniards." Women involved in Progressivism feared that an imperialist political agenda would edge out domestic reforms, as some believed had happened in Britain because of the Boer War.

Beyond a moral indictment of masculine values, women's anti-imperialism often expressed itself as a pointed critique of American soldiers' immoral conduct. The WCTU and other social purity organizations, in particular, condemned the prostitution, drunkenness, venereal disease, and vice that in their view characterized conditions in and around military canteens in the Philippines. Suffragists denounced the idea of introducing regulated prostitution to the islands as a public health measure. Using such examples, many women's groups reported that the actual effects of American occupation were not "civilizing" as imperialists claimed, but on the contrary, brutalizing and vicious. They wondered whether even American women like themselves could resist the dangers and temptations of the colonial tropics. Lobbying around these types of moral concerns outweighed campaigns against other components of imperialism, such as increased military spending.

To this view, suffragists added a more abstract feminist critique of imperialism. They pointed out an affinity between colonized peoples and themselves, neither of whom could participate directly in the government imposed on them. They also decried the type of gender oppression which the United States would bring to its colonies. It should be no surprise, then, that imperialism came under intense discussion at the 1899 NAWSA convention. Anna Garlin Spencer's address on "Duty to the Women of Our New Possessions" warned against imposing patriarchy and men's "subjection of women" on Hawaiian, Cuban, and Filipino society. Susan B. Anthony agreed, declaring, "I have been overflowing with wrath ever since the proposal was made to engraft our half-barbaric form of government on Hawaii and our other new possessions. I have been studying how to save, not them, but ourselves from the disgrace." These sentiments echoed earlier declarations by the more radical Emma Goldman, who publicly questioned whether the United States could really lead its protectorates to true freedom and democracy when it did not follow such principles at home.

Women, like men, embraced anti-imperialism from a wide range of perspectives, though also with a racist skepticism over imperialism's supposedly civilizing mission. "My most serious objection to making the Philippines American territory is because three-fourths of the population is made up of negroes," wrote Varina Davis, widow of the Confederate presi-

dent, in an article for *The Arena* (January 1900) supporting Filipino independence. "What [else] are we to do with this mighty negro population, who do not speak our language and come to us in enforced citizenship and full of smoldering discontent?" she asked. Davis was not alone in this rationale. In private letters and reports, peace advocate Hannah Bailey expressed similar views on the Filipino's racial inferiority, though her public comments focused on humanitarian concerns instead. Attitudes within the WCTU and NAWSA could be equally patronizing, assuming a maternal obligation toward colonized peoples.

Criticisms from Contemporaries

Although women contributed much to anti-imperialism, both in pragmatic and in intellectual ways, they could also be liabilities to the movement. With the charged rhetoric of gender that ruled contemporary politics, groups like the Grand Army of the Republic disparaged the anti-imperialists as "aunties" and "sissies." Some scholars believe that, over time, women (like Josephine Shaw Lowell) may have turned to increasingly private and less visible forms of support in order to avoid adding to this effeminate image. The phenomenon certainly helps explain why women's participation in the anti-imperialist movement has been overlooked for so long.

Yet men were not the only ones to lead the attack. American women did not align themselves universally with the anti-imperialists. Younger women in particular tended to support expansion and colonization. Even some of the older leaders, including Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Julia Ward Howe, believed imperialism could be part of America's civilizing mission. Enthusiasts of internationalism saw it as a way for the United States to increase its influence in the world. Like the general population, most women were caught up in the nationalist fervor that celebrated the Spanish-American War and that persisted in spite of—or because of—staunch resistance to U.S. rule in the Philippines. If they had not, the movement would have seen more dramatic success.

In the end, however, American women's anti-imperialist activities, rhetoric, and ideology helped to strengthen the whole movement. Despite only limited success in achieving their political goals, women extended the reach of the AIL. They called attention to the moral problems inherent in American expansion and to their interconnectedness with domestic reform issues. In the process, they also broadened the agendas of the temperance, peace, and suffrage organizations to include anti-imperialism, thus making their cause a central part of public debate at the turn of the twentieth century.

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Working Women's Movement
Early Twentieth Century

The 1900 American census recorded 5,319,400 women engaged in wage labor, reflecting their broadened employment opportunities in the industrial world. However, women's role in the workforce was ambiguous, and many tensions surrounded the representation of women in the labor movement as a result of prevailing notions of gender. The labor force in which women toiled was gendered; workers, unions, and employers understood skilled craft work as men's work, leaving women largely restricted to semi- and unskilled positions. Such positions increased with the mechanization of trades; technological advances facilitated the division of skilled workers' jobs into multiple lesser-skilled tasks. The newly created semi- and unskilled jobs were more accessible to women than skilled jobs had been, particularly as employers viewed women as a cheaper, more docile labor force, and thus the mechanization of a trade was often accompanied by its feminization.

Race, Gender, and Labor

The female workforce was further complicated by a racial dynamic with African-American women at the bottom of the labor ladder. In this period, among both blacks and whites most wage-earning women were employed as domestic workers. For black women laundry work was often the only alternative, whereas white women could more readily find employment in clerical work, the garment trades, and department stores, and had greater opportunities to move into the newly mechanized industries.

Labor unions and reform organizations represented a minority of these working women in the early twentieth century. For the majority who were not represented by these social movements, day-to-day resistance ensured women greater control of their working environment, albeit to a limited degree. In the workplace, working women were often isolated from male workers and even from each other. Some employers encouraged such isolation, but it also often resulted from the work women undertook. For example, domestic service often meant working with only one or two other workers, making it notoriously difficult to unionize; consequently, women who worked in this trade benefited little from union representation or political education. However, women who worked in such circumstances, along with those who worked in other trades that were not yet organized, could still resist their employers' control in a variety of ways. Slowdowns, pilfering, and quitting occurred much more often than strikes and in general involved a lesser risk. By challenging their employers' power to independently dictate the terms of employment, such forms of resistance offered workers at least a modicum of control over their working conditions.

In a much less obvious way, a sense of workplace community also empowered working women. By celebrating birthdays and anniversaries and gossiping about friends and family, women humanized the shop-floor experience, reasserted their independence from employers' control and the monotony of the job, and reaffirmed their relationship to the community in which they lived and worked. Such forms of resistance were chiefly individual in character and thus did not constitute an organized social movement, but they were often the only form of protest working women could engage in.

The Marginalization of Women in Organized Labor

Working women were very much on the periphery of the American labor movement in the early twentieth century. The central labor organization in the United States, the American Federation of Labor (AFL), largely failed to address the needs of working women. Its focus on craft workers and its policy of voluntarism (the AFL saw a limited role for the state within

the world of industrial relations) marginalized women workers, recent immigrants, and African Americans. The AFL's failure to address the racial component within the American labor movement meant that African-American working women were even more marginalized by the mainstream labor movement in the early twentieth century than white women.

Underlying AFL policy toward women workers was the fear that women would displace men in the labor force and that the rightful place of women, especially married women, was in the home. As noted above, mechanization was accompanied by an expansion of the female labor force. Craft workers represented in the AFL were concerned that not only would they lose their traditional skilled jobs but that women would dominate the new unskilled labor force. Instead of attempting to organize these women, the AFL, and many of its craft union affiliates, frequently attempted to limit the number of women workers moving into these trades, for example, by denying them access to apprenticeships.

The AFL and IWW

The AFL was not the only national labor organization in the early twentieth century. Its most notable rival was the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW, or as they were more commonly known, the Wobblies), first organized in Chicago in 1905. The AFL viewed the IWW as a "dual union" in that it duplicated (and threatened) the AFL's role in the labor movement. The IWW advocated industrial unionism—the organization of factory workers and others involved in mass production. The AFL, on the other hand, sought to organize workers on the basis of craft. The IWW considered the trade union as a vehicle through which the abolition of capitalism could be achieved, a position far removed from the AFL's "pure and simple" craft-oriented unionism that concentrated on improving wages and working conditions but not on abolishing capitalism. Unlike the AFL, the IWW was far more concerned with semi- and unskilled workers, and this helped contribute to the greater role white women played in the organization. However, although the IWW did not oppose the organization of African-American workers, Wobblies only rarely ventured into trades or regions in which blacks constituted a significant proportion of the labor force.

The Lawrence, Massachusetts, textile strike of 1912 demonstrated the Wobblies' commitment to mass organization. The strike began as a spontaneous walkout of the mostly immigrant and female workforce in response to short pay. IWW activists reacted quickly and began to organize the disparate workers, showing far greater concern for the semi- and unskilled women workers than did the AFL and its affiliate unions. The Wobblies arranged mass pickets to keep strikebreakers out of the mills and inadvertently served to boost morale and to involve large numbers of the community in a productive way. Success came in March, with the strikers' demands largely granted and a huge increase in membership for the IWW, including many women. Indeed, women had played a vocal part in the strike; the most notable female Wobbly, "Rebel Girl" Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, had been elected to the national executive in 1909.

The IWW was male dominated, however, and Flynn stands out, in part because she was exceptional. Many individual Wobblies were less enthusiastic about women's right to work, especially married women, and traditional conceptions of the domestic role for women were revealed in debates within the organization. Moreover, in the months following strikes such as at Lawrence, the Wobblies rarely maintained the gains they had made, thus further weakening their potential power base. Ultimately, the IWW suffered from the interwar Red Scare, and, although it was not officially disbanded, its importance and position in the labor movement diminished after the mid-1920s.

Women's Trade Unions

Labor unions in trades in which women traditionally constituted a large percentage of the workforce were more inclined to accept the image of a unionized woman worker. This was particularly true as the twentieth century progressed and there was a growth of industrial unions that moved away from the craft focus dominant in the late nineteenth century.

Two of the most important unions for women in the early twentieth century were the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA) and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU). Both these organizations presented far greater opportunities for women to be union activists. The ILGWU was founded in 1900 and organized the women's garment trade. The ACWA was founded in 1914 as a breakaway union from the United Garment Workers (UGW), on the grounds that the UGW was too focused on skilled workers and that industrial organization was needed in the men's clothing trade. Both grew rapidly and included the semi- and unskilled female workers who constituted the majority in the clothing trade. The far greater acceptance and concern

Many American women found employment as seamstresses in the early twentieth century. In this gender-divided system of labor, they often worked under the supervision of men. *(Brown Brothers)*

for women workers was reflected in women holding office at both the local and national level, in the women's page that the union journals had for many years, and in the adoption of policy that advocated women's inclusion. For example, in 1916 the ILGWU established a General Educational Committee under Fannia Cohn, who became the first female vice president of a major international union. With support from the union, Cohn worked to promote the necessity of education for workers, especially women workers, and organized extensive educational programs. This set a precedent that many unions adopted as the twentieth century progressed, a precedent that acknowledged the changing role and demands of workers and unions.

African-American women had far fewer employment opportunities available to them and rarely benefited from such labor movements. However, as the twentieth century progressed, mainstream labor organizations offered black women more opportunities for inclusion, particularly in trades and regions in which they dominated. For example, in 1920 black domestic workers made up at least ten locals of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union in Southern cities. However, the potential for interracial unions was limited, and racial tensions and discrimination meant that black working women often turned to their own communities and formed cross-class support organizations.

Segregation of Women's Work

Important labor organizations also developed among the growing body of professional women workers, the majority of whom were native-born white Americans. For example, the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) was founded in Chicago in 1916. Teaching was one of the most popular occupations open to educated women, and, faced with attacks from the Chicago Board of Education, teachers turned to unionization as a way of voicing and strengthening their position. However, the ideological position of the union created considerable tension within the AFT. Some members opposed its affiliation to the AFL; they argued that the union should focus on improving their professional skills, not obtaining political power. This indicated the ambiguous relationship between the professions and manual labor, which was also present in the organization of clerical workers.

The early twentieth century witnessed the feminization of clerical work, with the percentage of women clerical workers more than doubling by the 1930s. However, despite the potential for a feminine labor voice this represented, clerical workers did not constitute a significant group within the organized labor movement. In part, this resulted from the different discourses surrounding clerical and nonmanual labor. Clerical workers considered office work to be more prestigious than manual labor, and, with the close association of trade unions with manual occupations, many office workers looked down upon labor unions.

The Women's Trade Union League

On the periphery of the American labor movement was the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL), founded in 1903 by Jane Addams, Mary Anderson, and other trade unionists. The WTUL was the first national organization with a cross-class membership to seriously and solely address the concerns of working women. The majority of the social reformers and settlement house workers at the founding meeting were women, whereas only one of the labor representatives was female, reflecting the masculine nature of the labor movement at the time. In terms of race, the League also conformed to the dominant pattern of the American labor movement, being essentially a white organization. Although the League more readily accepted black women workers than many labor organizations, African-American women played a very limited role in the League, and it was rare for the WTUL to specifically address the grievances of black working women. However, there were occasions when the League organized or supported striking African-American women workers.

The League was organized on a national basis with regional Leagues where they were required, of which New York and Chicago were the largest and most active. Although the intention was to achieve an equal balance between working class and middle-class women, in general the latter dominated. This was particularly so at the national level, with the middle-class activist Margaret Dreier Robins dominating the organization as national president from 1907 to 1922. The program for the League was threefold: organizing women into existing trade unions; educating working women about the importance of labor organization and middle-class women about the conditions and needs of working women; and campaigning for protective labor legislation.

Central to the WTUL's organizing campaign was the recognition that one of the main causes of the low level of female unionization was the male-dominated structure of the labor movement. The AFL and the majority of individual trade unions focused on the interests of skilled white male workers and thus marginalized women workers. The WTUL recognized the exclusionary nature of masculine trade unionism and the cultural disparity between male and female workers; thus, it organized in a different way so as to make unionism more attractive and accessible to women. It arranged meetings in more congenial locations, such as schools or town halls instead of public houses, and at more convenient times, to limit conflict with familial commitments. To further encourage participation, the local Leagues partook in activities that their male counterparts did not, for example, establishing lending libraries, swimming clubs, food cooperatives, socials, and folk dancing lessons. Through such events, a culture of unionism developed among women workers. However, because the WTUL remained on the margins of the labor movement, as the twentieth century progressed many of the most active union women disassociated themselves from the League in favor of full integration into their own unions, thereby accentuating the middle-class presence in the League.

The second component of the League's activities was its educational program. The WTUL was particularly aware of the importance of industrial education for immigrant women. The language difficulties immigrant workers faced were addressed in an original and productive way by turning English lessons into vehicles for trade union education, for example, using an English primer that had lessons entitled "A Trade Without a Union," "A Trade with a Union," and "Join-

ing the Union." In 1913, labor leader Agnes Nestor became president of the Chicago Women's Trade Union League; that same year the League established the Training School for Women Organizers in Chicago, the first residential workers' education program in the United States. It ran until 1926 and involved field work as well as classroom teaching. Other organizations began to see the importance of industrial education, and the League school inspired similar efforts on the part of both unions and women's groups. However, the training programs were expensive to run, and increasingly the League sacrificed organizational campaigns in favor of education, thereby limiting the number of working women who came into contact with the WTUL.

Finally, the League campaigned for improvements in hours, wages, and working conditions. Although this was a major activity of both the male and female labor movements, they tended to differ in approach. Male trade unionists preferred to attain such ameliorations via collective bargaining, whereas women increasingly turned toward protective labor legislation. Collective bargaining relied on an organized workforce; it would not work if only a minority of the workforce was unionized. As repeated attempts failed to organize a majority of the female workforce, the WTUL increasingly turned toward protective legislation. In part, this policy shift was influenced by the involvement of many of its middle-class members in other reform organizations.

Members of the Women's Trade Union League take to the streets to promote union membership, the eight-hour workday, and an end to child labor. *(Brown Brothers)*

AGNES NESTOR (1880–1948)

Agnes Nestor was one of the foremost women labor leaders during the first half of the twentieth century. Not limiting herself to union activities, she also worked vigorously for women's rights, education, and various social causes.

Nestor was born in Grand Rapids, Michigan, on June 24, 1880. In 1897, she began working at the Eisendrath Glove Company in Chicago. In 1898, the women glove makers went on strike. It was during this strike that young Agnes made a name for herself. The strike at Eisendrath was a victory, and out of the event a glovemaker's local union was established.

Nestor's impressive command of the glovemaking business and the lives of the workers won her many admirers. In 1903, she was elected the union's national vice president. She served in this capacity until 1906 when she then became secretary-treasurer, keeping that post until 1913. Her other offices with this union then included president from 1913 to 1915, vice president again from 1915 to 1938, and finally director of Research and Education from 1938 to 1948.

Nestor was also involved with the Chicago Federation of Labor (CFL) both as the president of her local and as a representative to the CFL. In 1919, the CFL began a bold attempt to create a labor party on local, state, and national levels. In that same year, Nestor served as a delegate to the first national convention of what would eventually became the Farmer-Labor Party (FLP). In 1920, as part of the Illinois Labor Party, Nestor was nominated for one of the university trustees positions. She did not gain office, and the FLP as a whole would face utter defeat. In 1928, she again ran for public office, this time for state representative. Curiously enough, her campaign flyer made no mention of her previous political affiliation with the FLP.

Nestor's other labor activities included serving as president of the Chicago Women's Trade Union League (WTUL) from 1913 to 1948, as well as on the executive board of the national WTUL. She also assisted in organizing workers in industries such as the garment workers and needle trades. She often participated in strikes as a negotiator, speaker, and overall organizer. Nestor was always willing to travel around the country to assist women strikers whenever the need arose.

In terms of social work, Nestor again served on various boards. Such memberships include the Governor's Commission on Unemployment and Relief (1918), the Joint Emergency Relief Fund of Cook County (1931), the Advisory Council on Employment Security (1931), and the Social Security Board (1934).

Nestor lobbied the Illinois legislature to limit the number of hours women, and others, could work each day and week. The first victory was the 1909 Illinois law that created the ten-hour day, although Nestor's goal was to eventually establish an eight-hour day, which came to fruition in 1937. Even so, between 1909 and 1937 Nestor, along with other advocates of the eight-hour day, had to fight strenuously to amend and keep any such laws. Nestor also fought for a minimum wage law, woman suffrage, and legislation addressing maternity health.

Nestor lived in Chicago until her death in 1948. She worked as a labor and social advocate to the very end of her life.

Mitchell Newton-Matza

1ST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF WORKING WOMEN CALLED BY THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE OF AMERICA
WASHINGTON D.C. OCTOBER 28 1919

This panoramic portrait taken in Washington, D.C., on October 28, 1919, shows the attendees of the First International Congress of Working Women, a convention called by the National Women's Trade Union League. Composed of women from all classes, the League focused on industrial education and the rights and conditions of working women. *(Library of Congress)*

Opposition from Male-Dominated Unions

At its founding, the Women's Trade Union League had represented an unprecedented opportunity for the cross-class feminist organization of working women. However, the failure of the male-dominated mainstream labor movement to respond positively meant that the WTUL soon shifted closer to the women's movement than to the labor movement. The continued presence of middle-class women and the League's emphasis on legislation and education further encouraged both association with the women's movement and alienation from the wider labor movement. Furthermore, by the 1920s, many women unionists chose to work within the mixed-sex labor movement instead of within the WTUL. Although the AFL continued to marginalize women workers, other unions such as the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America began to give women workers a greater role.

An alternative route to trade union organization was amelioration of working women's conditions via reform organizations. The expansion of women's university education in the late nineteenth century resulted in a surplus of educated women with few employment opportunities available to them. These public-spirited women, such as Florence Kelley (head of the National Consumers League from 1899 to 1932), Jane Addams (founder of Hull House settlement house), and Margaret Dreier Robins, carved out a niche for themselves in social improvement work, poor relief, and industrial amelioration.

The National Consumers League

The National Consumers League (NCL) was one such group. Founded in 1899 from a number of regional organizations, the NCL was very much part of the broader discourse of social reform that was characteristic of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century America. The middle-class feminists who led the NCL believed that their "feminine values" provided them with a particular aptitude to empower workers, economically and politically. However, their empowering program was not as direct as those of labor organizations, and the NCL had its greatest impact among middle-class women. It called for ethical consumption and encouraged middle-class female consumers to buy goods from the "white list" or with the "white label," which indicated that the goods were produced under fair conditions. Although these tactics had limited results in changing working conditions for wage-earning women, they were important in educating more middle- and upper-class women about working conditions and in leading some such women to involve themselves in the Women's Trade Union League.

Closely tied to the NCL was the settlement house movement, another product of the discourse of social reform. Chicago's Hull House and New York's Henry Street Settlement, among others, provided a range of services to the local working-class community, such as nursery care, and nutrition and hygiene education. However, as with the NCL, perhaps their greatest accomplishment was the education of middle-class women as to the living and working conditions of the urban working poor. Like the NCL, settlement house workers were active within the campaign for protective labor legislation, at times working alongside the WTUL. Seemingly beneficial to working women, the campaign for legislation to improve working conditions, hours, and wages encompassed the assumption that women were the weaker sex and in need of such protection. Furthermore, calls for protective legislation often reinforced gender roles that did not recognize women's right to work; these calls were regularly accompanied by claims that it was only financial necessity that "forced" women to engage in wage labor and that their "true" place was the home.

These organizations were predominantly based in the Northeast and Midwest and had their greatest influence on white immigrant communities. In both the South and the black ghettoes of the North and Midwest, in lieu of African-American unions black women often turned to mutual aid groups within the black community. These groups, such as the Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, had a long tradition in African-American culture, stemming from the need for self-reliance in the face of racial discrimination. These groups crossed class boundaries as the common adversity of racism encouraged cross-class black solidarity instead of interracial working-class unity.

The organization and representation of wage-earning women in the early twentieth century took a variety of forms. However, despite considerable progress, women remained marginal within the mainstream labor movement primarily because of the persistence of conventional gender roles that assigned women to the home and family; the opposition of skilled craftsmen to the feminization and de-skilling of their trade; and the male-dominated labor movement's reluctance to seriously consider wage-earning women's grievances and demands. Wage-earning

women were also represented by a number of social reform movements that operated in early twentieth-century urban America. Middle class and often feminist, these organizations took on the charge of improving working and living conditions for working women, but in so doing they enforced their own perceptions of women's role in society and the workforce.

Ruth Percy

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Birth Control Movement

For a movement that spanned a century, the birth control movement retained a remarkably consistent primary objective: to help individuals gain control over reproduction. Underneath this straightforward objective, however, lies a complex history of changing ideologies, strategies, and opinions about who should have access to this control. At the center of much of this change stood Margaret Sanger (1879–1966), the self-proclaimed leader of the movement who dedicated most of her adult life, with varying degrees of success, to the cause. Sanger led the movement through multiple and seemingly discordant permutations ranging from radicalism to medicalization, and it is easy to criticize her functional approach to her cause. It is important, however, to consider Sanger's influence and decision-making process in a historical context because from its radical origins to its linguistic shift to "planned parenthood," the birth control movement ultimately succeeded in convincing the American public and lawmakers that effective and autonomous self-control of reproduction was a desirable goal.

Radical Roots

Contraceptive devices existed long before there was an organized birth control movement, and many nineteenth-century Americans had relatively easy access to birth control information. The declining birth rate, especially among the white urban middle class, suggests that more and more Americans during this time period used some sort of contraception. This proliferation of contraceptive devices and information, however, troubled Victorian moral reformers, most notably Anthony Comstock (1844–1915), the president of the Society for the Suppression of Vice in New York. According to reformers like Comstock, ready access to contraceptive information threatened the home and drove men towards illicit sexual activity. Comstock launched a crusade to stop this trend. His efforts culminated in the passage of an 1873 anti-obscenity statute that, among other things, made sending contraceptive devices and information through the federal mail illegal. Although many Americans continued to use contraceptives after the passage of what came to be known as the "Comstock Act," fighting for its repeal became a centerpiece in the battle to legalize birth control in the United States.

The earliest birth control advocates, comprised of a small group of suffragists, moral reformers, and free love advocates in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, however, did not support artificial contraception, which they associated with prostitution and immorality. Rather, these women believed in "voluntary motherhood": women, they maintained, should have the political right to choose when they became mothers. Advocates of voluntary motherhood did not hate sex and did not believe that women were asexual—a common Victorian view that gave husbands little motivation to make sexual activity pleasurable for their wives. Advocates of "voluntary motherhood" thought that women could enjoy sexual activity if they had a say in when it took place. Importantly, these activists did not reject the importance of women's role as mothers; rather, they argued that women fulfilled this role more successfully when they had control over when they had babies. Voluntary motherhood, as such, gave women an opportunity to strengthen their positions within their marriages but did not challenge the traditional family structure.

A far more strident challenge to the established sexual and family order occurred during the 1910s. Against a historical backdrop in which scientists and politicians were voicing fears about "race suicide" if the white middle class continued to practice contraception, a group of radicals began to articulate a need to give such information to the working class as well. Believing in birth control's potential to alter both class and sexual relations, these radicals, including anar-

chist Emma Goldman (1869–1940), distributed sex education materials and talked about birth control as part of their larger revolutionary agenda. They held that the capitalist system benefited from the existence of a large labor force that, in part because of family size, could not afford to challenge the system. They saw that poor women experienced a terrible burden by giving birth many times in often-unsanitary conditions and by having to feed and to clothe their large families. They also felt that it was unjust that white middle-class women had access to birth control information simply because they could afford to pay for medical care. The idea never gained a solid footing on the Socialist political agenda, however, because party leaders deemed birth control too radical for inclusion in its party platform. In their minds, the achievement of women's rights would naturally follow the achievement of workers rights. Nevertheless, these radicals persevered in the promotion of birth control.

Margaret Sanger became part of this intellectual milieu in 1910 when she and her husband moved from the suburbs to New York City, the heart of radicalism and bohemia in the United States. Born Margaret Louise Higgins, the sixth of eleven children in a large Irish Catholic family, Sanger apparently became keenly aware of the hazards of excessive childbearing when her mother died of consumption at age 50. In her youth, Sanger aspired to be a doctor but ultimately decided to study nursing because her family could not afford the expense of further medical training. She married William Sanger, a young architect, in 1902 and briefly settled into domestic life.

A variety of circumstances precipitated the Sangers' decision to move into the city. But once they arrived, the couple quickly became involved in many facets of Socialist politics. Sanger also found part-time work with Lillian Wald's Visiting Nurse Service on the Lower East Side. It was during this work that Sanger claimed to have had an experience that prompted her decision to dedicate her life to birth control. According to the story—which may or may not be true and one that Sanger repeated throughout her career—she had her awakening following the death of Mrs. Sadie Sachs, a young Jewish immigrant who had begged her doctor for contraceptive information to no avail and who died following a botched self-abortion.

Notwithstanding the veracity of the Sachs story, it is true that Sanger began to define herself as a champion of birth control, a term that she adopted as her own in 1915. She became increasingly convinced, especially following a 1914 trip to Europe, that common contraceptive methods such as withdrawal and condoms were undesirable methods because women were dependent on men to use them. Searching for a woman-centered form of birth control, Sanger settled on the diaphragm, which needed to be fitted by a medical specialist. In addition, she began spreading her ideas in *The Woman Rebel*, a magazine she launched in 1914 and was soon a target of the Post Office's enforcement of the Comstock laws. Instead of facing trial, Sanger fled to Europe.

Sanger returned to the United States in 1915 to a changing climate. The Post Office had decided not to press further charges against her. Also during her absence, a group of feminists led by Mary Ware Dennett (1871–1947) formed the National Birth Control League with the goal of repealing the Comstock laws through lobbying on the state and federal level. Sanger, favoring direct action, often criticized the league's lobbying tactics. Sanger also grew increasingly impatient with radicalism and with what she viewed as its divisiveness. She believed that radicals were ignoring her issue as they became more interested in the possible United States entry into World War I in Europe. Sanger began plans to publish *The Birth Control Review* as an alternative to other leftist publications. By October 1916, her vision for the future of the movement became clear when she opened America's first birth control clinic in the Brownsville district of Brooklyn. The clinic operated for ten days before it was raided and closed by the police. Sanger was arrested, convicted for violating anti-obscenity statutes, and spent a month in prison.

Mainstream Allies

Sanger lost an appeal on her conviction in 1918 but nevertheless gained an important legal victory for her cause when Judge Frederick Crane ruled that the distribution of physician-prescribed birth control for the prevention of disease was not illegal. Crane's ruling came at a time when many Americans feared that venereal disease was becoming a public health menace. The War Department's decision not to distribute condoms to American armed forces proved to be a disastrous one as more soldiers were infected with venereal disease during World War I than were injured or killed in combat. Crane's framing of the legality of birth control in relation to its disease-fighting capabilities changed the playing field upon which Sanger could base her activism by making birth control a medical, as opposed to a free speech, matter. Sanger turned all of her attention to establishing birth control clinics, which she believed could be legal as

MARGARET LOUISE HIGGINS SANGER (1879–1966)

Margaret Louise Sanger is perhaps the best known figure in the history of the American reproductive rights movement. Sanger was one of eleven children, the daughter of a free-thinker father and a devout Catholic mother. Sanger and her husband William were involved in the intellectual scene of pre-World War I Greenwich Village. She was a member of the New York Socialist Party and participated in Industrial Workers of the World labor actions.

As a nurse working on New York City's Lower East Side, Sanger witnessed the negative consequences of uncontrolled childbearing and botched abortions. The author of several sex education works including *What Every Girl Should Know* (1916) and *Family Limitation* (1914), Sanger became a target of Anthony Comstock's anti-obscenity laws, which banned materials about and devices used for contraception or abortion. She was prosecuted repeatedly for writing and speaking about venereal disease and birth control, and the post office refused to mail her works, including her radical feminist magazine *The Woman Rebel*. Facing imprisonment, Sanger left the county in 1914. After having three children—one of whom died at age five—Margaret and William Sanger separated, and she engaged in affairs with several men, including psychologist Havelock Ellis.

Upon her return to the United States a year later, Sanger embarked upon a national speaking tour to promote family planning, arguing that birth control would help free women from poverty and encourage their sexual autonomy and equality. In October 1916 Sanger, her sister Ethel Byrne, and colleague Fania Mindell opened the first American birth control clinic in the Brownsville neighborhood of Brooklyn. After only a week of operation, the women were arrested for violating state anti-obscenity laws. Sanger's subsequent imprisonment garnered public attention and galvanized support for the issue of birth control. As support for radical and leftist causes waned, Sanger sought support from the medical profession and the eugenics movement. In 1922, she married James Noah Slee, an oil magnate who became a major funder of the family planning movement.

Sanger cofounded the American Birth Control League and the Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau, which merged in 1939 to become the Birth Control Federation of America—later renamed the Planned Parenthood Federation of America. In addition to family planning, the organization also focused on causes such as global population growth and world hunger. In 1926, Sanger helped organize the first World Population Conference in Geneva, Switzerland. She established the National Committee for Federal Legislation on Birth Control but had little success in lobbying politicians to support laws favoring contraception. In 1936, however, a federal judge ruled in *U.S. v. One Package of Japanese Pessaries*—a lawsuit funded by Sanger—that contraceptive devices could not be classified as obscene.

As the U.S. birth control movement became more mainstream in the 1930s, Sanger retired from her active role and relocated to Tucson, Arizona. After World War II, she began to focus on international family planning, cofounding the International Planned Parenthood Foundation in 1952 and serving as its president until 1959. In her later years, Sanger helped secure funding for the research and development of new contraceptive methods—including the first birth control pill, approved in 1960. Sanger died in 1966 at the age of eighty-six, soon after the U.S. Supreme Court's landmark 1965 *Griswold v. Connecticut* ruling that married couples had the right to use contraceptives.

Liz Highleyman

long as they were staffed by medical doctors and served a public health purpose.

Sanger formed the American Birth Control League (ABCL) in 1921 to help gain financial support for birth control and to establish a physician-run birth control clinic. Her first attempt to open a clinic under a doctor's auspices failed later that year. Undaunted by these setbacks, and aided financially by her marriage to millionaire James Noah Henry Slee in 1922, Sanger recruited another physician and opened her Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau in New York City in January 1923 (then called the Clinical Research Bureau). Sanger now voiced a belief that only trained doctors should fit women for diaphragms, despite the fact that she, as a nurse, had successfully performed many such fittings in the past. Given this turn toward medicine, it is no surprise that the ABCL also began attempts to introduce doctors-only legislation in Congress that would have exempted physicians from the Comstock Act and allowed them to prescribe birth control for any reason that they saw fit.

Historians have criticized Sanger for her turn

Margaret Sanger, author of *The Pivot of Civilization,* and Dr. Dorothy Becker, present statistics of patients the New York clinic had served, on December 6, 1923. Both Sanger and Becker were leaders of the Birth Control Movement. *(Brown Brothers)*

away from radicalism and her decision to form a coalition with the medical profession. It is important to remember, however, that radicals came under increasing attack during the 1920s as a Red Scare and general political conservatism took hold in the United States. In addition, feminists refused to support birth control because they viewed the issue as too controversial. Sanger, in fact, had very few allies in radical circles in the 1920s. It is equally important to remember that Sanger alone did not set the terms for the birth control debate. Rulings from judges like Frederick Crane led Sanger to believe that she had little choice but to pursue the support of the medical profession, which was not, in fact, easily won. Most doctors, in fact, still saw birth control as immoral, and the American Medical Association refused to endorse Sanger's work. Even those doctors who gave limited support for birth control did not necessarily want to ally with Sanger. The Committee on Maternal Health, established by Dr. Robert Dickinson (1861–1950) in 1923, actively tried to wrest control of birth control research out of Sanger's hands. In light of this evidence, it can be argued that Sanger made what is best viewed as a pragmatic choice to pursue the medicalization of birth control.

Another pragmatic, and often-criticized, choice Sanger made was her alliance with the American eu-

THE PIVOT OF CIVILIZATION
APPENDIX: PRINCIPLES AND AIMS OF THE AMERICAN BIRTH CONTROL LEAGUE BY MARGARET SANGER

The Appendix to Margaret Sanger's seminal work, The Pivot of Civilization *(1922), justifies birth control to advance women's rights and health. However, the Appendix also demonstrates the writer's support for eugenics targeting those who are not "the healthy elements of the nation."*

PRINCIPLES:

The complex problems now confronting America as the result of the practice of reckless procreation are fast threatening to grow beyond human control.

Everywhere we see poverty and large families going hand in hand. Those least fit to carry on the race are increasing most rapidly. People who cannot support their own offspring are encouraged by Church and State to produce large families. Many of the children thus begotten are diseased or feeble-minded; many become criminals. The burden of supporting these unwanted types has to be bourne by the healthy elements of the nation. Funds that should be used to raise the standard of our civilization are diverted to the maintenance of those who should never have been born.

In addition to this grave evil we witness the appalling waste of women's health and women's lives by too frequent pregnancies. These unwanted pregnancies often provoke the crime of abortion, or alternatively multiply the number of child-workers and lower the standard of living.

. . . Therefore we hold that every woman must possess the power and freedom to prevent conception except when these conditions can be satisfied.

Every mother must realize her basic position in human society. She must be conscious of her responsibility to the race in bringing children into the world.

. . . These purposes, which are of fundamental importance to the whole of our nation and to the future of mankind, can only be attained if women first receive practical scientific education in the means of Birth Control. That, therefore, is the first object to which the efforts of this League will be directed.

AIMS:

The American Birth Control League aims to enlighten and educate all sections of the American public in the various aspects of the dangers of uncontrolled procreation and the imperative necessity of a world program of Birth Control.

The League aims to correlate the findings of scientists, statisticians, investigators, and social agencies in all fields. To make this possible, it is necessary to organize various departments:

RESEARCH: To collect the findings of scientists, concerning the relation of reckless breeding to the evils of delinquency, defect and dependence;

INVESTIGATION: To derive from these scientifically ascertained facts and figures, conclusions which may aid all public health and social agencies in the study of problems of maternal and infant mortality, child-labor, mental and physical defects and delinquence in relation to the practice of reckless parentage.

HYGIENIC AND PHYSIOLOGICAL instruction by the Medical profession to mothers and potential mothers in harmless and reliable methods of Birth Control in answer to their requests for such knowledge.

STERILIZATION of the insane and feebleminded and the encouragement of this operation upon those afflicted with inherited or transmissible diseases, with the understanding that sterilization does not deprive the individual of his or her sex expression . . .

EDUCATIONAL: The program of education includes: The enlightenment of the public at large, mainly through the education of leaders of thought and opinion—teachers, ministers, editors and writers—to the moral and scientific soundness of the principles of Birth Control and the imperative necessity of its adoption as the basis of national and racial progress.

POLITICAL AND LEGISLATIVE: To enlist the support and cooperation of legal advisers, statesmen and legislators in effecting the removal of state and federal statutes which encourage dysgenic breeding, increase the sum total of disease, misery and poverty and prevent the establishment of a policy of national health and strength.

ORGANIZATION: To send into the various States of the Union field workers to enlist the support and arouse the interest of the masses, to the importance of Birth Control so that laws may be changed and the establishment of clinics made possible in every State.

INTERNATIONAL: This department aims to cooperate with similar organizations in other countries to study Birth Control in its relations to the world population problem, food supplies, national and racial conflicts . . .

Source: Margaret Sanger, *The Pivot of Civilization* (New York: Brentano's, 1922).

genics movement. In the 1920s and 1930s, eugenics was a legitimate field of study taught in most college curriculums and had the potential to lend an air of scientific authority to the birth control movement. Many eugenicists resisted supporting birth control because they feared that the genetically "fit" should be encouraged to have larger families, not to limit their family size. They believed that sterilization, not birth control, was the best method for preventing the "unfit" from having children. But as the focus of eugenics strategy in the 1930s shifted from sterilization to reproduction of the fittest, eugenicists came to believe that giving married couples access to family spacing via birth control served an important purpose.

How much did Sanger believe in the eugenicists' programs for racial betterment? It is difficult to know for sure. She certainly took advantage of the scientific standing that affiliation with eugenics gave to her cause. Less clear, however, is whether she actually believed the movement's racist rhetoric. Sanger established a birth control clinic in Harlem in 1930. Birth control was in fact a divisive issue among African Americans in the 1920s and 1930s. Many black elites believed that family limitation could help support their program of racial uplift, and W.E.B. Du Bois announced his support of birth control as early as 1922. Many African Americans, however, were wary of any sort of medical program forwarded by the white community and questioned the movement's racial motives. This suspicion was not unfounded inasmuch as segregated Southern states actively established birth control clinics for African Americans in an attempt to limit the size of the black population. Although Sanger certainly acted in a patronizing manner toward the African-American clinic board, she never articulated racist goals for her clinic. Pragmatic or not, however, any assessment of Sanger's affiliation with the eugenics movement needs to be balanced carefully with an understanding that she was aware of the class and racial biases of the eugenics movement.

Legal Success

Sanger enjoyed a key legal victory in 1936 when the Supreme Court ruled in *U.S. v. One Package of Japanese Pessaries* that the medical prescription of birth control for disease prevention or well-being was not illegal under the Comstock Act. One year later, the American Medical Association Committee on Contraception issued tentative support for birth control. At this time, Sanger began to lose control of the birth control movement. In 1939, the American Birth Control League and the Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau had merged to form the Birth Control Federation of America (BCFA). A key indication of the movement's shift away from Sanger's original vision was the 1942 decision to rename the BCFA the Planned Parenthood Federation of America. This linguistic shift eliminated the idea that women should have the right to control their own reproduction from the organization's masthead. Family planning, not birth control, became the movement's main selling point as it moved into the mainstream. Planned Parenthood also became an international leader in the movement for population control, a Neo-Malthusian attempt to eliminate world poverty.

Sanger persisted in her search for an effective, female-controlled contraceptive device. Diaphragms were hard to care for, messy, and eliminated spontaneity in sexual intercourse. Sanger was convinced that scientists could develop an oral contraceptive, and she found a financial ally in Katharine McCormick, whose late husband had been an heir to the International Harvester Company fortune. Their efforts succeeded, and the U.S. Food and Drug Administration approved the first oral contraceptive in 1960.

Even though the *One Package* case had eliminated federal restrictions on the prescription of birth control, many states (especially those states with large Catholic constituencies) still had laws that prevented physicians from prescribing birth control to married women. Following several failed legal challenges, the United States Supreme Court overturned all such laws in a 1965 decision in *Griswold v. Connecticut*. This case was additionally significant because it marked the first time that the Supreme Court articulated the legal doctrine of the right to privacy. The court, under pressure from second-wave feminists, later extended the same rights to unmarried individuals in *Eisenstadt v. Baird* (1972).

The birth control movement, as conceived by leaders like Margaret Sanger, had succeeded in eliminating all legal impediments to distributing birth control information and prescribing contraception. Birth control continued to be a controversial issue, especially internationally, where many native-born activists viewed it as a colonial tool. By the 1970s, however, Planned Parenthood and other activists turned their attention to abortion—a logical outgrowth of the movement's founding idea that women had a right to control their reproduction. In this new manner, therefore, the birth control movement continues to thrive in the United States.

Kristin Celello

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WOMEN'S MOVEMENT 1920–1960

The roots of what we now call the first wave of the women's movement can be traced to an event that took place over 150 years ago, when a number of outspoken reformers in Seneca Falls, New York, called "A Convention to Discuss the Social, Civil, and Religious Condition and Rights of Women." For Lucretia C. Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and other activists already vocal in and committed to the movement to eradicate slavery, the next logical step was to demand rights for women. In July of 1848, the Seneca Falls Conference became the first of its kind to address women's rights and issues. Using the analysis of liberty for all and the Declaration of Independence as a template, the Declaration of Sentiments of the Seneca Falls Convention put forward a formal list of grievances, including: inequity in property rights, education, employment, religion, marriage, and suffrage. In short, Mott, Stanton, and the 100 people who signed the Declaration demanded that women—as citizens—be acknowledged as such.

That meeting fostered a large and diverse movement of reform advocating for the rights of women, one that grew to become one of the most broad-based social movements in America by the turn of the century. Just two years after the Seneca Falls Convention, Lucy Stone and an association of suffragists from the East launched the First National Convention of the Women's Movement in Worcester, Massachusetts. Two years after that, Susan B. Anthony attended her first conference on women's rights in Syracuse, New York, and subsequently joined forces with Stanton, and—in effect—the women's movement. Woman suffrage, as a social and legal concept, was a predictable cause for reformers to adhere to, for many viewed the right of women by law to vote in national and local elections as the pinnacle of equality. Other conventions quickly followed suit, and the struggle for woman suffrage helped the women's movement gain significant strength in numbers.

After the American Civil War (1861–1865), suffragists recognized that attempts to secure the franchise for women at the state level were inadequate at best. The women's movement shifted its strategies accordingly, seeking an amendment to the federal Constitution instead. However, there was contention in the ranks. Disagreement over the issue of suffrage for African-American men caused the burgeoning movement to split into two separate organizations in 1869. One, the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), was founded by Lucy Stone, Henry B. Blackwell, Julia Ward Howe, T.W. Higginson, and other proponents of woman suffrage in Boston, Massachusetts. Considered the more conservative association, the AWSA supported the Republican Party, sought to secure suffrage on the state and local levels, and had abolitionists in its membership. Through grassroots activism and organizing, the AWSA created and disseminated information on the vote for women and encouraged other smaller associations to do the same.

THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

The other, more radical organization founded in 1869 was the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), established in New York by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. The NWSA held very clear objectives: to create public debate on social issues pertaining to women (including marriage and divorce), and to secure the vote for women through an amendment to the Constitution. The NWSA hosted a national convention on women's rights every year, and its membership increased dramatically. In 1890, the two sister organizations merged after twenty-one years of independent operation, and the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) was formed. Led by Stanton, Anthony, and Stone (the former executives of the NWSA and AWSA), the

NAWSA pushed almost exclusively for winning the vote for women through recruitment and lobbying for approval of a federal amendment to the Constitution. Some estimates suggest that almost 95 percent of suffragists in America were organized under the umbrella of the NAWSA.

In 1896, however, a convention held in Washington, D.C., inaugurated the merger of two other active women's organizations: the National Federation of Afro-American Women and the National League of Colored Women. Both had grown from the African American women's club movement, a social movement begun in 1898 largely in reaction to the exclusion of African-American clubs from the General Federation of Women's Clubs (GFWC) founded by Charlotte Emerson Brown and Jane Cunningham Croly in 1890. Initiated and directed by abolitionist Harriet Tubman, author Frances E. W. Harper, journalist Ida B. Wells-Barnett, and educator Mary Church Terrell, the merger produced the National Association of Colored Women (NACW). Terrell became the organization's first president, and set a multifaceted mandate that opposed segregation, set up college scholarships, and also included labor rights, child care, and education. In 1912, the NACW joined the struggle for woman suffrage, two years before its white counterpart, the GFWC.

By 1913, the NAWSA's insistence upon federal enfranchisement on a state-by-state basis led to yet another split within the ranks. The Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage emerged as a result, led by Alice Paul and Lucy Burns. Paul, a Quaker from Philadelphia with vast experience learned from the British suffragette campaigns, advocated a strategy of nonviolence and militancy to the organization, and was a driving force in the changes that were to come. By 1916, the Union reorganized as the National Woman's Party (NWP), focused on direct action and confrontation: participating in hunger strikes, picketing, marches, and acts of civil disobedience. The NWP subsequently became the first group to ever demonstrate in front of the White House. Not surprisingly, the NWP was often at odds with other suffragists, and their tactics made them appear radical and "unreasonable."

The year 1916 also marked the presentation of NAWSA's new president Carrie Chapman Catt's "winning plan." While continuing to mobilize suffragists at the level of the state, the NAWSA refocused on amending the federal Constitution. During the war, their work divided between woman suffrage and support of the war effort, while the NWP focused predominantly on obtaining the vote. Early in 1918, President Woodrow Wilson announced his support for federal enfranchisement for women, but it was not until mid-1919 that the Senate followed suit. On August 26, 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment was finally passed, and approximately twenty-six million women were given the right to vote in the United States.

Victory and Aftermath

Achieving the vote was the culmination of decades of organizing and activism by diverse women and different women's associations who unified over the common goal of woman suffrage. After 1920, many thought that the need for a women's rights movement was over. However, women continued organizing and fought for political rights and social reform at the federal, state, and local levels. In other words, the women's movement was very much alive and well after the vote was won, building—slowly at first but then growing in momentum in size—toward what would become known as the women's liberation movement in the 1960s.

Winning the battle for woman suffrage after decades of organized efforts on the part of individual women and organized women's associations was a remarkable victory, but it was a partial one at best. The addition of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1920 was paralleled by the work of Mary McLeod Bethune, an educator from the South who began a voter registration drive for black women—despite the fact that the Ku Klux Klan had launched an unprecedented recruitment campaign for new recruits that same year, and despite death threats from them. In 1917, she became president of the Florida Federation of Colored Women. Bethune would become, in 1923, the president of the National Association of Colored Women, one of the highest national offices a black woman could aspire to at that time.

Although NAWSA disbanded after the suffrage victory, many of the women who were active participants—organizing, petitioning, and lobbying for reform—saw that there was still a need for an organized women's rights movement. Some followed the lead of Carrie Chapman Catt and reorganized as the League of Women Voters at the Chicago convention of the NAWSA in 1919. Catt envisioned an organization that would link women from all states together to work toward progressive legislative reform at all levels of government. By the time their first convention was held in 1920, their nonpartisan, nonsectarian mandate had already expanded to include support for bur-

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT (1859–1947)

Born Carrie Lane on January 9, 1859, in Ripon, Wisconsin, Carrie Chapman Catt grew up there and from 1866 on, lived in Charles City, Iowa. She worked her way through Iowa State College (now University), graduated in 1880, and after a short time spent reading law became a high school principal in Mason City in 1881. Two years later she was appointed superintendent of schools, one of the first women to hold such a position. In 1885 she married Leo Chapman, a journalist who died in 1886, and then in 1890, George Catt. Her marriage to Catt, an engineer, was unusual in its prenuptial legal contract providing her with four months of free time each year to work exclusively for woman suffrage. Catt encouraged and supported his wife's dedication until his death, in 1905. He left her financially independent to devote the rest of her life to reform activities.

From 1890 to 1892, Catt devoted herself to organizing the Iowa Woman Suffrage Association. She proved a highly effective organizer. She then worked as an organizer for the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) from 1892 to 1900 and succeeded Susan B. Anthony as president in 1900. She resigned the presidency in 1904 to care for her ailing husband. Between 1905 and 1915, Catt reorganized the NAWSA along political-district lines and trained women for direct political action and marshaled seasoned campaigners. From 1904 to 1923, she also served as president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. She led the campaign to win suffrage through a federal amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Catt's flexible strategy of working at both federal and state levels to build support for woman suffrage and tireless lobbying in Congress directed by Maud Wood Park and then in state legislatures finally produced a ratified Nineteenth Amendment in August 1920. After ratification, she organized the League of Women Voters for the education of women in politics and to work for continuing progressive legislation throughout the nation.

After 1923, Catt devoted her efforts chiefly to the peace movement. She enlisted the cooperation of eleven national women's organizations in the Committee on the Cause and Cure of War (1925) to urge U.S. participation in a world organization for peace. She actively supported the League of Nations, relief for Jewish refugees from Germany, and a child labor amendment. She was also a strong advocate of international disarmament and of Prohibition. Following World War II, she was keenly interested in the United Nations and used her influence to have qualified women placed on certain commissions. With Nettie R. Shuler she wrote *Woman Suffrage and Politics: The Inner Story of the Suffrage Movement* (1923) and co-wrote *Why Wars Must Cease* (1935). Catt died in New Rochelle, New York, on March 9, 1947.

James G. Lewis

geoning international suffrage movements, to provide women voters with political education and information, and to play watchdog over policymaking and legislatures. The League of Women Voters exists to this day, functioning as a broad-based grassroots organization with a focus on political policy and issues, civic engagement, education, and the dissemination of information.

The new post-suffrage era meant that American women could and would face new and perhaps even more challenging struggles. Employment was considered one such issue, and suffragists lobbied for legislation to protect working women. The year 1920 marked the establishment of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor. Mary Anderson, a Swedish-born American trade unionist, was appointed as the Bureau's first director. Created by Congress, the Bureau existed—and still functions—as the only federally mandated agency charged with the representation of working women in the processes involved in forming public policy. Initially founded as a database of information on women's status in employment as well as an advocate for women's rights on the job, the Bureau provided legal and political voice to and for all working women, and protection from and recourse to undesirable working conditions, discrimination, and abuse.

Women employed in the public sphere found allies in their colleagues and workplaces, forming associations such as the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Altrusa, and Soroptimist. The National League of American Penwomen was created as an umbrella association for artistic women: composers, painters, poets, and writers. Women in other occupations—particularly in the "caring" professions—also organized, and teachers, nurses, cosmeticians, and mothers found other like-minded women who shared their concerns and wanted to push for equality for the "modern woman."

Other suffragists rejoined the organizations they were active in prior to the push for suffrage, such as the GFWC, the National Consumers League, the

Carrying "torches of liberty" along New York's Fifth Avenue during the annual Easter Day Parade, women flaunt their independence by smoking in public. Social barriers restricting women's conduct and behavior relaxed in the 1920s. *(© Underwood Photo Archives, Inc.)*

Women's Trade Union League, or the women's committees of the various political parties. They and other like-minded women understood that the pursuit of women's rights would be an ongoing and constant struggle that was only accelerated by the vote. Legislative councils were created in virtually every state to keep an eye on the decisions considered and made by legislators. At the federal level, the Women's Joint Congressional Committee represented and lobbied Congress for women's groups. In other words, women sought to put their newly won voting rights to use through a multitude of organizations in an attempt to increase their effectiveness.

Growth of Women's Associations and Organizations

The membership and influence of women's associations in the immediate post-suffrage years was staggering, and the women who held membership were active participants in their causes. Women's organizations and voluntary associations were not only for adults; young women remained in and returned to a number of clubs begun before the vote was won, including: the Girl Scouts (founded in 1912), the Camp Fire Girls (established in 1910), the Four-H Club (formally organized in 1914), and the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA, originating in England in 1855 and activated in America in 1858).

The growing number of female university students and graduates of institutions of higher learning also affected the rise of women's organizations in the post-suffrage era. By the time the vote was won, women attending college across the country had already begun to organize on a large scale. Women in Boston began as early as 1882, when a meeting of sixty-five women—all graduates of Wellesley College—led to the creation of the first organization of university women: the Association of Collegiate Alumnae (ACA). By 1883, another organization had emerged. The Western Association of Collegiate Alumnae (WACA) in Chicago (whose mandate highlighted international communication among learned women) eventually merged with the ACA in 1889. By 1903, the Southern Association of College Women (SACW) had emerged, struggling to improve—among other things—academic standards and curricula for women in school.

In 1919, Virginia Gildersleeve, an English professor, dean of Barnard College, and member of the ACA, with Dr. Caroline Spurgeon and Rose Sidgewick, worked together to create the International Federation of University Women (IFUW). At its outset, the IFUW had seven constituencies: the United States, Canada, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, France, and Czechoslovakia. The SACW formally amalgamated with the ACA in the spring of 1921. That merger led to the creation of a single organization of learned women across the country: the American Association of University Women (AAUW). The AAUW remains active and influential to this day, boasting a membership of over 150,000.

Women's Activism

The 1920s would prove to be a productive decade for women's social activism and influence, as many is-

sues that were pursued by women's advocacy groups in the years prior would come to the fore. For instance, Congress passed the Sheppard-Towner Act in 1921; this legislation would guarantee the provision of matching federal funds for state-funded health centers created for children in the United States. The concern of women's groups for the health and welfare of women and their children leading up to Sheppard-Towner had begun at the turn of the century, and their lobbying efforts eventually let to the First White House Conference on Children in 1909, which directly influenced the establishment of the Children's Bureau in 1912. The Children's Bureau was a federal agency created to study the status of child welfare across the country, to investigate issues of child mortality, birth rates, orphanages, adoption, accidents, and disease, and to prevent child abuse and neglect on the job and in the home. Housed in the Department of Labor, it was the first federal statutory agency to be headed by a woman, Julia Clifford Lathrop.

Lathrop was a social worker and an activist concerned with child welfare in employment, health, and the law, and she was dedicated to the formal establishment of social services for women and children in need. Prior to her appointment as chief of the Children's Bureau, she was responsible for establishing—among her many other accomplishments—one of the first juvenile courts in the world. As head of the Bureau, and working alongside her successor, Grace Abbott, she was a significant player in passage of the Sheppard-Towner Act of 1921, otherwise known as the Maternity and Infancy Act. She and Abbott, a social worker and educator who had experience working with the Immigrant's Protective League (created in 1909), were fundamentally concerned with the prevention of infant mortality, and traveled to Europe with the American Red Cross to study the effects of World War I on children abroad. Upon their return, Lathrop and Abbott began formulating the Maternity and Infancy Act—a plan that called for a national welfare assistance program that would extend federal aid to state programs to promote maternal and infant healthcare.

Although the American Medical Association, conservative political groups, and others criticized Lathrop and Abbott's plan as "Communist," it received strong support from the Women's Joint Congressional Committee (WJCC). Led by its permanent chairperson, suffragist and reformer Maud Wood Park and boasting membership from a broad range of women's organizations, the WJCC has been described as one of the most powerful lobby groups in American history. Representing several constituencies, Park and the WJCC directed efforts contributing to the eventual passage of the Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Protection Act in April of 1921. That moment marked the very first time that federal funding would be allocated to social welfare. Although funding for the Act lapsed in 1929 and was never renewed, the WJCC would go on to secure passage of the Cable Act of 1922; legislation that would provide American women with citizenship rights independent of their husband's status.

Continually attacked and criticized as Socialist and subversive, the WJCC would eventually merge with the newly revamped NWP. In 1921, the NWP had reformed and had begun publishing their own journal entitled *Equal Rights*. Concerned with legal discrimination embedded in legislation, the NWP would join forces with women who had similar views and would lobby for what would become one of the paramount feminist issues of the era: the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). Proposed that year by former suffragist Alice Paul, the ERA targeted state and common laws that put legal restrictions on women in the realms of jury service, property ownership and control, marriage rights, and guardianship rights over their children. In many ways, people viewed the ERA as the next step—after the vote—in securing full citizenship rights for women in the United States.

The ERA, as envisioned by Paul, would be a constitutional amendment that would apply uniformly across the nation. Designed to nullify the state and federal laws deemed discriminatory to women, the proposed amendment stated that "equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex," and that "the Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of the article." In other words, the amendment argued that a person's sex should not be the determining factor in the social and legal rights of American people. Formally introduced to Congress in 1923, the ERA did not have full support from all women's organizations. In fact, the amendment caused deep divisions within the women's movement of the era; discord that would last for decades to come.

The proposed amendment received forceful opposition from the National Consumers League, the Women's Trade Union League, the League of Women Voters, and progressive reformer Florence Kelley, who vigorously stated that it would do nothing but compromise the advancements hard won to protect the rights of women in the workforce. In essence, the dis-

agreements among women and between women's organizations over the ERA had its root in what the concept of "equality" did, would, and could mean for women, and illustrated the diversity in opinion that existed within the women's movement even then. The ERA was approved by the Senate in 1972 (forty-nine years after it was introduced to Congress), but was never ratified. What would have become the Twenty-seventh Amendment to the Constitution was never ratified.

The Birth Control Movement

Margaret Higgins Sanger was the driving force behind another major development in the immediate post-suffrage period: the birth control movement. Sanger, a public health nurse and social reformer, was acutely aware of the connection between poverty, high rates of infant and maternal mortality, and the lethal dangers of abortion. She gave up nursing to devote her attention full time to the struggle to remove the legal obstacles surrounding the publication of information about contraception, believing that all women had the right to control her own reproduction and sexuality, and especially to avoid unwanted pregnancy. To Sanger, the key to women's reproductive and sexual emancipation was to be found in the hands of women themselves. Improving access to information and educating women about the available means of birth control would allow women to choose motherhood for themselves. In addition to having coined the term *birth control* (in 1914), Sanger established the American Birth Control League in 1921 (an early version of what would become the Planned Parenthood Federation of America in 1942) and served as its president for seven years.

As the 1920s roared on, women continued to organize and join forces across groups. In 1927, a joint venture between the National Council of Jewish Women (NCJW), the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), and the National Council of Catholic Women (NCCW) exhibited women's influential strength in numbers. Founded by Hannah Greenebaum Solomon in 1893, the NCJW initially focused its efforts on providing assistance and information to new immigrants to the nation. With Jewish values at its core, the NCJW worked as a defender of the rights and freedoms of the public—Jewish and non-Jewish—and stands as the oldest volunteer Jewish women's association in the United States today. The YWCA, a nonsectarian Christian organization founded first in England in 1855 and then in America in 1866, held aims similar to those of the NCJW and assisted young women with the difficulties in adapting to urban life. The NCCW was established in 1920 at the request of American Catholic bishops who envisioned a national umbrella organization that would assemble the multitude of Catholic women's groups in existence during the war. When the Johnson-Reed Act (legislation instituting rigid and restrictive quotas on immigrant arrivals to America) was passed in 1927, the three organizations united and lobbied against the Department of Immigration and their race-based policies.

Women's Leadership in Justice Movements

The business expansion, economic growth and prosperity, mass consumerism, jazz music, increased citizenship rights, increased and improved employment, and changing roles for women that characterized the "Roaring Twenties" (also known as the "new era") came to a grinding halt on October 29, 1929. The stock market crash on "Black Tuesday" was followed by the most devastating economic collapse of the modern industrial world: the Great Depression. Between 1929 and the early 1940s, more than one-quarter of the American workforce (approximately fifteen million people) were unemployed. The real and pervasive threat to Americans' jobs, lives, and livelihoods had dramatic effects on the societal assumptions made about women's place at home and in the public realm. Many reinforced the argument that women should remain where they belonged: as caretakers of the home and hearth, especially in hard times. Others contended that working women were now redundant and that their employment was only taking jobs away from the "breadwinners" of the family: men. Interestingly, and perhaps ironically, the poor economics of the era made women's work outside the home even more necessary for the survival of many families. However, in 1932, the National Economy Act (Section 213) was passed, prohibiting more than one family member from working for the civil service. Many of the jobs lost, until its termination in 1937, were women's.

Although women's social and political organizing in the post-suffrage era peaked in the middle of the 1920s, the onset of the Great Depression witnessed the decline of many of the successful reform activities initiated at the turn of the century. Why participation in associations among women decreased in this era has been debated, but an inability to pay club and

association membership dues could be a likely cause. The waning of women's social movement organizing did not last long, however, as the hardships and suffering caused by the Great Depression activated—and reactivated—many women into benevolent work in a variety of areas. In 1930, for example, Jessie Daniel Ames founded the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching (ASWPL) in Atlanta, Georgia. Ames, a former suffragist and antiracist reformer, and a multitude of supporters (such as Jewish women's groups, Protestant women's associations, and interracial organizations) believed that white women had to be convinced that they played a role—even through silence—in lynching, and used press releases, brochures, pamphlets, and other resources to educate Southern whites about its causes and prevention. By 1940, there were over 100 associations in the five states where lynching was the most frequent: Georgia, Texas, Louisiana, Florida, and Mississippi.

The life of Jane Addams serves as testament to women's continued dedication to charitable work, organizing, and the struggle for a better society in the post-suffrage era. An active member of numerous local and national associations throughout her life, Addams has become noted particularly for the establishment of Hull-House, a settlement originally begun as a safe space for women and children, which grew into a community service locale and—eventually—into a center of and for social reform. Hull-House boasted residents like Florence Kelley, Dr. Alice Hamilton, Julia Lathrop, Ellen Gates Starr, and Sophonisba Breckinridge, all of whom would continue working for social reform as well and help social work evolve from being considered a benevolent activity to a legitimate profession. A committed suffragist, Addams also played a prominent role in the Campfire Girls, the National Playground Association, the National Child Labor Committee, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). An ardent pacifist, she would later become active in the peace movement, joining the Women's Peace Party during World War I. In 1931, Addams was formally—and internationally—recognized for her writing, settlement work, and her efforts in promoting world peace as the first female recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize.

The landslide presidential victory of Franklin D. Roosevelt over Herbert Hoover in 1932 dramatically changed the relationship between the American people and their government and had a significant effect on women's organizing in the United States. Roosevelt's New Deal not only expanded the power of the federal government and reshaped the role of the government in economics, but also drew attention to the vast inequities experienced by women, children, people of color, and laborers. His New Deal solutions also made way for increased political involvement for women and for the appointment of social reformer Frances Perkins to the cabinet (as secretary of labor) in 1933, which marked a significant "first" in American politics. A staunch advocate of fair wages, decent working hours and conditions, child welfare, and Social Security, Perkins was one of the primary executors of Roosevelt's New Deal program.

On June 28, 1934, much to the chagrin of his more conservative critics, Roosevelt announced his intent to implement a social insurance program in the United States. The following day, the Committee on Economic Security was established, responsible for designing a system of social security for America. Appointed chair, Frances Perkins and the committee dealt with (and debated over) a broad array of issues, ranging from old-age assistance, old-age insurance, unemployment, disability, and national health insurance. The latter two were removed from the initial bill, and the remainder went to Congress as the Economic Security Act in early 1935. Despite hostilities from the newspapers and the mass public, the bill was passed, and the Social Security Board was established as an independent agency to deal with the newly renamed Social Security Act within the federal government.

The creation of Social Security established a national system: a federal-state insurance program for the aged and a federal-state unemployment insurance program. However, the persistence of women's organizing led to an expansion of those benefits shortly after their institution. Grace Abbott, Katherine Lenroot, and Martha May Eliot, staff members of the Children's Bureau, worked closely with the Committee on Economic Security right from the Act's beginnings. Together, the three women (supported by a groundswell of voluntary agencies) recommended a program for children with special needs as well as a revised version of the then-defunct Sheppard-Towner Act. In addition, they organized conferences (such as the Conference on Better Care for Mothers and Babies, held in 1938) which highlighted the struggles that prevented *all* women and children from achieving the "democratic ideal." Working for the betterment of the lives of women and children, their efforts were formalized in Title V of the Social Security Act, "Grants

to the States for Maternal and Child Welfare." Because of the organized efforts of women—in voluntary associations and in public groups—services for mothers and their children increased and improved exponentially during the 1930s.

Eleanor Roosevelt and the New Deal

The First Lady, Anna Eleanor Roosevelt, was also a significant player in the advancement of the New Deal programs, particularly as they pertained to humanitarian issues: child welfare, equal rights, and antidiscrimination. Her vocal and active interest in public welfare, her "hands-on" approach to politics—and her establishment of White House press conferences for female journalists—contributed to her often controversial image as a public personality. As a writer, her syndicated daily column "My Day" (1935–1962) dealt with the issues and activities she encountered while conducting her duties as First Lady. During the twenty-seven years that it ran, she tackled current political events, issues of race and youth, poverty, and women's rights. During World War II, she served as the assistant director of the Office of Civilian Defense, advocated for equal rights for women, and would go on to serve as an American delegate to the United Nations after the death of her husband. As both an activist and a political figure, she came to be one of America's popular leaders of reform and had a significant—and lasting—impact on national policy as it pertained to youth, women, and the disadvantaged.

The mid-1930s marked important gains for black women's organizing in the United States as well. In 1935, Mary McLeod Bethune established the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW) in New York City, and sat as its first president. The NCNW grew from Bethune's belief that African American women's groups needed an umbrella organization that would connect them and their issues on a national and international level. A lobbying coalition founded with fourteen women's organizations, the NCNW expanded to accommodate thirty-five national groups and 250 local associations (comprising more than four million women), and fought job discrimination, racism, and sexism. That same year, Bethune also became the director of Negro Affairs in the National Youth Administration (NYA, an organization created by Eleanor Roosevelt to address the "problem" of unemployment among Depression-era youth.). In 1938, Crystal Bird Fauset, a teacher, YWCA volunteer, public speaker, and race relations activist, ran for state legislature and became the first black woman in history elected to a seat in the Pennsylvania state legislature.

The Democratic National Convention of 1936, held in Philadelphia, was an eventful—albeit uncharacteristically harmonious—one. It marked the renomination of Roosevelt and his vice president John Nance Garner, the dissolution of the "two-thirds" nominating rule, and a continued governmental commitment to the New Deal programs. However, that convention also drew attention to the active leadership and remarkable organizing skills of economist Mary Williams Dewson. Dedicated to public service from an early age, she served as secretary for the Commission on Minimum Wage Legislation in Massachusetts, worked with the Bureau of the Refugees for the American Red Cross in France, was a researcher and secretary for the National Consumers League, and president of the Consumers League in New York before joining forces with the Democratic Party in 1928. Active in his presidential campaign, Dewson soon moved on to women's campaign activities within the party proper: as director of the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee and the General Advisory Committee of the Women's Division and as a member of the Consumers' Advisory Board of the National Recovery Administration. Culminating with the Convention in 1936, Dewson's successful political mobilizing and organizing secured over 200 female delegates and ensured that women had equal representation in policy-strategizing and agenda-setting. Dewson would go on to work on Roosevelt's third presidential campaign in 1940.

Although achieving the vote in 1920 opened the doors to remarkable avenues for activism and organizing and launched a domino-effect of political, economic, and social gains for many women across the nation, the post-suffrage era was marked by a downturn in women's participation in the military. Although women's activity in the military was comparably less than men's during World War I, advances had been made in terms of women's involvement in all levels of the military. For instance, the 1925 revision of the Naval Act excluded women from enrollment until it was revised again in 1938. In addition, the director of Women's Programs for the Army (a position that fought for the creation of a Women's Service Corps) was eliminated entirely in 1931. By the 1940s, however, an upswing in activism concerned with women's work for and at war occurred once again. In 1939, for example, the American Medical Women's Association (AMWA) began lobbying for

the permanent appointment (as opposed to work on a contract-only basis) of women doctors in the Army medical corps. By 1943, Congress permitted temporary commissions (subject to the duration of the war), and permanent hires were allowed by 1953.

Women and World War II

During the first half of 1941, the struggle to secure comparable salaries and benefits for women in the military had already begun. Edith Nourse Rogers, a congresswoman from Massachusetts, introduced a bill that she—and many others—hoped would secure the establishment of a separate unit for women in the Army. Attention to the bill was minimal at best until Japan bombed Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, and America formally entered World War II. By May of 1942, the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps (WAAC) accorded official status and salary to female enlistees—without the benefits accorded to their male counterparts—and marked the first time that women (with the exception of nurses) served within the ranks of the U.S. Army. Despite a strong backlash from the public and press who were resistant to women's military service, Commander Oveta Culp Hobby, a public official and publisher, pushed to have the WAAC's "auxiliary" status dropped. By 1943, she was successful, and the WAAC was renamed the Women's Army Corps (WAC).

The WAC recruited women for noncombat duties, and while the majority of those who enlisted performed traditional "woman's work" (mainly clerical tasks, translation, and cooking), others performed more atypical jobs such as technician, photographer, recruiter, electrician, and air traffic controller. The WAC also supplied woman power (Air WACs) to the American Air Force (AAF). Women Accepted for Voluntary Emergency Service (WAVES) was also created for the Navy in 1942, and women who enlisted were automatically granted status equal to that of male recruits. By the end of the war, more than 350,000 women had served in the American armed forces. In 1948, Congress permitted the creation of Women in the Air Force (WAF), passed a bill integrating the WAC in the regular army, and made WAVES a permanent part of the Navy through acceptance of the Women's Armed Services Integration Act. Male and female units of the Army, Navy, and Air Force were amalgamated by 1978.

Enlisting was not the only way women participated in the war efforts. In 1941, a number of women's voluntary associations—the Salvation Army, the YWCA, National Catholic Community Services, and the National Jewish Welfare Board—combined their efforts with the YMCA and the National Travelers Aid Association and created the United Service Organizations (USO). Originally designed to provide on-leave recreation and entertainment for the predominantly male members of the military, the USO's mandate grew rapidly to include social services for women in the armed forces as well as for military families. At war's end, more than 1.5 million volunteers participated in the USO at home and abroad, the bulk of whom were women.

Along with the Red Cross, the USO was the only organization permitted to send staff overseas during the war. However, women were organizing at the national level as well. Alice Throckmorton McLean, a socialite turned social service organizer interested in supporting the war from home, founded the American Women's Voluntary Services (AWVS) in 1940. Working with the Red Cross and the Women's Ambulance and Defense Corps and modeled on a organization already established in Great Britain, the AWVS held a membership of almost 20,000 by 1941, and volunteers trained as drivers, as field medics and attendants, and as mechanics (to name just a few). Despite harsh criticism of its director and its work from the mainstream presses, close to 350,000 women participated in the AWVS, selling millions of dollars in war bonds and stamps, providing food and clothing to those in need, and educating women in do-it-yourself mechanics, agriculture, food preparation and preservation, and the like.

Paralleling the national call for volunteers and recruits was a wartime appeal to women to (temporarily) join the labor force at home for the duration of the war. As men left for war and the need for the production of new goods increased, women were hired in a vast range of occupations. In an abrupt about-face from the Depression era (when women were told to leave jobs for more "deserving" male breadwinners), the media were saturated with calls to women to "do their part" for their families and their country. Appealing to a sense of patriotism and duty, women worked in war industry manufacturing, producing steel as well as heavy machinery, all the while making 35 percent less than their male counterparts and experiencing job segregation and hostility. Although many women who had assumed employment in business, education, and clerical work remained in their positions at war's end, practically all of the women who worked in industry were laid off (estimates have suggested that close to four million women lost their jobs). Although vigorous protests,

union grievances, and conferences, committees, and lobbying were launched in objection to discrimination in employment—and reemployment—little support was received from either the labor unions or the War Manpower Commission.

The war opened the doors to women's increased participation in the workforce and changed the profile of these women. Prior to the war, "working women" were overwhelmingly young, single, and without children. However, as the need for wartime production increased, older, married, and maternal women joined the ranks of the employed. Not surprisingly, they faced a challenge perhaps more difficult than even their new working conditions: child care. Although some were lucky enough to have relatives or friends who would care for their children, the remainder had to seek out other options. The Lanham Act, passed by Congress in 1942, was the federal government's attempt to address the pressing need for day care. Established as a temporary measure at a time of national emergency, the Act authorized the use of federal funds for child-care facilities in "war-impacted areas" only. As a result, many mothers continued to go without. When the war ended and many women returned to the home, the funding was terminated and the majority of the child-care facilities were closed. While inherently flawed and ill-defined from the outset, the Lanham Act marked the federal government's widest-ranging foray into child care to date.

War Victory and the Struggle for Women's Rights

America's entry into World War II not only marked the end of the Great Depression and the rise of the United States as a global powerhouse, but it also brought remarkable social and political changes to the shape of the entire country. The movement of women into previously male-only professions was one of the largest. After the war ended, however, those women were either pressed to resign or were laid off to "make room" for America's returning soldiers, and to resume their roles as housewives and mothers. Women's involvement in voluntary associations, public organizations, and charities persisted as part of the wartime relief effort, and certainly did not wane when the conflict ended. Although the Bureau was the only federal organization designed specifically for working women, its work focused on educating women about their rights on the job, promoting legislation that appealed to the needs of women, collecting work-related data, and reporting on their results to Congress and the public at large. The Bureau had managed to have women's work included in the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act (concerning minimum wage) and fought for policies that addressed employment opportunities, discrimination, and child-raising circumstances. It had become a well-respected and decently funded agency during wartime, and it was backed by organizations such as the YWCA and the League of Women Voters, but, unfortunately, it was unable to provide the immediate support that women seeking recourse for their loss of employment required.

Pay equity rapidly became one of the paramount issues for some members of the women's movement and for the Women's Bureau. During the war, the National Labor Board encouraged the use of wage evaluations based on job descriptions to monitor and maintain fair wage levels. The Women's Equal Pay Act was introduced for the first time in Congress in 1945. If passed immediately, it would have been based on the premise of "equal pay for work of comparable value." Despite an enthusiastic endorsement from the National Association of Manufacturers during the war, resistance to the bill was strong and made its passage slow. It would take eighteen years for the Equal Pay Act to pass.

As late as 1950, Mary Anderson (though technically retired) presented a public statement to a subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labor in overwhelming favor of the Equal Pay Act. Speaking on behalf of the National Board of the YWCAs, the League of Women Voters, the National Consumers League, the NCJW, and the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL), Anderson asserted that "equal pay for women is a matter of simple justice," and she urged the Committee to report favorably for the legislation. Congress passed the Equal Pay Act in 1963, thirteen years after Anderson's plea. Equal pay by race would not be mandated until the following year.

By 1948, it was clear that the face of American society was changing. President Harry S Truman, who succeeded Roosevelt after his death in 1945, appointed Eleanor Roosevelt to the United Nations. As chairman of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (1946–1951), she played a significant role in the creation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (adopted in 1948). That same year, Margaret Chase Smith, already a member of the House of Representatives, was elected to the Senate. Smith became the first woman elected to both Houses of Congress in the United States. She would become even more

noteworthy two years later, when she publicly condemned the anti-Communist crusade of her colleague, Joseph McCarthy.

Intellectual Debates Advanced

Although Congress continued to vote down the ERA (in 1946, 1950, and again in 1953), things were changing on the ground. In 1949, Harvard Law School publicly announced that it would begin admitting women to its prestigious program. In addition, the early activism of the suffragists, centered on obtaining formal citizenship rights for women in the form of the vote, was reinforced on an international level. The 1952 United Nations Convention on the Political Rights of Women, the first of its kind, formally announced that "women shall be entitled to vote in all elections on equal terms with men, without any discrimination." The following year marked the English translation and American publication of Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex.* De Beauvoir, a French existentialist, novelist, and social essayist, analyzed the history of women's oppression in what would become her most noted work. Her thesis, that "one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman," has been credited for inspiring the women's liberation movement that would emerge a little more than a decade later.

The postwar period has come to be characterized by economic gains, an improved standard of living, and the Baby Boom. A revival of the importance placed on women's role as caregiver of the home—as well as on the nuclear family—also followed the war. Postwar sentiments were strong, and the family was deemed supreme: marriage was praised, divorce frowned upon, and childbearing exalted. Despite, or perhaps because of, the preoccupation with the continuation of the nuclear family, information on sexuality flourished in the postwar years. The publication of the Kinsey reports, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* in 1948 and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* in 1953, marked the first of many challenges to mainstream assumptions about sexuality and brought sexuality into public discussion. Kinsey concluded that his research failed to find any significant anatomic or physiological evidence to support the assumed sexual difference between men and women. Public reaction to the volume on female sexuality was overwhelmingly negative: critics questioned the potential moral implications of the project's findings and doubted the ethical foundation of the research. In less than one year, the clamor over the female volume led to a public denouncement of Kinsey by the American Medical Association. The Rockefeller Foundation withdrew its funding for the Institute of Sex Research shortly thereafter.

Despite the controversy, the Kinsey reports served as reference guides for policymaking throughout the later postwar years and helped to legitimize the discussion of sex in the mainstream media. Radio, television, and the print media all provided outlets for a variety of commentaries on sexuality. Attitudes toward sexuality were changing, albeit slowly. The year 1953 also marked the release of the premiere issue of *Playboy*, a glossy publication featuring images of "photographic fantasy" for the "modern man." Seventy-thousand copies of the first issue (featuring Marilyn Monroe on the cover and in centerfold) hit North American newsstands in December, and 54,175 issues of the 44-page magazine were promptly sold.

In 1955, American states prohibited female homosexual activities, even though the Constitution allotted all of its citizens, in writing, the right to the pursuit of pleasure and happiness. That year, Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin founded the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB) (an intentionally inconspicuous name borrowed from a poem by Pierre Louys called "Songs of Bilitis"), the first lesbian organization in America. Established in San Francisco, Lyon and Martin envisioned a space where lesbians could meet free from fear of the law and as a location for community and political action. The following year, the DOB published its first issue of *The Ladder*, a national newsletter for lesbians. It wasn't long before their membership grew, and independent versions of the group emerged across the country. By January 1957, the DOB officially became a nonprofit in the state of California. Although the DOB received significant support from members of the gay rights movement in its early years, the burgeoning women's liberation movement would significantly affect that collaboration, as "women's rights" became an issue separate from "gay rights."

Conclusion

Clearly, the United States emerged from World War II a changed nation. While promoting and defending democracy abroad and maintaining Cold War attitudes at home, however, internal challenges remained. In 1955, for instance, women still earned an average of only 63 cents for every dollar earned by men. Moreover, and significantly more striking, the federal government had not yet addressed the denial of civil liberties and civil rights of racial minorities.

The year 1955 marked the arrest of Rosa Parks, a seamstress and member of the Alabama chapter of the NAACP who refused to relinquish her seat on a public bus to a white man—a breach of the city's racial segregation ordinances. The Montgomery Bus Boycott, led by Ralph Abernathy and Martin Luther King Jr. and backed by the Women's Political Council and the NAACP, was an overwhelming success, and the regular users of the municipal bus company held out for more than a year. Park's defiance and strength, together with the boycott that followed, captured the imagination of the entire country, launched the public recognition of King, and set the tone for the political struggles that would ensue. Rosa Parks has since become known as the mother of the civil rights movement.

Although the suffrage movement succeeded in introducing partial citizenship rights to some women in America, few women occupied "official" positions within the legislature in the post-suffrage era. They were, however, actively participating in other, less visible, political arenas. Between 1920 and the late 1950s, women maintained membership in women's voluntary associations, created national women's coalitions, lobbied on issues pertinent to women and children, and were involved in women's auxiliaries and in trade and labor unions. Contrary to popular opinion, women did not withdraw from political life after the ratification of the suffrage amendment, but instead continued to struggle for the complementary goals of full citizenship for women and the development of policies made with women in mind. Surprisingly, only recently has it become clear in historical documents that women were indeed political creatures—and were actively engaged in effective political participation and affecting political change—after the vote was won.

Suffrage marked a pivotal moment in political history and the women's movement, as it was a tangible mechanism with potential for major societal transformation. In a very real way, securing the vote for women was a prerequisite for challenging assumptions about women's "place" (be it public, in the workforce or in politics; or private, in the home), for women's political socialization and mobilization, as well as for emerging ideas about social change. Significant gains were made for women in virtually every sector of American society in the post-suffrage era, but a great deal remained to be accomplished. Securing rights for women in education, employment, politics, and the law were still battles to be fought, and the ERA remained a pressing concern.

The period between 1920 and 1960 was once considered to be a politically dormant era for women's activism, feminism, and the women's movement, and it was largely assumed that once women won the vote their political activity "paused" until the second wave "revival" in the 1960s. A glimpse into some of the challenges faced by revolutionary women and men during the period—ranging from the birth control movement to the New Deal to civil rights—as well as their remarkable successes, illustrate that the women's movement was alive and well and still very much kicking after the vote was won. Some activists of the era pushed for public policy changes that would augment women's formal equality (including, for instance, the promotion of a federal healthcare program that acknowledged the needs of women and children), while others worked diligently in smaller women's associations, affecting change at the local level on a one-on-one (or case-by-case) basis. Regardless of their strategies or political persuasion, women in the United States were actively and deftly engaged in advancing women's political and social rights during this period. In many ways, the work of women during the post-suffrage era paved the way for the next stage in the contemporary women's movement's history; one that promised to be as turbulent, as troubling, and as fulfilling as the wave that came before.

Candis Steenbergen

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Equal Rights Amendment

In 1848, over 300 women and men gathered in Seneca Falls, New York, to hold the nation's first women's rights convention. Seventy-two years later, when the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1920 granted women the right to vote, many political activists felt that the vision of the Seneca Falls convention had been realized. Others believed that securing suffrage was just one marker in a broader struggle for women's equality and immediately began working for the passage of another constitutional amendment, the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). The story of the ERA is an ongoing and dynamic one. Throughout the amendment's more than eighty-year history, public interest has ranged from intensity to indifference; coalitions for and against it have been formed, disassembled, and reconstructed; opponents have become allies; and the playing field has moved between the federal government and the states.

Roots of the Era: The Struggle for Suffrage

The originator of the Equal Rights Amendment was lawyer and social reformer Alice Paul (1885–1977). As a young woman she spent time in England, where she studied law and social work and became acquainted with Emmeline and Sylvia Pankhurst, militant leaders of the British women's suffrage movement. As part of the Pankhursts' Women's Social and Political Union, Paul was arrested and imprisoned several times and was forcibly fed after going on a hunger strike.

After returning to the United States in 1912, Paul earned a Ph.D. at the University of Pennsylvania and directed her commitment to women's rights toward passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. Paul soon joined the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), the principal women's rights organization. Her intelligence and enthusiasm quickly propelled her into a leadership role, leading to her being named head of the Congressional Committee, the organization's lobbying arm. From the beginning of her work with NAWSA, Paul clashed with the group's president, Carrie Chapman Catt (1859–1947), over the direction of the suffrage campaign and the strategies it employed. The younger Paul advocated applying pressure on the federal level, while Catt advocated a state-by-state grassroots push. Paul was successful at bringing young, radical women into the organization, while Catt owed her leadership position to older members. Most important, Paul advocated using the confrontational methods that she learned from the Pankhursts, while Catt insisted on more conservative strategies, such as public speaking and lobbying elected officials. With the support of her followers, Paul sponsored a suffrage parade on March 3, 1913, in Washington that ended in a riot, which infuriated Catt. In further defiance of Catt, Paul organized the Congressional Union as a fund-raising arm of the Congressional Committee in order to have more resources to fund her activities. Tensions between Paul and Catt and their respective followers continued to escalate until Paul left the NAWSA to form her own organization, the National Woman's Party (NWP), in 1917.

The two groups continued working for passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, utilizing strategies and tactics that reflected the differences between their two leaders. Not surprisingly, when the amendment was ratified in 1920, members of both the NWP and the NAWSA took credit for the victory.

Early Battle Lines

After ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, the NWP immediately turned to what they considered the unfinished business of women's equality by advocating for an Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. They believed that there was still a lot of work to do in terms of making women's economic,

educational, political, legal, and social realities equal to those of men. The NWP had several reasons for not wanting to settle for anything less than an amendment to the Constitution. First, they argued that only a constitutional amendment would protect women's rights from future legislative bodies whose members might not support gender equality. Second, they believed that a campaign to change the Constitution was the quickest and least costly strategy. Third, they believed that women would be perceived as equal to men only if the Constitution said they were.

In 1923, the NWP celebrated the seventy-fifth anniversary of the first women's rights convention by holding their own convention in Seneca Falls, New York. It was at this meeting that Alice Paul first introduced the Equal Rights Amendment, which read, "men and women shall have equal rights throughout the U.S. and every place subject to its jurisdiction." Later that year, the amendment, dubbed the Lucretia Mott Amendment, in honor of the early women's rights activist, was introduced in the U.S. House of Representatives by Kansas Representative Daniel Read Anthony, a distant relative of women's rights leader the late Susan B. Anthony.

Throughout the first five decades of the movement to pass the ERA, the most vocal and powerful opponent of the ERA was the League of Women Voters (LWV), founded by Carrie Chapman Catt to succeed the NAWSA. Members argued that the amendment was unnecessary inasmuch as the right to vote was all that was needed to guarantee women's equality. In keeping with this perspective, local LWV branches across the country launched programs to educate newly enfranchised women about political issues of the day and to teach them how to influence the political process by becoming active in local, regional, and national party politics. In addition, the LWV rejected the universalizing effect of the ERA as dangerous to women. Although they advocated for women's increased participation in the public world of work and politics, they believed women needed special protections against the types of abuses that such public activities might elicit. Thus, a major component of their reform agenda was protective workplace legislation, such as laws guaranteeing that women's pay would be equal to men's, limits on the total number of hours a woman could be employed, minimum pay scales for women, and restrictions on women's employment in occupations considered morally or physically dangerous. They argued that the sweeping equality advocated by the pro-ERA forces would not take into consideration the special circumstances of women as would their "specific-bills-for-specific-ills" legislative approach.

The early battle lines over the ERA had been drawn. Although the NWP failed to win grassroots support for the ERA, owing to their radical reputation during the suffrage campaign, hundreds of state and local LWV chapters moved forward with voter education programs and their specific-bills-for-specific-ills legislative agenda. Initially, Catt's legislative agenda triumphed over Paul's amendment proposal. However, after a rash of Progressive reform measures were passed throughout the 1920s, the political climate began to change in the 1930s. With threats of global economic depression and war in Europe looming, political support for social reform on the domestic front began to erode. Even more important to the fate of the ERA, workplace protective legislation came under attack as women's rights advocates identified instances of protective measures being used to discriminate against women in the workplace. For example, reports circulated that minimum wage and maximum hour standards made women less attractive to employers.

Legislative Chess

As workplace legislation fell out of favor because of abuses, the ERA was increasingly seen as a remedy for workplace discrimination. By the late 1930s, a variety of national women's groups, concerned that the discriminatory consequences of protective labor laws outweighed their equalizing benefits, added their endorsements to the ERA effort. In addition, business and industry interests began to weigh in on the side of the ERA as a way of overturning protective legislation laws that they viewed as promoting government interference in free enterprise. In pursuit of the business vote, both the Republican and Democratic national parties included support for the ERA in their party platforms by 1940. Throughout this time period, the lobbying efforts of ERA advocates kept the amendment on the congressional agenda by getting it introduced in every session of Congress. They succeeded in advancing it to Judiciary Committee subcommittee hearings several times in the 1930s. However, anti-ERA forces remained powerful enough to block movement beyond the subcommittee. A turning point in the national debate occurred in 1938, when Congress passed the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 (FLSA) as part of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal programming for economic and social welfare. This bill guaranteed minimum wage and maximum hour standards for all workers, and,

therefore, strengthened the idea of blanket protection advanced by the ERA.

With their economic arguments validated by the FLSA, pro-ERA forces next took advantage of the nation's wartime climate of patriotism to strengthen their position. They argued that American women who had entered the workplace, joined the women's divisions of the armed forces, and endured sacrifices at home deserved the justice and equality that was at the heart of American values. These arguments were successful. After two decades of persistence, advocates were rewarded in 1942, when the Judiciary Committees of both houses of Congress passed the amendment. In 1946, the ERA was brought up for a vote in the Senate for the first time in its twenty-three year history. However, through the political maneuvering of anti-ERA forces, who continued to question the value of the ERA, the vote was called without prior notice, taking ERA supporters by surprise. With little time for proponents to rally speakers in support of the amendment, it failed. In 1950, 1953, and 1956, ERA forces withdrew their support for the proposed amendment when protective legislation provisions were added to it. Following this flurry of activity, there was no congressional action on the ERA for the next fourteen years. During this period, amendment supporters were largely unsuccessful in their attempts to keep the issue on the public agenda, as Cold War politics and the booming postwar economy consumed the nation's attention. But the ERA was not dead; it was just hibernating.

Revitalized Support

After the fierce battles over the ERA of earlier decades, all but a small core of devoted NWP members abandoned the ERA. In 1960, under pressure from women's groups, President John F. Kennedy created a presidential committee charged with identifying the status of women in terms of education, employment, violence, child care, and other issues. Kennedy appointed labor leader Esther Peterson, who had worked against the ERA as head of the Labor Department's Women's Bureau, as the chair of his newly formed President's Commission on the Status of Women. Motivated by a desire to represent multiple perspectives on the committee, Peterson made a decision that inadvertently reintroduced the ERA as a viable solution to the obstacles to women's equality. Underestimating the dormant power of the ERA, Peterson invited representatives of a number of pro-ERA groups to serve on the commission. They used the committee as a platform for reestablishing a base of support for the amendment, and the ERA secured a new political foothold.

The Ratification Battle

During the 1970s, the ERA became a symbolic rallying point for a host of feminist groups with broadly diverse agendas, including sexual and reproductive rights and services, gay rights, child-care services, child-welfare reform, and economic and education opportunity reforms. Support for the ERA transcended the political and organizational differences of these groups, and the ERA enjoyed the most widespread support in its forty-five-year history. In July 1970 and October 1971, under renewed pressure from a united feminist front that now included the ERA's traditional foe, the League of Women Voters, the U.S. House of Representatives passed the amendment. Only Senate approval stood between the ERA and its first chance for ratification by the states. On March 22, 1972, after forty-nine years of public and congressional debate, the Senate approved the amendment, which would add the following words to the U.S. Constitution in the form of the Twenty-Seventh Amendment to the Constitution:

> Section 1: Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.
>
> Section 2: The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provision of the article.
>
> Section 3: This amendment shall take effect two years after the date of ratification.

In order for the ERA to become part of the U.S. Constitution, it had to be ratified by three-fourths of the state legislatures prior to a seven-year deadline. In the first year of the ratification process, twenty-two states ratified it. During the second twelve months, eight more signed on, and advocates believed they were on their way to an easy victory. However, in 1973 the ERA suffered its first defeat in Utah. Then, in 1974 only three new states voted to ratify, and several ratifying states considered rescinding their yes vote. Between 1975 and 1978, only two more states voted for ratification, leaving the amendment three states short of the thirty-eight necessary for ratification.

At the center of the ERA's falling fortunes was a coalition composed of political and religious conser-

Put Honesty in the White House vote
Betty Ford for
LIGHT THE WAY with ERA
Go Betty DO YOUR THING
BETTY HAS A BETTER IDEA
ERA
THANKS BETTY
BETTY BROUGHT HONESTY TO THE WHITE HOUSE
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN
NOW
GO GET 'EM MS. Ford

Supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment cheer First Lady Betty Ford's endorsement. *(The Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University)*

vatives. Their arguments against the amendment focused on perceived threats to the traditional family posed by abortion, gay rights, and working mothers, as well as concerns about the power of the federal government to dictate social policy to states. Under the leadership of ultraconservative lawyer, author, and anti-Communist political crusader Phyllis Schlafly and her STOP ERA organization, thousands of grassroots volunteers organized phone banks, managed direct mail campaigns, sent speakers out to churches, distributed leaflets door-to-door, called in to radio talk shows, and even baked cookies for state legislators in their quest to stop what had seemed to be the ERA's inevitable ratification.

As ERA supporters began to envision a defeat that had been unthinkable only a few years earlier, they adopted two new strategies. First, they began to work for the extension of the amendment's original seven-year ratification deadline. A three-year extension was granted, moving the ratification deadline to June 30, 1982. However, no states ratified the amendment during the extension period, and the second ratification deadline passed without the required state approval. On the federal level, the ERA continues to be introduced to every session of Congress, as it has been since 1923. However, it has failed to generate any action.

A second strategy implemented by pro-ERA forces was to add ERA language to individual state constitutions. In 1971, before the ratification process, when the ERA debate was still raging in Congress, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Virginia passed state ERAs. Before the federal ERA reached its first ratification deadline in 1979, eleven additional states added sexual equality provisions to their constitutions. By 1980, however, like the federal ERA, state ERAs were losing support, and several attempts failed. After 1986, only one state, Iowa, attempted to

pass a state ERA. In 1992, a public referendum on a state ERA failed; in 1998, Iowans approved the addition of an Equal Rights Amendment to their state constitution.

Despite the victory in Iowa and the continued reintroduction of the ERA in Congress, the question of a federal ERA appears to be in a dormant stage, not unlike the 1950s when, except for a small core of devoted ERA activists, the ERA appeared to have vanished from the public agenda. Many people claim that an ERA is no longer necessary because the protections it called for have already been achieved through a variety of legislative actions. Others claim the ERA is still important for no other reason than the symbolic value of adding a constitutional guarantee of gender equality. Still others continue to oppose the ERA as antifamily. These divergent opinions suggest that, given the right social and political context, the ERA controversy may reappear in the future.

Linda Czuba Brigance

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Abortion Rights Movement

Perhaps the most significant decision women face in their lifetimes is whether or not to have children, and, if so, at what point during their lives and under what conditions. The ability to freely make these decisions and have significant control over reproduction has been the driving force behind what has come to be known as the abortion rights movement. Although *Roe v. Wade* (1973) is often thought of as the catalyst to the abortion debate, the current struggle over abortion rights has its roots in the nineteenth century, and the use of abortion dates back even further.

Yet, what distinguishes the modern abortion movement and the counter, pro-life movement from their predecessors is the expansive and salient nature of the debate. For example, between 1989 and 1999 the *New York Times* covered, on average, 730 abortion-related stories a year. Moreover, the abortion conflict has permeated every level of government, from the Supreme Court to state legislatures to local bureaucracies.

The historical roots of the abortion rights movement can be traced to the nineteenth century. During this time period, abortion went from being a fairly common practice to one increasingly dominated and stigmatized by the emerging medical community. By the mid-twentieth century, the topic of abortion reappeared in both elite and public discourse. The Court's ruling in *Roe v. Wade* ushered in a new era in the abortion debate—leading to the rise in the pro-life movement and a flurry of national and state policymaking. Later, the abortion rights movement revived itself, partly as a response to growing abortion clinic violence and increasing governmental restrictions on abortion services.

Abortion in the Nineteenth Century

The early American colonists inherited Puritan beliefs that opposed both birth control and abortion. The Puritans feared that married people would use birth control and reduce their population, which had economic consequences for an agrarian society dependent on free or relatively cheap labor. However, the nineteenth century ushered in major demographic changes. America began a transition from an agricultural society into a more urban and industrialized society. The need for many children was disappearing—birth rates dove from an average of 7.04 children per woman in 1800 to an average of 3.56 per woman in 1900. But nineteenth-century America's conceptions about the family and motherhood were also changing. These changes all contributed to an increasing demand for abortion and to the subsequent rise of abortion as a public issue.

By the 1800s, abortion was a common practice, but it was also largely unregulated. Guidelines pertaining to abortion were inherited from the English common law tradition, which generally held that an abortion prior to quickening (the point in pregnancy when a woman can feel the fetus move) was at most a misdemeanor. Furthermore, violations of the law were difficult to prosecute because a woman was the only reliable person who could testify as to when quickening occurred. Indeed, the first statutory abortion regulation did not surface until 1821 in the state of Connecticut, and the statute only prohibited the use of dangerous poisons to induce abortion, rather than actually restricting the practice of abortion.

Society was fairly tolerant of abortion services during the 1830s; "disguised" advertisements for abortion services regularly appeared in newspapers. Throughout the 1850s and 1860s, abortion services were readily available in most urban areas. Given the relative availability of abortion services, no impetus existed for the development of a pro-choice or abortion rights movement.

Yet, by the late 1800s, the permissibility and availability of abortion services began to wane. The impetus for this change began in the medical community. Although there was a genuine and legit-

Ever since the Supreme Court legalized abortion during the first trimester in 1973, reproductive rights have proved a controversial issue among Americans. Here, pro-choice and pro-life activists demonstrate in front of the Supreme Court on July 3, 1989, after the justices had upheld a Missouri law limiting abortion in *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services.* *(AP Wide World Photos)*

imate health concern related to abortion services, many scholars argue that the medical community's crusade against abortion was based primarily on economic concerns. At the time, the medical profession was largely unregulated. Medical professionals who received some formal training found themselves in direct competition with midwives, herbalists, alternative healers, and quacks. Importantly, "real" doctors wanted to regulate and license the profession. Medical doctors were generally from the upper classes of society and had more expensive training compared to their sectarian competitors. As such, they wanted to restrict access to medical service delivery.

In 1847, the American Medical Association (AMA) was formed to improve the standards of medicine and to professionalize the field. Through the AMA, doctors began to attack the legitimacy of abortion providers who were not trained medical doctors. The AMA formally launched its crusade against abortion in 1859 by passing an anti-abortion resolution and encouraging government action. Next, the AMA lobbied to restrict abortion advertising and to prosecute illegal abortion providers, while also beginning a public crusade against abortion.

Doctors published books and wrote editorials pointing out both the medical and moral reasons abortion should be illegal. They argued that women, by virtue of their ignorance about pregnancy, were inadvertently committing a sin. Medical doctors, on the other hand, possessed expert knowledge on the subject. Framing abortion as an education and ethical issue provided physicians with leverage over their competitors.

The medical doctors' framing efforts began to pay off in 1873 when Congress passed the Act for the Suppression of Trade in and Circulation of Obscene Literature and Articles of Immoral Use, commonly called the Comstock Act. The Comstock Act included a pro-

vision banning any advertisements for abortions; this law represented the first federal involvement in abortion-related policies.

Over the next fifteen years, forty anti-abortion statutes were passed in the states, and by 1910 every state had anti-abortion laws. Most of the laws contained a clause authorizing physicians to perform therapeutic abortions at their discretion, thereby providing doctors with a monopoly over the services. Abortion soon faded from the political agenda, but upper-class women continued to have abortions at approximately the same rate as they did before abortion was criminalized. Thus, the impetus for a broad-based abortion rights movement had not yet been created.

Abortion in the 1950s to *Roe v. Wade*

Reliance on doctors' medical judgment and interpretation of the need for therapeutic abortions created inequalities. In the 1950s, stories began to surface in the media focusing on the plight of poor women in need of abortion services. These stories typically detailed the thousands of maternal deaths resulting from abortions, unsafe conditions, and unnecessary risks women had to take because abortion services were illegal. Complications resulting from illegal abortion were so prevalent that many hospitals had wards specifically set aside for (mostly poor) women injured from illegal abortions. The unfairness of this system led some doctors, lawyers, and theologians to reevaluate their stance on abortion laws.

Initially, the medical community took a leading role in the call for reform but was joined by women's rights activists following two highly publicized events, which catapulted abortion into the public spotlight. In 1962, Sherri Finkbine, a mother of four, discovered early in her fifth month of pregnancy that she had taken the drug thalidomide. The horrific side effects of thalidomide on a fetus were well documented. Sherri and her doctor agreed that an immediate abortion was necessary. Wanting to warn other pregnant women about the dangers of the drug, Sherri called a friend who worked at a local television station. The story received considerable media attention, and the hospital where Sherri was scheduled to have an abortion denied her one. Unable to abort in the United States, Sherri flew to Sweden to obtain a legal abortion.

Around the same time (1962–1965), there was an outbreak of the German measles, which caused serious birth defects in approximately 15,000 babies. Physicians were moved to evaluate the restrictive abortion laws that allowed this tragedy to occur, and by 1967 the AMA issued a statement favoring liberalization of abortion laws. Moreover, public outrage followed both the Finkbine and measles cases, mobilizing many women to form ad hoc groups to legalize abortion. However, the general absence of women from the abortion access debate reflected the societal taboos on female sexuality and abortion—it was believed that abortion would lead to promiscuity and a breakdown of traditional sex roles.

The Seeds of a Proto-Movement

By the 1960s, the status of women was visibly improving. Breaking with tradition, women were delaying marriage, attending college, and entering the labor force at unprecedented rates. Coinciding with these demographic changes, society was also beginning to emphasize the importance of individual rights and freedom over traditional religious values and morals. As the abortion issue gained visibility, women began to get involved in the debate. And as more women became involved, they began to frame abortion rights as an individual rights issue. The Society for Humane Abortions (SHA) was one of the first organizations to frame abortion in this light, but it was also one of the first abortion rights movement organizations (see Table 1).

The SHA set out to change public opinion, declaring that "the right to elective abortion, whether you dream of doing it or not, is the cornerstone of the women's movement." Following the civil rights and student movements' tactics, SHA activists declared civil disobedience against abortion laws—setting up networks that provided women with information on how to perform abortions or where to go to obtain them. Another women's organization, Jane, trained members to perform abortions for women in need of service, regardless of their financial circumstances. The proto-movement engaged in a public education campaign that included lectures, speak-outs, and television and radio talk show appearances—all of which were intended to raise peoples' consciousness and demonstrate how reproductive rights were crucial for women's equality.

Reframing abortion as a rights issue and reducing the criminal and immoral representations of abortion mobilized more women. As more individuals came forward during speak-outs, women increasingly recognized that abortion was not a personal problem, it was an issue that collectively affected women, which prompted other women's organizations to champion abortion rights. By 1967, a year after its inception, the

TABLE 1. Selected Abortion Rights Movement Groups and Formation Dates

Group	Formation Year
Planned Parenthood Federation	c. 1916
Association of Reproductive Health Professionals	1963
Society for Humane Abortions	1963
National Organization for Women	1966
Alan Guttmacher Institute	1968
Zero Population Growth	1968
National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League	1969
Religion Coalition for Abortion Rights	1972
National Women's Health Network	1975
National Abortion Federation	1977
Reproductive Rights National Network	1978
CARAL Pro-Choice Education Fund	1987
Feminist Majority Foundation	1987

National Organization for Women (NOW) added reproductive rights to their bill of rights.

The women's movement crystallized the definition of abortion rights as a fundamental aspect of equality and individual autonomy. By de-stigmatizing the issue, activists transformed abortion from a taboo subject to a public policy issue. Abortion rights advocates emerged from the medical community, women's groups, elected officials, and even members of the clergy. New abortion rights groups formed, including the National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws (which changed names before settling with the current National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League). Furthermore, chapters of many national abortion rights groups were established throughout the country, making coordinated action across states more feasible.

The coalition of abortion rights supporters continued to grow throughout the 1960s. Initially, the reform movement was designed to liberalize abortion laws; however, the results of reform were mixed, sometimes resulting in greater access and other times not. Reform was typically limited to those states that had public support for abortion law liberalization, interest group support, and little electoral competition within districts.

Many of the state-initiated reforms still contained stipulations that prevented women from making their reproductive decisions without medical or legal involvement. Unhappy with the haphazard legislative reform effort in the states, activists started to campaign for outright repeal of existing abortion laws. Their efforts led Hawaii to become the first state to legalize abortion in 1970. Following Hawaii's lead, other states began to liberalize their policies. New York was the next state to reform in July 1970, and California, Alaska, and Washington soon followed. In sum, by 1971, fourteen states allowed abortions under certain conditions. The efforts of the abortion rights movement had provided significant, but limited, dividends. Two years later, states' resistance to abortion reform came to a halt with the U.S. Supreme Court's 1973 intervention in the abortion debate.

THE IMPACT OF *ROE V. WADE*

Sarah Weddington and Linda Coffee were two recently graduated and inexperienced lawyers who wanted to challenge the constitutionality of an 1857 Texas statute outlawing abortion. But Weddington and Coffee needed to prove that someone was injured as a consequence of the law (called "standing") and to find a legal argument for overturning the law. In the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in *Griswald v. Connecticut* (1965), which struck down Connecticut's law prohibiting the dissemination of contraception information, Weddington and Coffee found both a rationale for standing and an argument for a constitutional "right to privacy" on reproductive decisions. Armed with a legal position, Weddington and Coffee filed a class action suit, brought forth on behalf of all women who faced obstacles when making reproduction decisions.

After much deliberation in the spring of 1972, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in a seven to two majority that a woman's right to an abortion was a fundamental right and therefore the government lacked the authority to interfere with her private decision to abort in the first trimester of pregnancy. The Supreme Court's decision in *Roe* legalized abortion in all states.

Roe v. Wade dramatically changed the abortion debate. Within a month following the Supreme Court's decision, the Catholic Church hierarchy called for civil disobedience against the ruling. The Church provided immediate leadership, organizational capacity, community organization, and resources needed to launch an anti-abortion movement. Essentially overnight the pro-life movement emerged as a widespread, predominantly single-issue grassroots movement. As the 1980s approached, new actors joined, including evangelical, fundamentalist, and Pentecostal churches.

In contrast, following *Roe*, abortion rights groups moved away from grassroots mobilization. Abortion rights groups generally believed that *Roe* settled the abortion question, and so they moved on to address other issues. In fact, Staggenborg (1999) argues that

during the immediate years following *Roe*, abortion rights groups that survived became increasingly formalized and professionalized by creating formal bureaucratic structures, hiring professional staff, and increasingly moving away from direct action tactics, preferring instead to work within governmental institutions. Thus, *Roe* helped to institutionalize the abortion rights movement. This institutionalization helped to ensure that group leaders were able to recruit members with professional campaigns and to increase their budgets by soliciting foundation money even as public interest in protecting or expanding legalized abortion declined. These efforts helped to sustain existing abortion rights groups through the "lean" period of most of the 1970s.

Pro-Life Mobilization and the Resurgence of the Abortion Rights Movement

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the anti-abortion movement gained momentum—it attracted members, launched aggressive campaigns against clinics, and achieved several policy victories at the national and state level. Over time, the frequency and prevalence of the movement's confrontational tactics did not wane. In 1985, 85 percent of abortion providers were experiencing some form of harassment (including activities such as picketing, clinic blockades, and invasion of the facility). By the 1990s, 86 percent of abortion providers continued to be the recipients of harassment. Extreme violence also plagued providers. Between 1984 and 1998 there were 311 death threats, 71 attempted bombings, 31 actual bombings, 16 attempted murders, 7 murders, and 760 acts of vandalism.

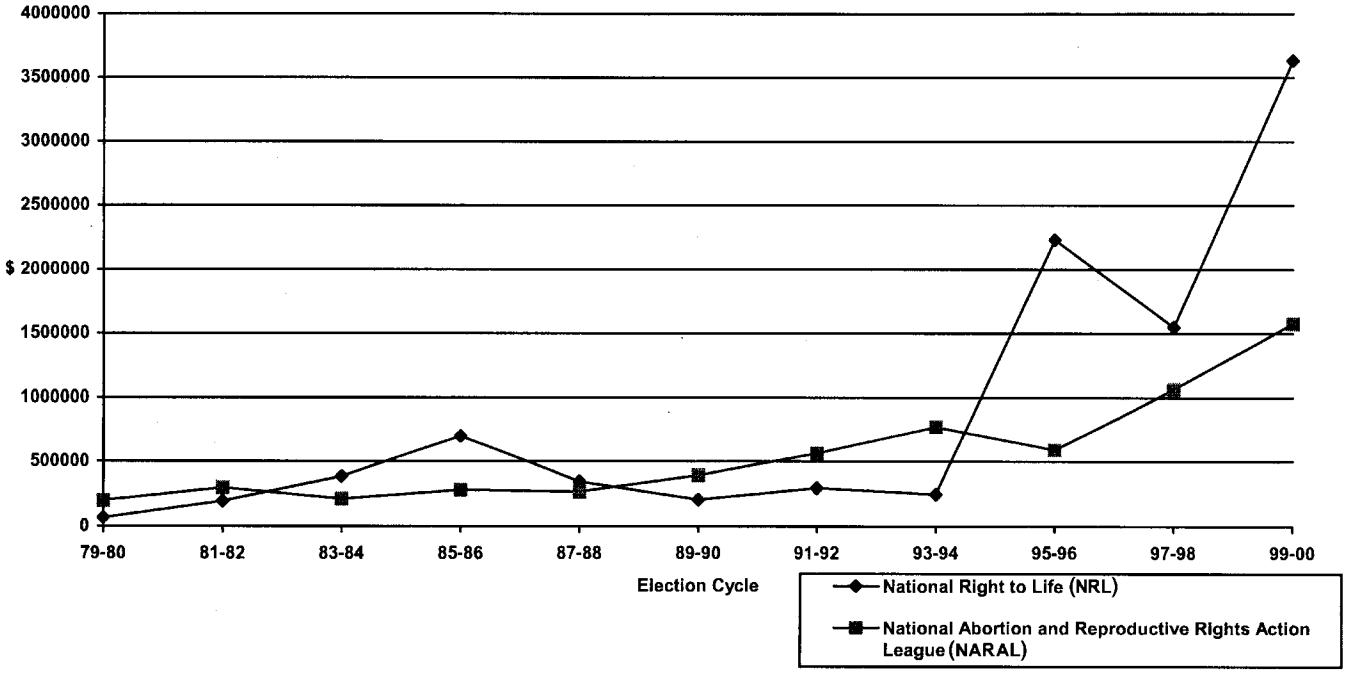
The pro-life movement's aggressive protest campaign at clinics was matched by their efforts at policy changes. Following *Roe*, the anti-abortion movement attempted to overturn the Court's decision by introducing the 1974 Right to Life Amendment in Congress. Ultimately, this legislation was unsuccessful, but the movement was able to pass the 1976 Hyde Amendment, which eliminated federal funding for abortions. Building on the Hyde Amendment victory, the pro-life movement looked for other means of restricting access to abortion, thus turning to state legislatures, where they focused on supporting pro-life candidates, public funding of abortions, and curbing access to abortion services.

Within state legislatures, the pro-life movement helped introduce bills intended to restrict access to services. And although abortion rights groups, such as the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League (NARAL), lobbied heavily, anti-abortion measures such as spousal notification, informed consent, and parental notification laws were passed in several states. By 1989, the constitutionality of states' abortion restrictions was challenged in *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* (1988). Marking a sharp departure from its ruling in *Roe*, the Supreme Court upheld many of the anti-abortion restrictions and, in turn, opened the door for future restrictions. Two other cases (*Ohio v. Akron Center for Reproductive Health, 1990,* and *Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey, 1882*) reaffirmed the Supreme Court's willingness to allow restrictions against abortion services. The Court's decisions fueled the pro-life movement—for example, in 1990, 465 abortion-related bills were introduced in state legislatures, and the vast majority were anti-abortion bills. In 1992, the number of abortion-related bills introduced in state legislatures dropped to 100 but jumped to 220 in 1996, 245 in 1998, 395 in 2000, and 620 in 2001.

Even though abortion rights groups were mobilized in the states, in each year from 1990 to 2001, state anti-abortion legislation outnumbered pro-choice legislation, and more anti-abortion measures were enacted. For example, in 2000, 138 bills were pro-choice and 257 were anti-abortion. In 2001, 222 bills were pro-choice and 398 were anti-abortion. Similarly, in 2001, 39 anti-abortion measures were enacted, while 27 pro-choice measures were adopted. Indeed, between 1995 and 2001, 301 anti-abortion measures were adopted in the states, with the peak occurring in 1999 at 70 measures adopted.

Furthermore, in the 1980s and 1990s, the abortion rights movement increasingly became involved in direct democracy (initiative and referenda) campaigns in which abortion questions were being decided at the ballot box. Both sides in the abortion debate made use of this venue, with Washington State first repealing some abortion restrictions in 1970, maintaining public funding of abortion in 1984, and reaffirming access to abortion in 1991. Colorado faced four similar measures between 1984 and 1998, with a parental notification measure passing as a partial birth abortion ban failed in 1998. Oregon, Arkansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Nevada, and Maryland all considered abortion questions at the ballot box, and more often than not, abortion rights forces won these contests by mobilizing considerable financial resources and grassroots activity. However, in one major 1984 defeat, a

Figure 1. Spending by Two Main Pro- and Anti-Abortion PACS, 1979–2000 Election Cycles



Source: Data compiled by the authors from the Federal Election Commission.

coalition of abortion rights groups that included the local chapters of Planned Parenthood, NARAL, the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights, and NOW were unable to block a proposal to repeal public funding of abortions in Colorado. In this contest, the pro-life movement was well organized in the state, primarily through Catholic and fundamentalist churches. Furthermore, abortion rights groups were not able to effectively deliver their message that it was unfair to deny poor women and teenagers access to abortion, especially if they had become pregnant through rape or incest. Polls suggested that most voters thought the abortion funding ban did not discriminate against indigent women, and proponents of the ban were able to convince voters that not only was abortion morally wrong, but also that public funding of abortions increased taxes. This same message helped to defeat a 1988 Colorado measure that would have restored public funding.

The *Webster* decision signaled the Supreme Court's ability to restructure the foundation of abortion rights and, in turn, galvanized the abortion rights movement. Recognizing the changing composition of the Court, which was being stacked with conservative judges, coupled with the indefatigable clinic protesting, the abortion rights movement became reenergized. Membership in the most visible abortion rights interest group, NARAL, soared between 1989 and 1990, and NARAL worked with NOW, Planned Parenthood, and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) to coordinate their efforts in combating the pro-life movement's policy progress at the state and national level, as well as counter the activities occurring at clinics.

Consequently, the pro-choice movement resurfaced as a major political player in the abortion debate; 1989 marked the first year that the pro-choice movement raised significantly more money than the pro-life movement, a pattern that is still prevalent today. However, as Figure 1 demonstrates, the main pro-choice political action committee (PAC) at the national level, NARAL, began to be outspent by the main pro-life PAC, National Right to Life (NRL), during the 1996 election cycle. Interestingly, some research suggests that as NARAL spending was outpaced, the pro-choice movement actually gained more lobbying influence in Congress in the 1990s.

The abortion rights movement developed a multitiered strategy: supporting pro-choice candidates, monitoring abortion-related policy proposals at the state and national level, and lobbying politicians and engaging in coalition building with like-minded in-

terest groups. With the rise of the pro-life group Operation Rescue in 1988, and its tactic of abortion clinic blockades and harassment, abortion rights groups began counter-demonstrations to protect the clinics and women seeking abortions. Pro-choice groups such as Planned Parenthood, NOW, and NARAL set up escort services to physically walk with women into clinics, coordinated with clinic operators, and tried to work with police in identifying and arresting pro-life protesters who violated the law. These activities at the local level helped the abortion rights movement to reenergize grassroots activists by giving them concrete activities that directly engaged the pro-life movement.

The activities of the more traditional abortion rights groups at the local level helped to mobilize radical abortion rights activists as well. In an effort to divert media attention from the pro-life groups blocking clinics, radical activists formed new groups, such as Refuse & Resist, the Coalition Opposing Operation Rescue (COOR), and the Bay Area Coalition Against Operation Rescue (BACAOR), and even drew on the memberships of existing radical groups, such as AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP). These radical activists physically and verbally confronted pro-life protesters, which sometimes led to pushing, shoving, and other forms of fighting. Such violent confrontations sometimes led to the arrests of both pro-life and pro-choice protesters. Although some mainstream groups, such as NOW, had hesitated to encourage confrontational counter-protests during clinic blockades, eventually they did notice the effectiveness of radical groups in decreasing the number and intensity of pro-life blockades. The abortion rights counter-protesters also helped dispel a growing media image of pro-life activists as victims during the blockades by encouraging the media to capture images of pro-life protesters shouting in the faces of women seeking abortions as well as abortion rights counter-protesters. As the media image of those blocking the clinics shifted, mainstream leaders of the pro-life movement began distancing themselves from the protesters. Cutting the ties between radical grassroots pro-life activists and more mainstream pro-life leaders helped discourage the continuation of large-scale clinic blockades.

The radical tactics of local abortion rights activists were complemented nationally, as the mainstream abortion rights groups were eventually successful in passing the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act (FACE) in May 1994. The FACE Act made obstructing the entrance of a clinic or damaging the clinic a punishable offense under federal law, with fines of up to $10,000 and six months in jail.

The abortion rights movement maintained its presence in politics throughout the 1990s and into the twenty-first century. Abortion rights advocates constantly find themselves on the defensive as the pro-life movement continues to pursue new abortion-related issues intended to curb—and eventually eliminate—access to abortion services. Based on the lessons of the 1980s and early 1990s, the pro-choice movement has emerged as a stronger, more coordinated, and dedicated movement in the American political landscape.

Conclusion

Although access to abortion in the United States was fairly easy in the country's early history, the professionalization of medical doctors and American cultural ambiguity about female sexuality led to severe restrictions on access to abortion in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. But even during this restrictive period, many upper- and middle-class women could still obtain legal abortions under the discretion allowed to medical doctors. As this inequity became more apparent and as cultural norms about the traditional family and gender roles began to change in the 1950s and 1960s, the seeds of a proto-abortion rights movement began in the United States.

By the 1960s, the notion of abortion rights was firmly tied to the movement for women's rights and rode on a wave of social movement activism focused on achieving equality for all groups in all aspects of life. The fledgling abortion rights movement was able to effectively frame access to abortion not only as an individual right, but also as an equity and health issue for women. These framing efforts helped the movement enlist the help of professionals, including doctors and lawyers, and to successfully reform abortion laws in several states. However, many members of the movement believed that simple reform was not enough—only full legalization would solve the problems associated with illegal abortions.

As a relative surprise to many, the U.S. Supreme Court provided the movement with its biggest victory in the 1972 decision in *Roe v. Wade*, legalizing abortions in the first trimester of pregnancy. However, this same decision made the abortion rights movement complacent, while also giving rise to the first significant grassroots movement against abortion. For the next ten years the pro-life movement attacked abortion in popular culture, public policy, and finally, at the source—abortion providers. Ironically, these suc-

cesses of the pro-life movement, and at times, its violent tactics, served to reenergize the abortion rights movement in the 1980s. By the 1990s, the abortion rights movement could claim new policy successes, but it had achieved a relative stalemate with the pro-life movement—neither side could claim a 100 percent victory. With public opinion relatively divided on the issue, the two main political parties polarized, and two broad-based social movements continuously active on the issue, abortion is likely to remain on the political agenda for years to come, with no policy solution forthcoming.

It is precisely this unending battle that has dragged fairly new issues into the abortion debate, some of which, such as so-called partial birth abortion, have hurt the efforts of the abortion rights movement. Indeed, pro-life groups successfully lobbied Congress to pass a federal Partial Birth Abortion Ban in 1996 and 1997 (even though both were vetoed by President Clinton), and thirty-one states passed some version of a partial birth abortion ban by 2003. The U.S. Senate passed a revised version in March 2003, which President Bush has promised he would sign. However, opinion polls consistently suggest that the pro-life movement has won the debate over late-term abortions.

The pro-life movement will likely continue to try to establish the personhood of the fetus and from there try to whittle down the number of weeks that abortion is socially acceptable. This will assist the movement not only in passing bans on late-term abortions, but also in establishing "fetal rights," (i.e., the Unborn Victims of Violence Act of 1999), which, according to the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League, are designed to create a separate criminal offense if a person causes death or injury to "a member of the species homo sapiens at all stages of development who is carried in the womb from conception to birth." To date, the act hasn't been successful at the national level, but abortion rights activists seem to be at a disadvantage in this debate.

Other issues, such as fetal tissue and human cloning research may have helped the cause of the abortion rights movement by demonstrating the health benefits of medical research. Indeed, as these issues have been debated in the United States, many stalwart pro-life elected officials have taken positions in support of medical research efforts.

With advances in medical technology, technologies such as the "abortion pill" (RU-486) may make much of the debate over abortion a moot point. Other advances, such as frozen sperm, eggs, and embryos, that could eventually be used to begin and complete a pregnancy, pose dilemmas for the rights of those who produced them, as well as for pro-life activists who see all potential human life as sacred. How will the abortion rights movement address these issues, especially when they cannot be so readily attached to the notion of women's rights?

The abortion debate can be expected to continue to grow more complex rather than become more black and white. Thus, the movement will continue to face many challenges and will need to reestablish its definition of the issue—shifting the focus back to women's rights rather than allowing the fetus to be treated as a separate entity from women in policy and public discourse. Indeed, the original success of the abortion rights movement did come from effectively framing the issue in terms of a woman's autonomy over her body and her ability to control her own reproduction.

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African-American Women's Movement

1930s–1940s

The African-American women's movement of the 1930s and 1940s focused almost exclusively on black female employment and economic opportunities. With the very survival of the black family threatened by the Great Depression, the self-help programs that had dominated the thoughts of organized women in the previous decades became an unaffordable luxury. Black men could rarely find work, and the responsibility for maintaining the family fell almost entirely upon black women. World War II brought little change to the women's movement as it continued to focus on economic concerns. Throughout these decades, the major women's organizations steered black spending toward black businesses, pushed for the inclusion of black women in government programs and positions, advocated protective labor legislation, and protested restrictions on the enlistment of black women in the armed forces.

Uplifting the Race

When the 1930s began, many black women were deeply involved in the activities of such mixed-gender African-American organizations as the Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). While the interracial efforts promoted by the largest black women's organization of the day, the National Association of Colored Women (NACW), enjoyed renewed support, the group itself often seemed behind the times. The NACW had a distinguished history as a network of hundreds of women's organizations, but the faults that would bring about its demise were already evident.

Formed in 1896 to protest slurs against black women, the NACW employed "Lifting as We Climb" as its motto, while it called on a united black womanhood to better the race. As the motto indicates, the black women's movement differed in significant ways from the movement led by white women. Club women in the 1930s and 1940s focused on matters related to race rather than gender. Although white men had obvious advantages over white women, African-American men were not significantly better off than the women of the race. The sense of real equality that developed between the sexes meant that organized black women firmly believed that they could and would solve the problems of all African Americans. The black women's movement never focused solely on the problems of women.

Through its various member organizations, NACW promoted intensive social service at the local level to boost the quality of African-American home life and educate the mothers of the race. Its members believed that character development was dependent on intellectual growth and that black people had been denied such growth.

During the 1920s, the organization had lost much influence, and this trend would continue through the 1930s. The NACW's local focus on uplift activities seemed to many black women activists to be an inadequate response to the disastrous position of African-American families during the Great Depression and a tepid response to the uncertainty of the New Deal.

Uplifting Economic Status

In 1930, most African Americans were disenfranchised and economically challenged. The majority of blacks belonged to the working class because a combined lack of access to income-generating property and well-paying jobs had prevented them from socioeconomic advancement. While about 60 percent of all black women worked as domestics during the 1930s, racism prevented many black men from finding any kind of employment. Relief efforts commonly failed to reach many black families, often because racist government officials simply refused to assist African Americans. The survival of the black family came to

rest on the labor of wives and mothers, as many organized women recognized, and economics became the chief concern of women.

The leaders of the NACW proved slow to acknowledge changing currents of black thought, but they did attempt to address economic concerns. The association continued to promote social justice in the 1930s by pushing for integration, and it exposed the unequal wage rates provided in the National Industrial Recovery Act through a joint publicity effort with the Urban League and NAACP. The NACW named economic inequality as a major oppressor of African Americans, and it officially supported higher wages and shorter working hours for women. Despite these efforts, the NACW continued to lose influence in the black community.

The Depression forced the abandonment of many NACW self-help projects as money woes forced the association to modify its agenda and narrow its function, but class divisions did not abate and they continued to be a source of racial disunity. Mary Church Terrell, a long-time Republican Party activist and a founder of the NACW, and Mary Waring, head of the NACW in the 1930s, largely presumed that all black women faced the same issues. They advocated dedication to racial uplift, but many other women disagreed with this strategy. In practice, NACW programs often meant that conservative, light-skinned, socially prominent African-American women preached moral purity and socially correct behavior to their darker-skinned, poorer, and increasingly liberal sisters. To many African Americans, it seemed that the club women were more concerned about respectable behavior than about the exploitation of the working class.

New Strategies

The Great Depression and the uncertain outlook of the New Deal had a profound effect on the women's movement by prompting many black leaders, particularly among the younger generation, to develop new racial ideologies and strategies. This led to an ideological division between race leaders, as a younger generation of women activists began to debate with the older ones as to whether the problems of African Americans related more to race or to class. Terrell could not accept any program that de-emphasized racial integration, while new-style leaders like educator Mary McLeod Bethune suggested that the black working class align itself with white workers to better the economic position of both.

Bethune, the daughter of former slaves and the founder of Bethune-Cookman College, proved more attuned to the new attitudes of black women and the practical concerns that they faced than the NACW leadership. Unlike most of the other women leaders, Bethune had once been poor, and she possessed strongly African features in which she took great pride. She had no interest in maintaining a color/class hierarchy, a charge frequently leveled at NACW activists by other black women. Bethune, who had headed NACW in the 1920s, would emerge as one of the greatest African-American leaders of the era by abandoning NACW's local approach to racial problems.

The National Council of Negro Women

The dominant women's organization of the 1930s and 1940s, the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW), began when Bethune decided that there was a need for a black women's organization to project itself at the national level. On December 5, 1935, she created the NCNW by bringing together representatives of fourteen organizations, including the sororities Alpha Kappa Alpha, Delta Sigma Theta, and Sigma Gamma Rho; black occupational societies such as the National Business and Professional Women's Clubs and the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses; various auxiliaries, including the Women's Auxiliary of the National Medical Association and the Ladies Auxiliary of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; and the women's associations of the African Methodist Episcopal and African Methodist Episcopal Zion churches. The NCNW had the multiple objectives of creating a national movement; educating, encouraging, and effecting the participation of blacks in civic, political, economic, and educational activities and institutions; serving as a clearinghouse for the dissemination of information concerning women; and planning, initiating, and carrying out projects to develop, benefit, and integrate African Americans within the nation. Bethune situated the headquarters of NCNW in Washington, D.C., in order to be in a better position to lobby national leaders.

Much of Bethune's success in the women's movement came because she found a best friend in the White House. Eleanor Roosevelt began to recognize racial discrimination only after her husband, Franklin, assumed the presidency in 1933. While promoting an agenda that accepted segregation and championed equal opportunity, Roosevelt lobbied government officials to include African Americans more fully in the

New Deal. As a result of her efforts, Bethune received an unpaid position in 1935 with the national advisory committee of the National Youth Administration (NYA), the New Deal agency created to help young adults secure education and job training. Bethune accepted a paid position with the NYA in 1936 to oversee activities involving African Americans and three years later became the chief of the NYA's Division of Negro Affairs.

Bethune took advantage of her position as the most influential black woman in the United States to extend the reach of the New Deal into black communities. In 1936, she presented the concerns of the NCNW to Roosevelt. Bethune sought appointments of professional black women to the Children's Bureau, the Women's Bureau, and each department of the Bureau of Education that dealt with the welfare of women and children. The NCNW lobbied for positions that black women had never held. It also sought the appointment of black women to administrative positions in the Federal Housing Administration and the Social Security Board. In 1938, Bethune organized a conference of the NCNW called "The Participation of Negro Women and Children in Federal Programs" in Washington, D.C., which attracted sixty-five black women leaders including Terrell. Resolutions at the conference decried black women's limited access to federal relief programs and challenged the exclusion of agricultural and domestic workers, over half of all black workers, from Social Security benefits.

Bethune had only limited success in lobbying the Roosevelt administration, but all the same she persuaded many blacks to switch allegiance from the Republican "Party of Lincoln" to the Democratic Party of FDR. The subsequent link of African-American women activists with the Democrats, a tie that has lasted to the present era, is one of Bethune's legacies.

During World War II, the NCNW worked to establish a Fair Employment Practice Commission, intervened in the notorious court-martial of four black Women's Army Corps members who were disciplined without an opportunity to defend themselves, and worked successfully to secure the admission of black women to the WAVES, a naval branch. With the cessation of hostilities, the association continued to focus on fighting for jobs and civil rights. It began to pay more attention to housing discrimination and to the provision of equal facilities. In 1949, Bethune stepped down as head of the NCNW to be succeeded by Dr. Dorothy Ferebee. The organization had laid a foundation for civil rights work by helping to raise wage standards, broaden Social Security benefits, and increase government salaries for African Americans. It had established a foothold that women could use to guide the nation to full democracy.

Black Activism Outside of the NCNW

Although the NCNW focused on the national government, some of its member associations continued the local work traditionally associated with black women activists. Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority (AKA), a founding member of the NCNW, improved the health of African-American agricultural workers in Mississippi by creating the first mobile healthcare clinic in U.S. history. The members of the sorority had learned that an appalling number of blacks in the Magnolia State suffered from nutritional ailments and a complete absence of any professional medical care. For several weeks every summer between 1935 and 1942, AKA Mississippi Health Project activists led by Ferebee drove to the Deep South to provide nutritional advice and basic medical treatment. Suspicious white planters often refused to allow the AKA members to treat "their" blacks, but persistence and diplomacy usually gained the sorority members access to plantation workers.

Black health activists in the era of segregation had to cultivate diplomatic skills to secure their personal safety and circumvent white resistance to social change. AKA never explicitly described the Mississippi Health Project as a civil rights activity because doing so would antagonize the white power structure and prevent the sorority from aiding sharecroppers. AKA did use the health project to focus federal attention on the destitute conditions of African Americans in the rural South, but it carefully sought support through NCNW lobbying efforts. Black health reform straddled the line between social service work and political activity. In order to improve health conditions for sharecroppers, AKA leaders had to do more than establish summertime clinics. They had to secure the cooperation of the predominantly white federal, state, and local health officials.

To extend its reach, AKA established the Non-Partisan Council on Public Affairs, which produced the first full-time congressional lobby for minority group rights. The council, the brainchild of AKA president Norma Boyd, campaigned to promote integration, decent living conditions, and permanent jobs, and to ensure that the federal government responded to the social welfare needs of all Americans. In 1948, the council disbanded when AKA joined with six other sororities and fraternities to form the American

Council on Human Rights, which engaged in similar lobbying.

While the NCNW and its member clubs pushed for a New Deal for blacks, an unaffiliated grassroots movement of women activists sprang up to promote black financial power. Established in 1930, the Housewives' League of Detroit aimed to stabilize the economic status of African Americans through directed spending. Members intended to retain higher proportions of material resources within the African-American communities by pledging to patronize only those stores that employed blacks in various capacities; by buying black products and utilizing black professionals; by supporting institutions that trained black youth for trades and commercial activities; and by conducting educational campaigns to teach African Americans the value of their spending.

Although organized black women focused on the economic situation of African Americans, other issues were not entirely neglected. Lynching had long been a concern of organized women, and, throughout the 1930s and 1940s, black women continued to press for federal legislation against this outrage through various organizations, including NCNW and AKA. Much more than a murder, a lynching was an organized attack by a mob of whites, often with the complicity of local and state law enforcement agencies, that was designed to intimidate an entire African-American community. Although a federal antilynching bill never passed Congress, public opinion gradually changed because of lobbying by black groups. By 1950, most whites had come to recognize lynching as a barbarous and criminal act. Recorded incidents of lynching ceased by that year.

Black Success

The organized black women's movement of the 1930s and 1940s endeavored first and foremost to guarantee the well-being of the race. Debate over the methods of giving every individual a fair chance to achieve health and enjoy a family life resulted in the collapse of the NACW and the rise of the NCNW. The guard passed to NCNW when the goal of organized black women became racial progress through economic power. Filled with hope by New Deal promises, African-American women anticipated a second Reconstruction, but many of the gains that they sought would only be achieved by a later generation.

Caryn E. Neumann

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African-American Women's Movement 1950–Present

Black feminism is a social movement in that it performs the task of uniting identity, grievances, culture, and a desire for social transformation. With influences culled from literature, the arts, popular culture, and the social sciences, black feminism is not merely an offshoot of "regular" feminism or the women's movement, but rather an integral part to the evolution of the women's movement. The basic tenet of black feminism is primarily the analysis of black women's position at the intersection of race, class, and gender identities and oppressions. This definition, like the definition of feminism itself, is under constant debate and challenge from those who would also add sexual orientation and physical ability to the web of socially constructed identities that impact black women and black communities. With its historical antecedents in the nineteenth-century abolition movement and the black women's club movement of the early twentieth century, black women's activism on behalf of their gender *and* race concerns manifests itself in the civil rights movement in the 1950s–1960s on into present struggles around welfare reform, antiprison work, healthcare, reproductive rights, and representations of black women in the media.

Black Feminism in the 1950s

Black women continued the legacy of activism begun by pioneers such as Ida B. Wells, Anna Julia Cooper, Mary Church Terrell, Claudia Jones, and Amy Jacques Garvey, who made linkages early on between black women's oppression as women and as blacks. In the 1950s, artists, academics, and grassroots organizers questioned the dominant mentality of home and hearth for women and how that played out for black women. After all, black women adeptly cared for their families under the involuntary servitude of slavery and were present in the workplace long before white American women.

Florynce Kennedy, for example, explored how black women could be better served by the women's rights movement and a specifically black feminist approach in her essay, "A Comparative Study: Accentuating the Similarities of the Societal Position of Women and Negroes." Though written while she was an undergraduate at Columbia University, the essay portends Kennedy's later activism in predominantly white feminist organizations, such as the National Organization for Women (NOW), and her role in founding the National Black Feminist Organization (NBFO) in New York City in 1973. Kennedy bridged different segments of the feminist movement with an outspoken, take-no-prisoners attitude.

Artists were, and continue to be, central to the formulation and dissemination of black feminist thought and practice. Born May 19, 1930, playwright Lorraine Hansberry is most often noted for being the first black woman with a play produced on Broadway. The play, *A Raisin in the Sun,* debuted in March 1959 and garnered Hansberry the New York Drama Critics' Circle Award. Hansberry's play served as a dramatization of black feminist thought, drawing on the themes of race, class, and gender for a working-class family facing the dilemmas black self-determination and the personal aspirations of family members in the face of racism and societal resistance to change. Hansberry tackled these dilemmas through the play, as well as in the 1964 production *The Sign in Sidney Brustein's Window.* In addition, Hansberry began an essay in 1957 after reading Simone de Beauvoir's classic feminist text, *The Second Sex* (1953). Published posthumously in her essay "Simone de Beauvoir and *The Second Sex:* An American Commentary," Hansberry wondered why more women had not grappled with this text, as it illuminated for her the social construction of gender.

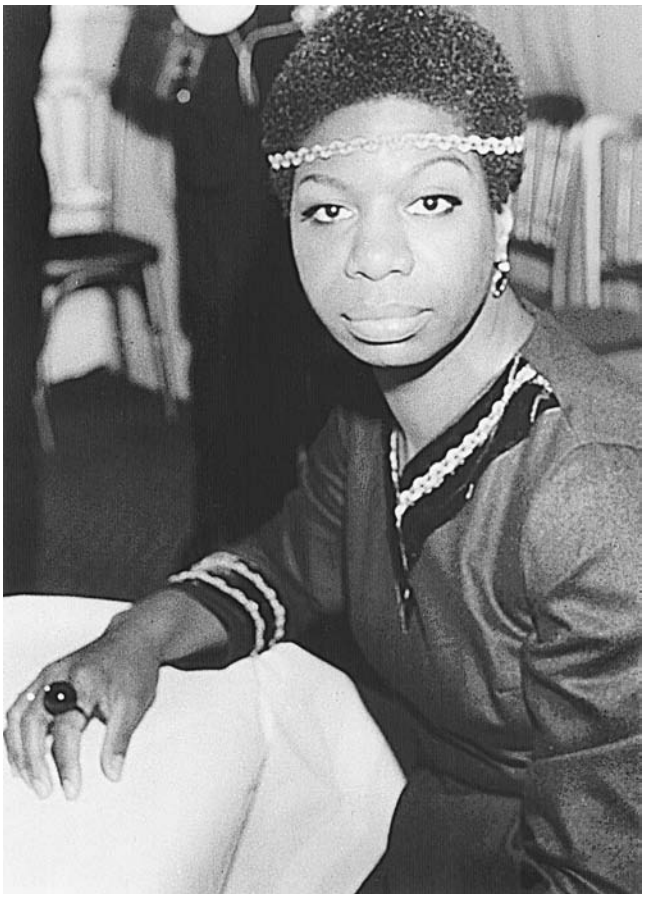
Another active black feminist thinker during this time was Pauli Murray, the first black woman to be ordained an Episcopalian priest. Like many black

women involved in the black feminist movement, Murray held multiple allegiances that influenced her view of institutionalized sexism and racism. As a lawyer, professor, long-time civil rights activist, and an active member of President John F. Kennedy's Commission on the Status of Women, Murray infused her black feminist activism with insights from each of her areas of expertise. Like Florynce Kennedy, Murray made crucial connections between white feminists and black feminists, particularly in her role as a founding member of NOW in 1966. Notably, Murray also took on masculinist posturing within the black liberation movement, questioning how there could ever be liberation for half the black race.

Black Feminism in the 1960s

The roots of the contemporary black feminist movement, though nurtured by the club women's movement and individual black feminist activists in the 1930s–1950s, are firmly entrenched in the activism and ideology of the civil rights movement. Organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE), and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) served as the training ground for young black women who would later become leaders in black feminist theorizing and organizing. Barbara Smith, for example, participated in Cleveland's CORE chapter as a high school student. She would later help form the Combahee River Collective, using her organizing experience with CORE, which included black women in leadership positions. The same can be said for countless other young black women activists, including Francis Beal, Margaret Sloan, and Linda Burnham.

The most direct connection between the civil rights and black feminist movements is the case of the Third World Women's Alliance (TWWA). The TWWA began in 1968 as a black women's caucus in SNCC. Initially called the Black Women's Liberation Committee (BWLC), the group convened to discuss the impact of racism and sexism on their lives as black women. For example, in the days before the *Roe v. Wade* (1973) decision, nonconsensual sterilization and back alley abortions had a disproportionate impact on poor and working-class women of color. BWLC members met to discuss how the civil rights movement might better address issues affecting black women on the basis of race and gender. Like the incipient contemporary white feminist movement, BWLC also touched on some fundamental feminist issues, such as women's body awareness, educational barriers, parenting, and strategies for combating daily sexism.



In the 1960s, buoyed by the dramatic events of the civil rights movement and the violent responses to efforts to achieve racial equality, Nina Simone wrote and performed protest songs about racism in America. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

The civil rights movement was also, of course, the training ground for white women activists. Two of those women, Mary King and Casey Hayden, belonged to SNCC and, although they gained valuable organizing experience that they would later use in the predominantly white feminist and antiwar movements, they issued a personnel memo addressing the sexism they experienced in SNCC (e.g., secretarial duties). This memo, combined with the legend of SNCC leader Stokely Carmichael's infamous response to a query about the position of women in the student movement (Carmichael allegedly quipped, "Prone."), led scholars to stereotype the civil rights movement as a hostile environment for women without regard to the experiences of *black* women. Black women gained significant organizing experience, as well as a

NINA SIMONE (1933–2003)

Born Eunice Kathleen Waymon on February 21, 1933, in Tyron, North Carolina, Nina Simone became the personification of African-American protest music in the 1960s. A gifted singer and pianist as a child, Simone attended the Juilliard School of Music, leaving after one year. Later, Simone began to hone her skills as a jazz, pop, and soul pianist and singer, appearing in bars and clubs throughout the United States. By the 1950s, she was a nationally known musician, dubbed the "High Priestess of Soul" by her followers.

In the 1960s, buoyed by the dramatic events of the civil rights movement and the violent responses to efforts to achieve racial equality, Simone wrote and performed protest songs about racism in America. In particular, Simone was shocked and angered by the Ku Klux Klan's bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, that killed four young girls. Her songs became representations of the rage and discrimination many African Americans throughout the United States felt. Simone channeled the anger of a generation through songs that captured the imagination of blacks and educated whites. Her most well known songs include "Mississippi Goddam," "To Be Young, Gifted and Black," and "Four Women." In the 1970s, disillusioned with what she believed to be the failure of the civil rights movement, as well as with the persistence of racism in the United States, Simone fled the country to live in the south of France, where she died on April 21, 2003.

Immanuel Ness

theoretical basis for actively resisting racism, sexism, and classism through the civil rights movement and organizations. Gloria Richardson, Ruby Doris Smith Robinson, Cynthia Washington, and Gwen Patton all found their activist identities and cultivated their leadership abilities, regardless of their gender and the behind-the-scenes roles to which they were relegated by the social constructions of civil rights leaders as male, middle-class, and clergy. Instead, they became bridge leaders, women who—according to civil rights historian Belinda Robnett—had the unique ability to serve as a vital link between civil rights organizations and their grassroots constituencies. On the cultural front, in the 1960s, Nina Simone, the black singer known as "The Priestess of Soul," embraced the civil rights movement and black power movement through her music. Although Simone became disillusioned that the problems of racism would be solved in the United States, her consummate musical prodigy still pushed the movement forward, evoked most prominently in her "Mississippi Goddam," written after the white racial violence against African Americans in Alabama and Mississippi. That black women's social, historical, and lived experiences of racist discrimination paralleled their experiences of sexist discrimination was undeniable, but black women began to realize that neither the civil rights movement nor the women's liberation movement could fully articulate the black woman's position in U.S. society.

Black Feminism in the 1970s

The 1970s saw the most obvious and productive phase of black feminists' formal organizations. From coast to coast, black women, in an effort to expand the women's liberation movement agenda, met to discuss what it meant to be black and female. A few of the organizations that did this work included the NBFO, the TWWA, the National Alliance of Black Feminists (NABF), the Combahee River Collective, and Black Women Organized for Action (BWOA). Predominantly active in major U.S. cities—New York, Boston, Chicago, and San Francisco—these organizations had structures that were influenced by black women's civil rights and student activism. The TWWA and Combahee, for example, both operated as collectives and, at least theoretically, modeled participatory democracy as espoused in SNCC. The NBFO and the NABF, having members with backgrounds in civil rights, students, and government organizations, organized hierarchically. The outlier, BWOA, demonstrated a unique way of organizing that combined the collective and the hierarchical, with the leadership of the organization rotating every three months among three different members.

Each of these organizations espoused different political approaches to black feminism and, as such, reflected those varied beliefs in their organizational structures. The range of organizational structures served to emphasize the many voices of black feminist organizing. The NBFO, NABF, and BWOA can all be characterized as reform-minded organizations that sought the full inclusion of black women into the existing capitalist system. They offered a critique of patriarchy that challenged the racism, sexism, and classism that excluded black women from certain occupations, equal pay, and adequate child care, and they actively supported the Equal Rights Amendment

through coalition work with predominantly white feminist organizations.

The TWWA and the Combahee, on the other hand, offered a critique of capitalism *and* patriarchy. Positing that black women were on the bottom of race, gender, and class hierarchies, Combahee and the TWWA advocated a Socialist overthrow of capitalism in which black women would be recognized as workers and black community leaders. In their classic "A Black Feminist Statement" (1977), Combahee noted that the synthesis of racial and sexual oppression as critical factors undermining the quality of women and people of color's work lives and class positions required the destruction of capitalist exploitation.

With feminist organizing gaining mainstream notoriety, black women faced an increasing number of community pressures to abandon the women's movement and feminism. Pressure from some black men and women not to get involved with a "white women's thing" faced black feminists each time they participated in a speaking engagement, such as lectures for community groups, college courses, or even as guests on *The Phil Donahue Show.* Many blacks considered black feminism and its adherents "divisive" to the civil rights and black liberation movements. Some of these views were based on the idea that black women had a finite amount of time and energy, and daily survival issues should be at the forefront of any truly black struggle as opposed to consciousness-raising around housework. Popular culture was rife with examples of the potentially negative consequences for black women engaging feminism as a liberating ideology. In the 1970s, black exploitation, or "blaxploitation," films were a prime example of conflating feminism and lesbianism. If a black woman were truly a "Strong Black Woman," she would resist feminism's pull and maintain racial loyalty as a protector of the black community, as depicted in the film *Cleopatra Jones* (1973).

Such a view trivialized the real issues feminists faced, such as battering and sexual assault, and it also ignored the very dire consequences of patriarchy affecting black families. Black feminist organizations actively resisted this marginalization and insisted that gender issues assume a more prominent place in the black liberation struggle. The range of activities of these organizations included rallies and contributions to funds to free political prisoners, such as Angela Davis; hosting community health fairs that focused on issues severely impacting the black community, such as high infant mortality rates; cosponsoring anti-rape events such as Take Back the Night marches; speaking out in favor of abortion rights and advocating for new regulations against nonconsensual sterilization; protesting racist and sexist employment discrimination against black women in blue-collar and professional positions; and coalition work with predominantly white feminist organizations on projects such as feminist credit unions.

Black feminist organizations lasted a collective total of twelve years. All were defunct by the 1980s with the rise of conservatism, or more specifically, Ronald Reagan's election to the presidency, and the Christian Right's conservative agenda. Although there is no direct causality between the change in political climate and the decline of black feminist organizations, BWOA, for instance, noted in their final newsletter, *What It Is,* that after the flurry of feminist activity in the 1970s, the group was taking an indefinite hiatus to recoup for the anticipated backlash against women's and civil rights gains. Other causes for the decline of black feminist organizations included a lack of adequate funding on the same large scale as predominantly white feminist organizations, leadership disputes over the definition of black feminism, and the continued pull between struggling for black rights and struggling for women's rights. Most significantly, some activists were simply burned out after two decades of struggle.

In addition to formal organizing, black women writers continued the legacy of black feminist literacy and activism into the 1970s. Writers such as Alice Walker, Audre Lorde, Margaret Okazawa-Rey, Michele Wallace, and Pat Parker participated in black feminist organizations, but also made enormous contributions to the literature and philosophical thought of the black feminist movement. Walker's fictional account, *The Color Purple* (1982), and Wallace's *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman* (1979) both took black male sexism to task and decried its impact on black women. Both works were the subject of controversy and derided as instigating a "battle between the sexes" and being divisive. However, these authors, as well as many others published during the 1970s, sparked much-needed debates about the role of black women in the black community and in society at large. This was a particularly important contribution as black women began to make inroads into the echelons of higher education, secured elected positions at the local and national levels, and assumed greater roles of power in the entertainment industry—all in an effort to redefine how black women were portrayed in the media and perceived by the American public. Dispelling myths about black female sexuality

that depicted black women as voracious "Jezebels" or, contradictorily, as asexual, subservient Mammy-figures defined the mission of black feminist activists well into the 1980s.

BLACK FEMINISM 1980s–1990s

A persistent tension within the black feminist movement continues to surround the use of the word "feminist" itself. In 1983, novelist and essayist Alice Walker coined the term "womanist" in her collection of essays *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens.* Although the first definition she gives states that a womanist is a black feminist, many black women, in the United States and abroad, have taken on the term as a distinct form of activism on behalf of black women and the black community that is outside traditional definitions of feminism. Notably, although Walker also defined womanism as a way of relating to black women and black men sexually and/or nonsexually, this aspect of the definition is often ignored in a heterosexist cooptation of Walker's original meaning. Thus, Africana womanism purports to be more closely aligned with the black liberation struggle, espousing an essentialist view of black women as uniquely morally equipped to wage this struggle. Despite the contention, black feminism and black womanism share certain perspectives on race, gender, and class and act as two separate streams feeding into the central aims of the black feminist movement.

Interestingly, black women academics in theology, religion, and ethics have taken on the mantle of black womanism and elucidated its contours, effectively bringing the black feminist movement into the black church. Black womanists, such as Renita Weems, Cheryl Sanders, and Katie G. Cannon, challenge patriarchal readings of biblical Scriptures through womanist reinterpretations, and they call for reevaluating black women's roles in the church as an untapped leadership resource.

Because of the lasting controversy surrounding the label "feminist," beginning in the 1980s some black women chose to avoid the feminist label in an effort to be more successful in advocating on behalf of black women. This black woman–centered activism was most prominent in the area of health. The National Black Women's Health Project (NBWHP) formed in 1984 with the stated mission of self-help. NBWHP's guiding principle led to the organization of small, autonomous groups focused on prevention through Afrocentric principles of holistic health, as well as attention to the particular ramifications of racism on black women's physical, spiritual, emotional, and mental health. Similar work was done by a group of women, several of whom were also members of the NBWHP, in a statement entitled "African American Women Are for Reproductive Freedom." This late 1980s statement extended the mainstream feminist agenda on abortion to reproductive rights, noting the historical impact of slavery on black women's present-day reproductive choices. They include not only the maintenance of legal abortions, but also *accessible* abortions, as well as the right to parent without interference from the state.

In the 1990s, the black feminist movement also challenged the state for its treatment of former University of Oklahoma law professor Anita Hill during the confirmation of Clarence Thomas to the U.S. Supreme Court. When Hill came forward to reveal allegations of sexual harassment while working for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission under Thomas's directorship, her mistreatment by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Senate Judiciary Committee sparked an exemplary dilemma for the black feminist movement. The black community alleged a racist plot to derail Thomas's nomination and questioned Professor Hill's racial loyalty in coming forward. Predominantly white feminist organizations championed Professor Hill as a brave pioneer in women's rights for speaking out against gender discrimination.

No national black women's organization stepped forward to defend Hill or to explain the race and sex implications of Thomas's confirmation. Instead, a group of black women academics started a grassroots campaign called African American Women in Defense of Ourselves (AAWDO) to respond. Within one month, Barbara Ransby, Elsa Barkley Brown, Susie King, and Deborah Gray gathered over 1,600 signatures and donations to take out a full-page advertisement in the *New York Times* Sunday edition. The statement served the dual purpose of challenging the racist *and* sexist treatment of Professor Hill, as well as protesting the threat that the politically conservative Thomas nomination posed for the black community's economic and political well-being. The statement ultimately affirmed that black women would continue to speak out on behalf of one another, the black community, and those antagonistic to social justice regardless of race. Much like their nineteenth-century foremothers, AAWDO reasserted that only the black woman could adequately speak to the vagaries of life lived at the intersection of gender and race identities.

THE PRESENT

Today, the momentum of the black feminist movement proceeds unabated as racism, sexism, classism, and heterosexism transmutate in a postindustrial, capitalist society. Specifically, the black feminist movement faces the dilemma of accounting for the social and political advances of black women while at the same time dealing with persisting racial and gender discrimination. The lack of a national black feminist organizational presence remains a sticking point among black women searching for an organized response to discrimination against black women and black communities. However, as evidenced by the AAWDO mobilization, the many voices raised in protest against the exclusion of black women from the Million Man March, and the growth of black feminist caucuses at academic and activist conferences (e.g., the Black Feminist Caucus of the 1998 Chicago Black Radical Congress), black feminism remains an active theoretical basis for struggle for black women nationally. Black women active in the black feminist movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s are carrying on their activism, as well as inspiring younger generations to explore their black feminist history and apply those lessons to combat welfare reform, attacks on affirmative action, and the increasing mass incarceration of black women, men, and children in the United States.

Kimberly Springer

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Women's Movement 1960–1990

The 1960s—these two words conjure up images of civil rights marches, war protesters, and hippies. This decade retains its grip on the American imagination some forty years later and for good reason: the 1960s initiated a series of profound changes in U.S. society. In 1960, John F. Kennedy was elected to the presidency, signaling an unparalleled confidence in the young. The contraceptive pill appeared, paving the way for the sexual revolution. But by 1960, the optimism and prosperity that swept through the United States following World War II faced increasing challenges. The Beatniks offered young people a critique of American materialism and the hypocrisy of their parents' generation. The civil rights movement took a more confrontational approach as sit-ins in Greenville, North Carolina's Woolworth's brought public protests to the national eye. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was founded, leading ultimately to the Black Power movement. In the West, migrant farm workers were organizing. And although few people knew it then, over 10,000 American soldiers were in a small country in Southeast Asia called Vietnam.

After a decade of declining age at marriage and increasing birth rates, in 1960 the media discovered that all was not well behind the white picket fences that divided suburbia. Newspapers, magazines, and television all ran stories about women's dissatisfaction. And women had much to be unhappy about. The U.S. Senate contained only one woman. Working women earned, on average, just 60 cents for every dollar men made. Most working women occupied low-status clerical and service jobs. Of the 58 percent of African-American women who worked outside the home, most were employed as domestic servants.

Three major social movements shaped the decade we now call the 1960s: civil rights, the movement against the war in Vietnam, and the women's movement. What will be referred to here as the women's movement was also called women's liberation, the feminist movement, radical feminism, and women's rights. In the early analysis of the women's movement, groups were sometimes differentiated as the women's rights groups and the women's liberation groups, or, respectively, the older and the younger women's movement branches. Women's rights advocates sought to create a role for women in the present society. This earlier date of origin and the overall older median age of women involved in this branch, estimated at the late twenties and early thirties, led to the designation of it as the "older" branch of the feminist movement. The women's liberationist can be generalized as one wanting radical changes to "liberate" or free women from constraining social roles. This impetus was usually combined with another social reform ideology such as socialism or anarchism. These "radical feminists" wanted to change the structure of society as a whole, with women's role being only one of many altered. Most of the women in this branch of the movement were generally in their middle and late twenties. This led to the nomenclature of the "younger" or more "radical" branch. All these women shared a commitment to feminism, an ideology maintaining that women in the United States were oppressed and that change needed to occur. Feminists varied widely in their beliefs as to the cause of that oppression and as to the best way to overcome it.

The origins of the women's movement are as varied as the terms used to refer to it. Some scholars find the origins of the women's movement in World War II. This view, which is most closely associated with the historian William Chafe, holds that changes in the labor force participation rates of married women—that is, the percentage of married women employed outside the home—led to changes in women's role in U.S. society. This interpretation is not without challenge. Some historians have argued that, while the

BETTY FRIEDAN (1921–)

Bettye Naomi Goldstein was born in Peoria, Illinois, on February 4, 1921, to Miriam (Horwitz) and Harry Goldstein. A psychology student at Smith College, Betty (who dropped the *e* from her name during school) was a star student and a solid writer: she sat as editor in chief of the college's newspaper and graduated summa cum laude in 1942. In 1943, Friedan continued her studies as a doctoral student in psychology at the University of California at Berkeley. However, after receiving (and then declining) a prestigious scholarship from the institution, she dropped out of the program and moved to New York City to pursue a career in journalism. She married Carl Friedan in 1947 and settled into the role of suburban housewife and mother to three children while also working as a freelance journalist for the Federated Press, the labor press, and a variety of popular women's magazines including *Good Housekeeping*.

In 1957, prior to her fifteenth class reunion, Friedan designed and sent a questionnaire to her Smith College contemporaries, asking whether or not they felt content with their lives since college. She received in-depth responses from over 200 women, and the results were extraordinary: the majority felt unfulfilled, and many outlined the details of the dissatisfaction with their lives. The common thread among them all was an effort to conform to their supposedly "natural" gender roles while simultaneously harboring a frustration and a desire for something *more.* Finding commonality among her former classmates not only legitimized her own discontent in her marriage and her life, but also led to an extension of research into the topic. She expanded her study dramatically, formulating more questionnaires and surveys, conducting interviews, and consulting with psychologists and behaviorists. The results of her investigations would provide the data for what would become a landmark work: *The Feminine Mystique*.

Published in 1963, *The Feminine Mystique* was a combination of the results of her qualitative research and her own stifling experience in the domestic realm. Friedan defined and described "the problem that had no name," that women were the victims of deception, expected to glean happiness and fulfillment from their sole role as caregiver of their husbands and children. According to Friedan, the glorification of "wife" and "mother" not only led to frustration and a loss of self-esteem, but also prevented women from pursuing other work and/or creative self-expression. Translated into multiple languages, Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* was an almost instant best seller and has since been credited with inspiring the second wave of the women's movement in North America.

The Feminine Mystique sparked controversy over women's "place" in American society, and the groundbreaking work launched Friedan into the public spotlight. Appearing on the radio, on television, and at academic conferences, she rapidly established herself as a women's movement leader. By the mid-1960s, Friedan had become a household name, and she had joined forces with other women interested in the advancement of women's rights. In October of 1966, at the Third National Conference of the Commission on the Status of Women in Washington, D.C., she and twenty-eight other women cofounded the National Organization for Women (NOW). As its first president (until 1970), Friedan fought for civil rights and directed campaigns to challenge stereotypes of women in the media, to improve women's political participation, and to develop accessible child care. NOW was also at the forefront of the fight to legalize abortion, and in 1969 Friedan helped found the National Conference for the Repeal of Abortion Laws. Soon after abortion was legalized, the group changed its name to the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL). During her last year as NOW's leader, she led the Women's Strike for Equality, a public and vocal commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of women's suffrage in America.

Friedan continued working for women's rights by assisting in the establishment of the National Women's Political Caucus in 1971, as well as helping with the organization of the International Feminist Congress and the creation of the first Women's Bank in New York in 1973. Soon after, she turned her attention to writing (she was a regular columnist for *McCall's* magazine) and teaching. Her teaching posts included the New School for Social Research and Temple University in 1972, Yale in 1974, and Queen's College in 1975. A winner of multiple awards and honors (including the Eleanor Roosevelt Leadership Award in 1989, an induction in the National Women's Hall of Fame in 1993, and a Lifetime Achievement Award for Literary Arts in 1998), Betty Friedan has, through years of activism and writing, been established as one of the most effective leaders of the second-wave women's movement. Her memoir, *Life So Far*, was published in 2000.

Candis Steenbergen

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN
STATEMENT OF PURPOSE 1966

The National Organization for Women (NOW), founded in October 1966 at an organizing conference in Washington, D.C., became the leading women's rights organization in the 1960s.

We, men and women, who hereby constitute ourselves as the National Organization for Women, believe that the time has come for a new movement toward true equality for all women in America, and toward a fully equal partnership of the sexes, as part of the world-wide revolution of human rights. . . .

The purpose of NOW is to take action to bring women into full participation in the mainstream of American society . . . exercising all the privileges and responsibilities . . . in truly equal partnership with men.

We believe the time has come to move beyond the abstract argument, discussion and symposia over the status and special nature of women which has raged in America . . . ; the time has come to confront, with concrete action, the conditions that now prevent women from enjoying the equality of opportunity and freedom of which is their right, as individual Americans, and as human beings. . . .

Despite all the talk about the status of American women in recent years, the actual position of women in the United States has declined . . . to an alarming degree. . . . Although 46.4 percent of all American women between the ages of 18 and 65 now work outside the home, the overwhelming majority—75 percent—are in routine clerical, sales, or factory jobs, or they are household workers, cleaning women, hospital attendants.

. . . Discrimination in employment on the basis of sex is now prohibited by federal law, in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. But although nearly one-third of the cases brought before the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission during the first year dealt with sex discrimination and the proportion is increasing dramatically, the Commission has not made clear its intention to enforce the law with the same seriousness on behalf of women as of other victims of discrimination. . . .

WE BELIEVE that the power of American law, and the protection guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution to the civil rights of all individuals, must be effectively applied and enforced to isolate and remove patterns of sex discrimination, to ensure equality of opportunity in employment and education, and equality of civil and political rights and responsibilities on behalf of women, as well as for Negroes and other deprived groups. . . .

WE DO NOT ACCEPT the token appointment of a few women to high-level positions in government and industry as a substitute for a serious continuing effort to recruit and advance women. . . .

WE BELIEVE that this nation has a capacity . . . to innovate new social institutions which will enable women to enjoy true equality of opportunity and responsibility in society, without conflict with their responsibilities as mothers and homemakers. . . .

WE BELIEVE that it is as essential for every girl to be educated to her full potential of human ability as it is for every boy—with the knowledge that such education is the key to effective participation in today's economy and that . . . education can only be serious where there is expectation that it be used in society. . . .

WE REJECT the current assumptions that a man must carry the sole burden of supporting himself, his wife, and family, and that a woman is automatically entitled to lifelong support by a man upon her marriage, or that marriage, home and family are primarily woman's world and responsibility. . . . We believe that proper recognition should be given to the economic and social value of homemaking and child-care. To these ends we will seek to open a reexamination of laws and mores governing marriage and divorce, for we believe that the current state of "half-equality" between the sexes discriminates against both men and women . . .

WE BELIEVE that women must now exercise their political rights and responsibilities as American citizens. . . .

IN THE INTERESTS OF THE HUMAN DIGNITY OF WOMEN, we will protest, and endeavor to change, the false image of women now prevalent in the mass media, and in the texts, ceremonies, laws, and practices of our major social institutions. Such images perpetuate contempt for women by society and by women for themselves. . . .

NOW WILL HOLD ITSELF INDEPENDENT OF ANY POLITICAL PARTY in order to mobilize the political power of all women and men intent on our goals. We will strive to ensure that no party, candidate, president, senator, governor, congressman, or any public official who betrays or ignores the principle of full equality between the sexes is elected or appointed to office. . . .

WE BELIEVE THAT women will do most to create a new image of women by acting now, and by speaking out in behalf of their own equality, freedom, and human dignity . . . in an active, self-respecting partnership with men. By so doing, women will develop confidence in their own ability to determine actively, in partnership with men, the conditions of their life, their choices, their future and their society.

Source: National Organization for Women. Washington, DC, October 29, 1966. Available at www.now.org/history/purpos66.html.

change noted by Chafe accurately describes the circumstances of white, middle-class women, women of color and poor white women had worked outside the home prior to World War II.

Changes in the political landscape may have also contributed to the resurgence in women's activism. In 1961, President Kennedy created a Presidential Commission on the Status of Women. This group of twenty members, appointed by the president, issued a report on women's economic, legal, and political status in 1963. *American Women* detailed in depth the inequities in women's status. As a result, thirty-three states established Commissions on the Status of Women, and at the federal level, an Interdepartmental Committee on the Status of Women and a Citizen's Advisory Council were established by Executive Order to follow up on the report of the president's commission. The commission's findings were amplified by Betty Friedan's study *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) which documented the dissatisfaction of many middle-class housewives with their position in U.S. society.

In 1964, a Civil Rights Act was introduced that included a prohibition of employment discrimination based on sex. The bill also called for the establishment of an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to enforce the law. However, following passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the EEOC refused to enforce Title VII, the part of the bill specifically pertaining to sex discrimination. This refusal provided a cause for feminists to rally around. At the Third National Conference of Commissions on the Status of Women on June 30, 1966, delegates attempted to pass a resolution urging the EEOC to enforce Title VII. When the resolution did not pass, the women who proposed it decided to form a lobbying organization for women's rights to pressure the EEOC on behalf of women. They sketched out, on a napkin, what became the National Organization for Women (NOW). Twenty-eight women joined the first day. By the following October, there were more than 300 members. NOW's Bill of Rights for women outlined seven goals: an equal rights constitutional amendment; enforcement of the law banning sexual discrimination in employment (Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act); maternity leave rights in employment and in Social Security benefits; tax deductions for home and childcare expenses for working parents; child day-care centers; equal job training and allowance opportunities for women in poverty; and the right of women to control their reproductive lives. This last demand, for legalized abortion, would prove so controversial within NOW that within two years a group of women left to form Women's Equity Action League (WEAL), which excluded abortion rights from its focus.

The Women's Movement and Other Social Movements

While the changing political climate inspired some women to become involved in the women's movement, other historians have cited participation in two important social movements as key to explaining the reemergence of feminism during the 1960s. This interpretation holds that white women who participated in civil rights organizations began to see similarities between themselves and the blacks they sought to help, much as the suffrage movement grew out of women's involvement with abolition a century before. Other women were involved in the New Left, a term that refers to a loosely affiliated movement of young people critical of U.S. society and politics, particularly foreign policy and the war in Vietnam. Women involved in both movements became dissatisfied with the limited role allotted to them.

Between 1964 and 1967, many papers circulated concerning the unequal position of women in the civil movements. In 1964, at a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee staff meeting, Ruby Doris Smith presented a paper on "The Position of Women in SNCC" in which she criticized the limited role afforded to women within the group. SNCC leader Stokely Carmichael's infamous remark, "The only position for women in SNCC is prone," has been seen as indicative of the disregard for women within some parts of the civil rights movement. Similarly, in 1965 Casey Hayden and Mary King wrote a paper called "A Kind of Memo" in which they criticized the subordinate position of women within the civil rights movement. Essays like "The Grand Coolie Damn" (1969) by Marge Piercy and "Goodbye to All That" (1970) by Robin Morgan offered similar analyses of men in the New Left. Although these authors may not have intended to launch a movement for women, they can be seen as an impetus behind some groups within the women's movement.

Just as women's suffrage has its roots in the exclusion of Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton at the World Anti-Slavery Conference in 1840, women's mistreatment at the New Left National Conference for a New Politics (NCNP) over Labor Day weekend in 1967 resulted in a pivotal women's movement group forming in Chicago. During the spring of 1967, two women, Heather Booth and Naomi Weinstein, conducted a seminar on women's issues at the

free university of the University of Chicago. Out of this seminar some women formed a group to discuss the possibility of presenting a list of demands at the NCNP. The members of this group who attended the conference were so angered by the committee's refusal to discuss their platform plank concerning women's inequality that they continued as a group after the convention. This original group eventually split into two: the Women's Radical Action Project and the Westside Group. The Westside group in March 1968 began the first feminist newsletter, *Voice of the Women's Liberation Movement*, coining the term *women's liberation*.

In 1967, women's liberation groups formed across the United States. Some groups, like those in Seattle, Gainesville, Detroit, and Toronto, seem to have arisen spontaneously. At other times, new groups started when a member from one of the few existing groups relocated and started another group. For example, in October 1967 Shulamith Firestone, a member of the original Chicago women's liberation group, moved to New York, where she and Pam Allen attempted to form a New York women's group. They received an unfavorable response from the women contacted through New Left political organizations, but a breakthrough finally occurred in the late fall of 1967 at a convention at Princeton of another New Left group, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). A workshop held there on women's issues inspired the formation of the New York Radical Women. The group's first demonstration occurred on January 15, 1968, when about 500 radical women split off from 4,500 women marching to protest the war in Vietnam to participate in a counterdemonstration staged by the New York Radical Feminists. The counterdemonstration involved symbolically burying the coffin of traditional womanhood, complete with a funeral orientation that explained the relationship between feminism and the women's peace movement.

In a similar action, on September 7, 1968, the New York Radical Feminists demonstrated in Atlantic City at the Miss America Pageant. That night television beamed radical feminism into America's living rooms, garnering in thirty seconds more attention for the cause than any number of community meetings or mimeographed newsletters ever could. Organizers created a Freedom Trash Can, in which the demonstrators threw objects representing women's imprisonment to beauty standards, including makeup, high heels, and women's undergarments. In an effort to gain more news media coverage, someone had leaked the plan. Proving that any publicity was not necessarily good publicity, the news media seized on the image of women burning their bras, which became the seed of the false epithet "bra burner"—a term used to trivialize the feminist issue and to deflect from the issue of women's objectification. Although the Miss America Pageant protest failed to end beauty pageants, the resulting publicity helped spread the feminist message. Women's groups began organizing throughout the United States to address women's oppressed status.

Just a little over a year after women were prevented from presenting their resolution on women's rights at the National Conference for a New Politics, more than 200 women from thirty-seven different states attended a women's liberation conference over Thanksgiving weekend, 1968, in Chicago. Among the important papers presented at this conference was "A Program for Feminist Consciousness-Raising." For both branches of the movement, consciousness raising (C-R) provided a means of unifying women through an understanding of common experiences with sexism. Consciousness raising provided women with a forum to discuss their dissatisfaction with the societal role allotted to women and helped to foster an understanding of sexism by exploring the common experiences in each woman's life. Because this movement was founded on personal experiences, consciousness raising helped to liberate women's minds. For some C-R was their introduction to feminism. Through C-R, women from different situations and backgrounds discovered the similarities in their lives and realized that the problem lay with society and not themselves. The knowledge that women were victims of societal oppression was very empowering, and angry women channeled their energy into feminist activities. C-R groups, as they were called, began forming throughout the United States as word of this technique spread through women's movement periodicals. A C-R group often provided women with their introduction to the women's movement and to the many issues that feminists addressed in the ensuing decade.

Within a few years, women's movement organizations sprang up across the United States. In Los Angeles, in the fall of 1969 a conference was held at Immaculate Heart College to decide what direction the Los Angeles women's movement should take. Someone had heard about a women's center in New York, and the conference participants all thought that was the perfect project for them. The first women's center in Los Angeles opened as a joint effort of the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) and

community women. Two years later, the Westside Women's Center was founded to reach more women through another center located in another part of town.

The 1970s

By the year 1970, the women's movement was major media news, and it made good copy. In March 1970, 200 women journalists occupied the editorial offices of *Ladies' Home Journal* to demand child care for *Journal* employees, better pay for women journalists, and the installation of a female editor for the magazine. On August 26, 1970, 50,000 women marched down the middle of Fifth Avenue in New York to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of women's suffrage. That same year, three books about feminism appeared: *The Female Eunuch* by Germaine Greer, *Sexual Politics* by Kate Millett, and *The Dialectic of Sex* by Shulamith Firestone. Women of color also began feminist organizing, as the North American Indian Women's Association and the Comisión Femenil Mexicana Nacional were founded. The women's movement began to make inroads into major institutions of American life. In 1970, the first women's studies program was created at San Diego State College, the Lutheran Church in American authorized the ordination of women, and the Equal Rights Amendment was reintroduced into Congress.

The Women's Movement Finds Politics

Throughout the early 1970s, women made major gains in the political arena. Although the Equal Rights Amendment was first introduced in Congress in 1923, it was not until the 1970s that a widespread movement for passage reemerged. The National Organization for Women (NOW) spearheaded this resurgence. In 1970, twenty NOW leaders disrupted hearings of the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments to demand that the ERA be heard by the full Congress. In 1972, Congress finally passed the ERA, and the drive for ratification began. Despite a strong national movement and the granting of an extension to the usual seven years to acquire ratification by the required thirty-eight states, by the 1982 deadline, only thirty-five states had ratified the amendment.

Although the ERA brought together a large number of women interested in greater political power for women, some participants felt that male-dominated legislatures would never pass the ERA. The National Women's Political Caucus was founded by Washington, D.C., women in July 1971. NWPC saw increased numbers of women in all aspects of political life as a way to combat sexism, racism, and institutional discrimination against women. NWPC focused its efforts on gaining political appointments for women, working with political parties to elect more women candidates and to increase the visibility of women's issues in electoral politics.

Similar efforts occurred on the state level. For example, in Texas a women's caucus formed within the Raza Unida Party. Although women served in many positions of party leadership, they faced discrimination from some men. In 1973, women decided to form the Mujeres Por La Raza caucus to obtain leadership positions for women in the Raza Unida Party and to elect Chicanas to office in Texas. They held conferences throughout Texas in 1973 to increase women's involvement with politics. In addition to organizing conferences for community women, the Mujeres worked to combat racism and classism among white women.

These efforts bore fruition as politicians began paying greater attention to women's issues. In 1972, Congress passed Title IX of the Education Amendment. This law requires that "No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving federal financial assistance." The amendment took effect in 1976 and opened the way for women's increased participation in athletics programs and professional schools. Despite legal challenges, Title IX remains in effect today.

The Movement to Legalize Abortion

The women's movement's largest foray into politics occurred in the area of abortion rights. The U.S. Supreme Court ruling of January 1973 that legalized abortion might be called the greatest success of the women's movement. Abortion served as a unifying focus for many groups involved in the women's movement as liberal feminists and radicals, young and old women alike, all worked to secure women's access to safe and legal abortions. The movement to re-legalize abortion predates the women's movement, as physicians and clergy members, mostly men, had been working throughout the 1960s to liberalize abortion laws. However, with the advent of the women's movement, women became active in demanding the repeal of all abortion laws. In January 1969, members of New York NOW's Abortion Committee formed New Yorkers for Abortion Law Repeal (NYALR). That same month the National Association for the Repeal

GERMAINE GREER (1939–)

Germaine Greer was born in Melbourne, Australia, on January 29, 1939, the daughter of Eric Reginal (a newspaper advertising manager) and Margaret May Mary (Lanfrancan) Greer. After attending the Star of the Sea Convent, an all-girl Catholic Academy in Victoria, she pursued an undergraduate degree in English and French literature at the University of Melbourne at the age of eighteen. Greer graduated with her B.A. in 1959, and moved to Sydney to complete her master's degree in 1961. In 1964, she moved again—this time to the United Kingdom on scholarship to study English literature at Cambridge University. Her dissertation, entitled *The Ethic of Love and Marriage in Shakespeare's Early Comedies*, earned Greer her doctoral degree in 1967. Ph.D. in hand, Greer accepted a lecturer position in Warwick University's English department, and taught there until 1973. After the completion of her degree, she wrote for a variety of journals and magazines, appeared on television, and married—and divorced—Paul de Feu; their union lasted three weeks.

Her first book was both highly controversial and overwhelmingly successful. Published in Britain in 1970, *The Female Eunuch* was considered—and is still believed to be—a landmark feminist text, one that launched Greer in the public eye and made her a noteworthy—but problematic—figure in both the sexual liberation and women's movements. In *The Female Eunuch*, Greer challenged society's misrepresentations of women's sexuality, argued that marriage was a modern and legal form of slavery, and maintained that the stereotype of females as passive sexual creatures was nothing more than the psychological castration of women by society. The book was published in the United States in 1971, and, following a highly publicized book tour (and a public debate with Norman Mailer at New York's Town Hall), Greer had become one of the new faces of 1970s feminism.

An international celebrity by the 1970s, Greer continued to give public talks and to publish, constantly stirring up controversy, rejecting narrow views of femininity and womanhood, and urging women to struggle against such characterizations through their own investigations into sexuality and creativity. The success garnered from *The Female Eunuch* not only transformed Greer into a media sensation; she also wrote vigorously for publications like *Spare Rib*, *Esquire*, and *The Sunday Times*, and continued teaching: she sat as director of the Tulsa Centre for the Study of Women's Literature in Oklahoma (where she founded a center for the study of women's literature), and has, since 1989, been a special lecturer and unofficial fellow at Cambridge. She currently splits a part-time appointment between the Department of English and Comparative Literary Studies, the Centre for British and Comparative Cultural Studies, and the Centre for the Study of Women and Gender at the University of Warwick.

In many ways, Greer has led a double life: one as distinguished scholar, lecturer, and writer of women's achievements in the literary arts (see *The Obstacle Race: The Fortunes of Female Painters and Their Work* [1979], *Shakespeare* [1986], and *Slip-Shod Sibyls: Recognition, Rejection and The Woman Poet* [1995]), and another as the outspoken and contentious feminist spokeswoman of the late twentieth century. In 1999, she wrote the book she had said she would never write: the sequel to *The Female Eunuch*. *The Whole Woman* examined the status of the women's movement as it neared the millennium and attacked what she saw as current and dangerous trends in feminist theory and practice. Receiving mixed reviews from feminists and the popular presses, Greer has proven—at the age of sixty—that she has still *got it*: her writing is stirring, her questions are pertinent, and her style is provocative, entertaining, and sexy.

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of Abortion Laws, which included both members of NOW as well as male abortion advocates, was founded.

To members of the women's movement, it was important for women's voices to be heard in the debate over legalized abortion. Thus, on February 13, 1969, members of the radical feminist group the Redstockings interrupted hearings on abortion law reform being held by the New York State legislature to protest that witnesses before the committee consisted of fourteen men and one nun. The following month, on March 21, 1969, the Redstockings organized their own "hearings" on abortion, which included a speakout, at which hundreds of women went public with their own experiences with mostly illegal abortions. In a similar move in 1972, fifty-three prominent American women publicly stated in the inaugural issue of *Ms.*, the pioneering feminist magazine founded by Gloria Steinem, that they had had abortions.

Although some groups focused on legalizing abortion, others worked to circumvent the law. In 1969, members of the Chicago Women's Liberation

GLORIA STEINEM (1934–)

Steinem gained prominence as an articulate spokeswoman for women's rights both in lectures and in television appearances. She helped found the National Women's Political Caucus (1971), the Women's Action Alliance (1971), and the Coalition of Labor Union Women (1974). She was also the founding editor (1972–1987) of *Ms.*, a feminist magazine.

Gloria Steinem was born in Toledo, Ohio, on March 25, 1934, and spent her early years traveling in a house trailer with her parents. After her parents divorced in 1946, Steinem moved with her mother to Toledo and began attending school on a regular basis for the first time. During her senior year of high school, Steinem moved to Washington, D.C., to live with her older sister.

Steinem graduated from Smith College in 1956 and traveled to India on a scholarship. While in India, she participated in nonviolent protests against government policy. By 1960, she had moved to New York City and found work as a writer and journalist. Her article "I Was a Playboy Bunny," which recounted her brief experience as a waitress at Hugh Hefner's Playboy Club in 1963, garnered Steinem her first national attention. Steinem's work became more overtly political over the next few years, and she began writing a column, "The City Politic," for *New York* magazine in 1968. She also moved into politics more directly, working for Democratic candidates such as Norman Mailer, Eugene McCarthy, Robert Kennedy, and later George McGovern. She also worked with Cesar Chavez in his efforts on behalf of the United Farm Workers.

Her politics took on a feminist bent after 1968 when she attended a meeting of a radical feminist group, the Redstockings. Three years later, along with Betty Friedan, Bella Abzug, and Shirley Chisholm, Steinem founded the National Women's Political Caucus. She also began investigating the viability of a new magazine for women, one that approached contemporary issues from a feminist perspective. The preview issue sold out, and within five years *Ms.* had a circulation of 500,000. As the magazine's editor, Steinem attracted national attention as a feminist leader and became an influential spokesperson for women's rights issues.

Throughout the late 1970s and 1980s, Steinem devoted much of her time to political organizations and became a noted spokesperson for the women's liberation movement. She was a founding member of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, Voters for Choice, and Women Against Pornography. Around 1987, *Ms.* magazine was sold to owners who, Steinem realized later, did not share Steinem's vision for the magazine. The magazine changed hands two more times before Steinem and a group of backers bought the magazine back in 1999. In December 2001, the Feminist Majority Foundation, a feminist research and action organization, purchased the magazine and provided it with much-needed financial stability.

James G. Lewis

Group formed the Abortion Counseling Service, widely known by its code name, Jane, after the name women seeking abortions used when calling the service. Jane provided women with safe, low-cost abortions while they were still illegal. Although the members of Jane initially provided referrals to medical personnel to provide illegal abortions, dissatisfaction with the treatment women received at the hands of these men eventually led the women themselves to learn to perform abortions. Between 1969 and 1973, when the U.S. Supreme Court detained women's legal access to abortion, Jane provided over 11,000 women with abortions that were safer and cheaper than those provided by the male-dominated illegal abortion industry.

THE WOMEN'S HEALTH MOVEMENT

Women's activism in abortion led to greater involvement in women's healthcare. The Boston Women's Health Collective emerged from a group of women who began meeting in the late 1960s after involvement in Students for a Democratic Society and the civil rights and antiwar movements. In the spring of 1969 at a women's liberation conference held in Boston, one of these women, Nancy Hawley, gave a workshop called "Control of Our Bodies." This workshop provided the women with the focus of their discussions for the next months. After sharing personal experiences with the medical establishment, the women turned to researching women's health issues. This research provided the foundation for *Our Bodies, Our Selves*, first published in 1969 by the New England Free Press. The first commercially published edition appeared in 1972; it is now in its seventh edition as *Our Bodies, Ourselves for the New Century* (1998).

Although members of the Boston Women's Health Collective sought to raise consciousness about

women's health through their book, feminists in Los Angeles took a more hands-on approach. In late 1970, a group of women in Los Angeles began meeting at the Everywoman Bookstore to discuss health and abortion issues. Searching for a means for women to regain control of their bodies, one of the members, Carol Downer, inserted a speculum into her vagina and invited the other women present to observe her cervix. Thus, on April 7, 1971, the concept of "self-help" gynecology was developed. The original self-help group continued meeting at the Everywoman Bookstore while forming new groups for several more months to teach women this radical technique. Members of the self-help gynecology group also ran self-help clinics. Self-help gynecology gained such notoriety that in September 1971 national NOW invited the self-help group to present a demonstration at the national convention held in Los Angeles. Between 200 and 250 women participated in the demonstrations during the conference. In addition, members of the original Los Angeles group traveled to publicize self-help gynecology, which spread their innovative methods across the United States.

In October 1971, the self-help gynecology clinic began holding an open clinic for women every Saturday staffed by women who had gone through self-help training. In 1972, the group acquired its own building and officially initiated the Feminist Women's Health Center (FWHC). On September 20, 1972, members of the FWHC were charged with practicing medicine without a license. During the trial, the women were acquitted, which served to provide legal legitimization of self-help gynecology as an alternative form of healthcare. In January 1973, after the Supreme Court's legalization of abortion, the FWHC opened the first women-controlled legal abortion clinic.

Although many women of color were involved in efforts to legalize abortion and in the alternative women's health movement, women of color faced an additional challenge to their reproductive rights. Whereas some women struggled for the right to prevent and end pregnancy, women of color also were more likely to be denied their reproductive capabilities through involuntary sterilization. In 1973, two black sisters, aged 12 and 14, were declared mentally incompetent by their Alabama physician, who sterilized them using federal funds to pay for the procedures after their mother, who could not read or write, had "signed" her *X* on the consent forms. In *Madrigal vs. Quilligan* (1975), a group of ten Spanish-speaking Chicanas sued Los Angeles County Hospital for involuntary sterilization after they were given consent forms in English. Although the case was initially thrown out of court, the women eventually won their suit. As these cases gained notoriety, many other women of color came forward to share similar experiences.

As news of involuntary sterilization spread throughout the United States, organizations sprang up to address this issue. Committees to End Sterilization Abuse formed in New York and in Chicago, where membership drew on the Chicago Women's Liberation Union, Puerto Rico Solidarity Committee, and Mujeres Latinas. A similar group, the Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse, formed in Los Angeles and New York. These efforts resulted in changes to laws governing sterilization. New York was the first state, in 1975, to create sterilization consent guidelines. In 1979, the federal government standardized consent forms, required that they be made available in the patient's first language, and mandated that they include information about alternative contraceptives and statements regarding the irreversibility of sterilization. The federal government also instituted a thirty-day waiting period and prohibited hysterectomy for the purpose of sterilization.

The women's health movement gave rise to national organizations that now exist to address the health concerns of almost every community of women. For example, in the early 1970s, the Women's Union of the Young Lords Party organized health centers for women in Harlem. This work continues today as the Peoples Alternative Health Center and the First World Women of Color Healing Circle. The Older Women's League (OWL), founded in 1980, works to bring universal high-quality, affordable healthcare to women from birth to death. In addition, OWL has focused on women's role as informal healthcare providers and has advocated for acknowledgment and financial support for this role. In 1983, the Black Women's Health Project was founded by women in Washington, D.C. In 1985, a group of Native Americans living in South Dakota formed the Native American Community Board, which organized the Native American Women's Health Education Resource Center. This group has advocated for reproductive rights in addition to launching educational campaigns about AIDS, domestic violence, and prenatal nutrition. The Lesbian Health Fund, founded in 1992 as part of the Gay and Lesbian Medical Association, is the only organization dedicated to research on lesbian health. The National Asian Women's Health Organization, founded in 1993, works to end racial and ethnic health disparities, to educate Asian Americans about health-

care, and to ensure awareness and research about specific issues that Asian Americans face.

Violence Against Women

In addition to abortion and women's healthcare, feminists put the issue of rape on the national agenda. Prior to the women's movement, rape was a taboo subject. Newspapers routinely withheld the names of women who had been raped in order to "protect" them. A woman's past sexual history was admissible as evidence during rape trials. Husbands could not be charged with raping their wives because the law provided a marital exemption to most rape laws. The women's movement changed all of this. In 1976, Nebraska became the first state to outlaw marital rape. Today forty-nine states, all except Arizona, provide rape shield laws, which preclude the use of a rape victim's prior sexual history to undermine her credibility.

Because the police, hospitals, and society in general tended to blame women at least partially for rape, feminists sought to redefine ideas about rape as well as alter the treatment of victims. The first feminist action against rape occurred on January 24, 1971, when the New York Radical Feminists held the first "Speak Out on Rape," at which women who had been raped publicly recounted the experience. Personal testimony served to destigmatize rape and to help women see rape as a crime committed against women, and not as a crime caused by women dressing too provocatively, leading a man on, or being where they shouldn't have been. As a follow-up, in April 1971, the New York Radical Feminists sponsored a day-long conference about rape. Based on the experiences that women shared during that conference, women began to understand that boyfriends and husbands perpetrate rapes. This central revelation would have a profound influence on American society where women had been taught to fear the stranger lurking in dark shadows but not the boy next door. The most concrete outgrowth of increased awareness about rape were the hundreds of rape crisis intervention centers and hotlines created by women. In 1972, the first emergency rape crisis hotline opened in Washington, D.C., and by 1976 more than 400 independent rape crisis centers existed throughout the United States. In 1978, the National Coalition Against Sexual Assault was formed.

As the rape crisis movement evolved, women began targeting the institutions that legitimized rape. They focused on images of violence against women, particularly the media and pornography. In 1976, Julia London founded the group Women against Violence against Women in Los Angeles. The group's first demonstration occurred as part of a media boycott organized by NOW against sexually violent images in the music industry. In 1978, the first national feminist conference on pornography was held in San Francisco. As part of this conference, women took to the streets organizing a large demonstration in the red-light district. This "Take Back the Night" march became the impetus for similar events that occur throughout the country to this day.

Like rape, domestic violence was considered a dirty little secret until the women's movement brought national attention to the issue. The first shelter for women victims of physical abuse is generally thought to be Chiswick Women's Aid in England, which opened in 1971. In 1972, women in St. Paul, Minnesota, formed the first battered women's hotline, and Haven House in Pasadena, California, became the first such shelter in the United States. The movement to establish hotlines and shelters for women victims of male violence spread quickly throughout the United States. In 1978, the National Coalition Against Domestic Violence formed, bringing shelters and other groups together to publicize the issue and to seek legal change in the treatment of battered women.

The Proliferation of the Women's Movement

In addition to revolutionizing institutions of American life such as government, education, and the family, throughout the 1970s, the women's movement politicized existing groups of women. Lesbians, women of color, and working women all formed feminist organizations during the 1970s, in the process both broadening and amplifying earlier women's movement activities.

Lesbian Feminism

Along with many other communities within the United States during the 1960s, gays and lesbians were inspired to organize for their own liberation. Although several groups, most notably Daughters of Bilitis and the Mattachine Society, existed in the 1950s, the 1970s saw the rise of a widespread, public gay liberation movement. Lesbian feminists became early, active participants in the women's movement. However, lesbians were not always welcome in women's movement organizations. The term *lavender menace* was first used in 1969 by members of NOW to refer to lesbians, whom they feared were discrediting the

women's movement. In May 1970, a group of lesbian feminists, the Radicalesbians, disrupted the second Congress to Unite Women in New York. Wearing T-shirts that proclaimed themselves the "lavender menace," the women took over the conference to protest the discrimination against lesbians within the women's movement. The Radicalesbians did not continue for long as a group but made an important contribution to lesbian feminism by articulating the connections between lesbianism and feminism. In their essay "The Woman-Identified Woman" (1970), they redefined lesbianism from a sexual practice to a political position in which women give their allegiance primarily to women. This position of "political lesbian" was seen as a choice that feminists made in solidarity with other women. On December 17, 1970, Kate Millett, a noted feminist author who had been "outed" as a lesbian by *Time* magazine (May 1970), and a number of high-profile members of the women's movement held a press conference to address the issue of lesbianism.

The first lesbian feminist organization in the United States was founded in Seattle, Washington, in 1971. Like many similar groups across the country, women involved in the Seattle Gay Liberation Front broke away to form an independent group, initially called the Gay Women's Alliance. The alliance created a resource center that housed a library and an information hotline, offered support groups, and provided speakers on lesbian issues. The organization, which eventually changed its name to the Lesbian Resource Center, expanded over the years to include political activism, particularly in fighting antigay laws, offering job training through federally funded programs, and eventually occupying an independent building.

As lesbian feminists became more vocal within the women's movement, "gay/straight," as the two groups were called at the time, dialogues were one strategy used to address homophobia. These dialogues were based on the technique of C-R. On February 20, 1971, the Women's Center in Los Angeles held its first Sexual Dialogue, as it was then called. Approximately 135 to 150 women attended that first dialogue, which was so successful that another one was scheduled for April. Unlike chapters in some areas of the United States, the Los Angeles NOW chapter led the charge against homophobia within the organization. The Los Angeles chapter held a gay/straight dialogue after a local group, the Lesbian Feminists, accused them of persecuting lesbians. On May 16, 1971, the NOW Center for Women's Studies hosted a gay/straight dialogue, the first such ever meeting held by a NOW chapter. Women responded so strongly that an additional third dialogue at the Women's Center was scheduled for May 22. At the National NOW conference held in Los Angeles over Labor Day weekend 1971, the Los Angeles NOW chapter resolution accepting lesbian rights as part of the feminist movement was adopted to the National NOW constitution. The resolution stated that lesbians suffered from a double oppression, that NOW recognized the validity of their lifestyle, and that therefore the oppression of lesbian women was a feminist concern.

In April 1973, the West Coast Lesbian Conference, the largest lesbian conference in the United States to that date, was held in Los Angeles. A total of 1,500 women attended to hear keynote speakers Robin Morgan and Kate Millet. As was to be expected at any gathering this large, many different factions were in attendance. Problems stemming from political differences and lesbian/straight relations disrupted the conferences from the beginning. Conflict arose when some Socialist Worker's Party (SWP) material was included in the registration packet. In addition, many of the more radical women reacted negatively to the idea of keynote speakers Kate Millet and Robin Morgan for two reasons. First, they disliked the use of the "star" system, which placed more value on certain women's ideas than others. Both Morgan and Millet had very successful books at the time, and the press labeled them "leaders" of the feminist movement. Second, they felt that since both Morgan and Millet claimed to be lesbians, although both were married to men, they should not be addressing a conference of lesbians. This conflict between political lesbians and "sexual" lesbians mirrored the conflict that occurred throughout women's movements groups. Conflict over definitions of sexual identity resulted in a schism as well. When a transsexual who had caused a major rift in the San Francisco chapter of the Daughters of Bilitis got on stage to perform a song, the conference went wild. Half the women said she should be able to perform, while the other half stated that because he was preoperative and had enjoyed male privilege his entire life, he should be kicked out. Therefore, the many differences in political and sexual views caused tension and splits at an event designed to unify lesbian women.

Some lesbian feminists, weary of fighting homophobia within the women's movement, began organizing separately from straight feminists. In 1970, The Furies Collective formed in Washington, D.C. Mem-

bers of The Furies included some of the most influential lesbian feminist separatists, such as Joan Biren, Charlotte Bunch, Rita Mae Brown, and Helaine Harris. During their brief history, the Furies attempted to create a model of lesbian separatism. Although the conflict that plagued the group is well documented, the Furies was nonetheless an extremely influential group, in part because of its newspaper, which published virtually all of the "classic" articles about lesbian feminist separatism.

Homophobia within the women's movement and schisms within lesbian feminist communities threatened to divide the women's movement. Adrienne Rich's important article "Lesbianism and Compulsory Heterosexuality" (1986) voiced the sentiments that had helped to heal the various divides in the late 1970s. By positing the existence of a lesbian continuum, a spectrum of woman-identified behaviors that ranged from emotional relationships to sexual relationships, Rich opened up common ground for all women in the movement. In addition, by making an explicit connection between homophobia and the limitations that heterosexuality placed on women, Rich highlighted the ways that lesbians and straight women both suffered under this ideology.

Although lesbian feminist separatism became a less pressing issue as the 1970s progressed, the increased visibility of lesbians of color during the late 1970s and 1980s raised more issues for the women's movement as a whole. Writers such as Audre Lorde, Barbara Smith, and Cherríe Moraga, among others, challenged the racism of the women's movement, including lesbian feminist groups.

Women of Color

The history of women of color and the women's movement is extremely complex. Women's movement organizations founded by women of color do not look like primarily white women's organizations, as a result of which they have frequently been excluded from the historical record. Some historians, such as Rosalyn Baxandall and Sherna Gluck, have suggested that, in fact, groups of women of color that "predate" the "beginning" of the women's movement should be credited as the first women's movement organizations. However, many women of color did not claim the word "feminism," which they saw as belonging to white feminists. Many of the "rights" that white feminists wanted, such as access to abortion and work outside the home, were not the rights women of color wanted, in the case of abortion, or needed, in the case of working outside of the home. Indeed, the ideology of the women's movement often conflicted with the cultural values of some women of color. Some women of color saw the women's movement as too separatist, and because they experienced both racial and sexual discrimination, in addition to other oppressions, they chose to continue to work with men of color. Many women of color found that the women's movement was dominated by white women who were unwilling to confront their own racism or the racism that pervades U.S. society. It is considered all-embracing—to include African Americans, Latinos, and other minority populations—but the term minority is considered pejorative. These same women often felt that organizations for people of color ignored their needs as women. It seemed that all too often "women" were seen as "white" and men were seen as "people of color," leaving women of color nowhere to call home. This fact was poignantly reflected in the title of an early essay collection by black women called *All the Women Are White, All the Men Are Black, But Some of Us Are Brave*.

Feminism among African-American women grew out of the involvement of both the black liberation movement and the women's movement itself. For example, women members of SNCC formed the Black Women's Liberation Committee in December 1968 to discuss the intersections of racism and sexism. These women soon formed an independent group, the Black Women's Alliance, and by 1970 they had expanded to include all women of color, calling themselves the Third World Women's Alliance. Although the women of SNCC found the answer in a women-only group, the issue of separatism from men proved difficult for women of color. For black women, organizing as women was sometimes difficult. Women who had been active in civil rights or Black Power groups sometimes faced harsh criticism from their male counterparts when they formed women's groups. Various arguments were used to dissuade black women from organizing as women, including: "black women are already liberated," "the problem is racism, not sexism, so organizing as women is apolitical," and "feminists hate men and are lesbians."

The National Black Feminist Organization (NBFO) was founded in 1973, bringing together many prominent black women who had been involved in various social movements. Approximately thirty women attended the first meeting in May 1973, held in the offices of New York NOW. The NBFO organized a press conference in New York in the following summer and received over 400 phone calls the next day and 200 attendees for a meeting a week later. The

AUDRE LORDE (1934–1992)

Audre Geraldine Lorde was born to Linda Gertrude Belmar and Frederic Byron Lorde, immigrants from Grenada, on February 18, 1934, in Harlem, New York, the youngest of three sisters. She began writing poetry at a very early age, and published her first love poem in *Seventeen* magazine while attending Hunter High School in New York City. She studied for a short while at the University of New Mexico (1954), and completed her undergraduate degree in Literature and Philosophy at Hunter College (now Hunter College of the City University of New York) in 1959. In 1961, she graduated from Columbia University with a master's degree in library science, worked as a librarian, and married Edwin Rollins, a lawyer, in 1962. They had two children and divorced in 1970.

The 1960s were a busy decade for the poet. Lorde had already published in black literary magazines and in a number of anthologies, and she had become active in the civil rights movement, the burgeoning second-wave women's movement, and antiwar efforts. In 1968, upon receiving a National Endowment for the Arts grant, she left her job at a New York library and accepted a post as poet-in-residence at Tougaloo College in Jackson, Mississippi. For six weeks, she taught and wrote in a locale rife with civil rights movement activity. It was here that she met Frances Clayton (who would become her life partner for many years), and published her first volume of poetry, *The First Cities*. Released by the Poets Press, a small publishing house, it received rave reviews, and critics described it as "innovative" and quietly "introspective."

Her second collection of poems, *Cables to Rage*, was written during her stay at Tougaloo and was published in 1970. That work touched on issues that would reemerge in poems and prose to come later: violence, voice, love, hope, relationships, and family. It also contained Lorde's first explicitly lesbian poem published, "Martha." The volume that quickly followed, *From a Land Where Other People Live* (1973), was nominated for a National Book Award for poetry in 1974. *The New York Head Shot and Museum* was published in 1974 and was characterized as her most radical and political work to date. *Coal* (1976) was a compilation of poetry from her first two collections along with new additions. It was a significant volume in that it was her first to be released by a major publisher, W.W. Norton, making Lorde's writing available to a broader audience.

Lorde was diagnosed with breast cancer in the late 1970s, and her writing both incorporated and reflected her changed reality. Her first nonfiction work, *The Cancer Journals* (1980), chronicled her battle with both the disease and the medical establishment. A three-part book gleaned from journal entries and essays, it detailed the discovery and removal of her first tumor, the progression of the disease, her decision to not wear a prosthesis, and—most important—the fundamental tenets of "survival": the need for positive role models and the importance of friendship and love. *The Cancer Journals* was awarded the Gay Caucus Book of the Year award from the American Library Association in 1981. Six years after her initial brush with cancer and a mastectomy, Lord was diagnosed with liver cancer. Her work again reflected that fact, and *A Burst of Light* was published in 1988.

Lorde was a self-described "black-lesbian feminist mother lover poet," and her work reflected the multiplicity of her identity as well as divergent—and often contradictory—perspectives. As a teacher, she educated students in English literature, writing, and poetry at John Jay College of Criminal Justice and her alma mater, Hunter College, where she later sat as the Thomas Hunter Chair of Literature. She was also New York's poet laureate from 1991 to 1992. As a noted feminist, she expressed the necessity of assembling different groups to work against domination in all of its forms, and articulated it in writing in *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches* (1984). That text would soon become part of the canon of Women's Studies, and the title of an essay in the collection, "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House," rapidly came to be one of the most often quoted lines in the women's movement. As an activist, she co-founded (with Barbara Smith) Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press, sat on the editorial boards of *Chrysalis*, *Black Box*, and *Black Scholar*, and was an active supporter of writers' organizations and arts councils. She wove the intricacies of oppression and marginalization into all of her work, and challenged women to find common ground through their differences.

Lorde died on November 17, 1992, in St. Croix at the age of fifty-eight.

Candis Steenbergen

most significant outcome was the organization of a national conference for black feminists held the following November, attended by 400 to 500 women. Chapters opened in city after city. However, the membership had difficulty reaching consensus about the purpose of the organization, and so it closed in 1977.

In 1975, the Boston chapter of the NBFO split off to form the Combahee River Collective. Its statement of purpose signaled its more radical orientation as it keyed in to the interlocking systems of oppression, racism, sexism, and classism that black women faced. Its members included Barbara Smith, who in addition to producing some of the most influential writing by feminists of color, became involved in local politics: support for a black doctor who was arrested for performing a legal abortion, the defense of a black woman accused of murder, and labor issues within the black community. In addition to local political work, the Combahee River Collective worked to connect women of color. Between 1977 and 1979, they sponsored retreats to discuss the status of black women in the women's movement, to learn about participants' political projects, and to explore ways to politically organize black women.

For some African-American women, the term *feminism* was so closely allied with white women that they rejected the label entirely. Efforts to redefine feminism for black women occurred throughout the movement, although the best known is probably Alice Walker's. Walker offered the term *womanist* as an alternative to feminist. Womanist meant the opposite of "girlish," which is to say frivolous, irresponsible, and not serious. Walker further refined the definition by stating that womanist included women who loved other women, sexually and/or nonsexually, and women who appreciated women's culture, women's emotionality, and strength. Walker explicitly addressed the issue of separatism by claiming that womanist meant a commitment to the survival and wholeness of all people.

Many black feminists have made major theoretical contributions to the women's movement. Among the earliest and most influential was Angela Davis, who in 1971 offered an interpretation of slavery that put women at the center of black people's survival. The poet, essayist, and activist Audre Lorde advocated a feminism that acknowledged the importance of culture, the political uses of the erotic, and the necessity of addressing women's differences. Prior to her untimely death at the age of fifty-eight, Lorde had published fifteen books. Her life's work continues in the nonprofit organization the Audre Lorde Project. bell hooks began writing her first book, *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism* (1981), at the age of nineteen and has published nineteen subsequent works. Her lyrical, yet unwavering, insistence on the viability of a feminism that embraces all people has made her a central figure in feminist theory for over twenty years. Finally, the sociologist Patricia Hill Collins has explored black feminisms and their relationship to other feminist theories.

Latina Feminism

With a long history in community service organizations and labor movements, Latinas in the United States began organizing for their own liberation in the wake of student movements among Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and Chicanos. Like African-American women, these women often faced criticism from their male peers and found the issue of separatism from men a difficult one to resolve. Chicanas who became involved with women's groups often found themselves facing the epithet *malinchista*—a reference to the historical, now near mythical, figure La Malinche, the native woman who was given to Cortes during his conquest of Mexico and is viewed as a traitor to her people.

Just as Alice Walker offered an alternative feminism for black women, Ana Castillo coined the term *Xicanisma* to replace the phrase *Latina feminism*. Like Walker's recasting of feminism for black women, Castillo's alternative recognizes the importance of Latinas working with men to end discrimination. She, too, points to the interdependency of people as opposed to the individualism that often pervaded calls for women's rights.

In October 1970, approximately forty women involved in the women's workshop at the Mexican American National Issues Conference in Sacramento discussed the need for an organization specifically for Mexican-American women. The four specific resolutions made concerned the right of women to self-determination and control of their own bodies, the establishment of links with other women's groups, proportional representation of Mexican-American women on the State and Federal Commissions on the Status of Women, and finally, formation of the Comisión Femenil Mexicana (CFM) to organize Mexican-American women. CFM's statement of purpose includes four specific goals: to develop female leadership skills; to disseminate information regarding the work and achievements of Mexican/Chicana women; to plan programs that help, assist, and promote so-

lutions to Mexican-American women and their families' problems; and to assure their inclusion in the larger women's movement by establishing relationships with other women's organizations and movements. The CFM's concerns did not revolve around improving solely the material position of Chicanas, but also their position within society as equal participants with men in expanding the roles available for Mexican Americans.

In 1972, CFM founded the Chicana Service Action Center, an employment and training program. In 1973, at a CFM conference of 800 women, a national organization was founded by adding Nacional to the name Comisión Femenil Mexicana. By 1985, the Comisión had organized twenty-three chapters across the nation. Members of CFM focused on education, child care, sex education, and family planning. They created two bilingual and bicultural child development centers called Centro de Niños for women in school or in job-training programs. Casa Victoria provided girls who had been involved in the juvenile justice system with counseling, family therapy, and educational and vocational training. CFM became involved in the movement to ratify the ERA and to end sterilization abuse.

Although the majority of Latinas lived on the West Coast, organizations did form in the East as well. In 1974, the Mexican-American Women's National Association (MANA) was founded in Washington, D.C., and soon had members in sixteen states. MANA's original intent was to provide a voice for Mexican-American women at the national, state, and local levels. In January 1994, members voted to remove the emphasis on Mexican-American women by changing the organization's official name to ANA, a national Latina organization, a move that reflected the growing diversity of its membership.

Latina feminists have produced some of the most important works on feminism and women of color. Gloria Anzaldua and Cherrie Moraga edited the influential *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (1983). These essays, written by women from many different backgrounds, explored the connections among sexism, racism, homophobia, and class exploitation. While offering a profound critique of the women's movement as it currently existed, the volume spoke to the need for a feminism that women of color could embrace. Both Moraga and Anzaldua have published additional works individually that have explored Latina lesbian feminism and the role of culture in political liberation. Latina feminist authors have proved so numerous that in 1982 they formed the group Mujeres Activas en Letras y Cambio Social (Women Active in Letters and Social Change) to support writers and scholars who address Latina and Native American women's issues.

Women in the United States of Asian descent have been involved in many social movements, particularly those that address the status of immigrants, labor, and housing. In addition, existing ethnic cultural, political, and economic organizations have provided Asian-American women with opportunities for involvement in women's issues. In the 1960s, Asian-American feminist groups started organizing. The Organization of Chinese American Women and the Organization of Pan Asian American Women were both located in Washington, D.C., but local groups also formed such as Asian American Women United, Vietnamese Women's Association, Filipino American Women Network, and Cambodian Women for Progress. Gradually, as immigration from South Asia increased, these women began organizing feminist groups as well. Manavi, founded in New Jersey in 1985, educates South Asian women about their rights and works to end violence against women. In Texas, the Committee on South Asian Women, founded in 1983, publishes a nationally circulated newsletter and organizes and participates in conferences.

Working Women and the Women's Movement

Women's efforts to improve working conditions are as old as the labor movement itself. During the 1970s, several prominent women, such as Dolores Huerta in the United Farm Workers, rose to national prominence. Strikes by women drew support from the women's movement as well as labor communities. For example, from 1972 to 1974, women workers at the Farrah Manufacturing Company fought for the right to unionize and gained better working conditions. Many women union leaders were also active in forming women's movement organizations like NOW and WEAL, and some women members of the New Left worked in labor organizing. However, because many of the central concerns of women's movement organizations seemed driven by middle-class women's agenda, during the mid-1970s working women formed their own women's organizations. In 1974, the Coalition for Labor Union Women (CLUW) was founded to organize women workers, make unions more responsive to women workers' needs, promote Affirmative Action in the workplace, put more women into union leadership positions, and create

links between the women's movement and organized labor. CLUW's most significant achievement was its persistent focus on the needs of working women to balance the demands of family and work. After decades of research and lobbying, CLUW was instrumental in passage of the Family and Medical Leave Act (1993).

Although CLUW tried to make labor unions work for women, Nine to Five concentrated on helping women workers to see themselves as important members of society. In 1973, a group of clerical workers in Boston formed the organization to change workplace conditions for women. Through consciousness raising, public demonstrations, and other tactics drawn from the women's movement, Nine to Five sought greater recognition for the contributions made by working women, most of whom labored in clerical positions. In 1976, the National Association for Office Workers was formed, and in just four years it had over 10,000 members.

The Women's Movement and U.S. Culture

By the mid-1970s, no aspect of American society remained untouched by the women's movement. Music, literature and poetry, and art began to reflect feminism as women gave voice to their experience. Building on the alternative media that grew in the 1960s, women's movement periodicals brought news of feminism to every corner of America. The year 1968 saw the publication of the first women's movement periodicals—*Voice of the Women's Liberation Movement* (Chicago), *Notes from the First Year* (New York), *No More Fun and Games*, *A Journal of Female Liberation* (Boston), and *Lilith* (Seattle). Within a year, the women's movement periodicals would become too numerous to count. As feminist periodicals developed, new titles appeared that appealed to specific communities within the women's movement. The year 1971 alone saw the Third World Women's Alliance in New York publishing *Triple Jeopardy*; *Hijas de Cuantemoc* appearing out of Long Beach, California; Asian Women of University of California offering *Asian Women*; and the advent *of The Lesbian Tide* in Los Angeles. *off our backs,* founded in 1970, is the longest-surviving feminist newspaper in the United States. *Ms.*, a feminist magazine designed to compete with mainstream women's magazines, appeared in the winter of 1972. Gradually, the more informal women's movement periodicals were supplemented by feminist journals such as *Sojourner* (Boston, 1975), *Signs* (Chicago, 1975), *Chrysalis* (Los Angeles, 1977), and *Heresies* (New York, 1977).

Feminist authors began exploring various women's experiences in their writings. Early women's movement activists also wrote fiction and poetry that often incorporated aspects of the women's movement. For example, Rita Mae Brown's *Rubyfruit Jungle* offered a lesbian coming of age story (1973), while Marge Piercy's *Woman on the Edge of Time* (1976) imagined a nonsexist, communitarian future. Maya Angelou's *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* (1970) became a *New York Times* best-selling paperback, while Toni Morrison's *The Bluest Eye* (1970) and many other subsequent novels that explored black women's lives resulted in a Nobel Prize for Literature for Morrison in 1993. Ntozake Shange's play *For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide When the Rainbow Is Enuf* (1974) and Alice Walker's Pulitzer Prize–winning novel and, later, film *The Color Purple* (1982) brought black feminism to the cultural forefront of American society, often sparking national debates about the status of black women. In 1976, two works by Asian American feminists appeared: *The Woman Warrior* by Maxine Hong Kingston and Mitsuye Yamada's *Camp Notes and Other Poems*. *The Woman Warrior* provoked controversy among Asian Americans, who questioned Kingston's "authenticity" in portraying Chinese culture as patriarchal. Many readers were introduced to Native American women's writing through Leslie Marmon Silko's *Ceremony* (1977). The early 1980s saw Latina authors Cherrie Moraga's *Loving in the War Years* (1983) and Sandra Cisneros's *The House on Mango Street* (1983); Cisneros's work won the Before Columbus American Book Award; both works offered female coming-of-age stories.

The explosion of feminist literature, poetry, and nonfiction reflected in women's movement periodicals soon led to a need for feminist publishers. Although a few titles appeared under mainstream imprints, the vast majority of presses were unwilling to gamble on feminist texts. The Women's Press Collective and the Feminist Press were both founded in 1970. In the ensuing years, many new presses, including Diana Press (1972), Daughters, Inc. (1972), All of Us Press (1973), and Persephone Press (1976), appeared.

Music festivals for women were held across the country, including the Sacramento Women's Music Festival (1973), the First National Women's Music Festival in Champaign-Urbana, Illinois (1974), and the Boston Women's Music Festival (1974). The largest women's music festival, the Michigan Womyn's Music

Festival, started in 1976 and continues today. Olivia Records, a recording label that produced only women's works, was founded in 1973.

Goddess worship became another important aspect of women's culture in the 1970s. Many members of the women's movement found goddess worship appealing because it offered a relationship with nature and greater respect for women, as well as a female deity. Works such as Zsuzsanna Budapest's *The Holy Book of Women's Mysteries* (1975), Merlin Stone's *When God Was a Woman* (1976), and Starhawk's *The Spiral Dance* (1979) introduced women to Wiccan teachings and rituals, and covens formed across the United States. Some feminist wiccan practitioners, such as Budapest, do not include men or God in their worship practices.

One of the most visible symbols of the feminist transformation of culture was the Woman's Building, which opened in 1973 in Los Angeles, California. Conceived as a public center for women's culture, the Woman's Building housed a feminist art school, *Chrysalis, a journal of women's culture*, and women's art galleries, in addition to hosting women's cultural events and speakers until its closing in 1991.

"Death" of the Women's Movement

Assessing the women's movement is difficult because there is no yardstick to measure the success of a social movement that sought to transform society. Some achievements of the movement are easy to quantify. Women now earn, on average, seventy-six cents for every dollar a man makes. In the early twenty-first century, thirteen women were serving in the Senate and sixty women were in the House of Representatives. More women work outside the home than ever before. Men have started participating in household work and child care in ways that would have seemed unfathomable in the 1950s. However, changes in attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors are more difficult to "count," and it is in these areas that the women's movement exerted the greatest influence on U.S. society. Although most Americans today do not identify themselves as feminists, many people support the issues addressed by the women's movement, such as equal pay for equal work, reproductive rights, and more equal gender roles.

It is equally difficult to explain the decline in the women's movement. The election of Ronald Reagan to the presidency in 1980 signaled the "end" of the 1960s for many people and led to the fragmentation and decline of social movements in general. Some historians have speculated that the women's movement may have been a victim of its own success. Women's status in society seemed to change so quickly that a women's movement may have appeared unnecessary. Other historians have pointed to increasing conflict within the movement itself as responsible for its decline. All of these theories may in part explain "what happened to the women's movement." Although the women's movement of the 1990s certainly looked different from that of the 1970s and 1980s, feminist activism continued. Women struggled to defend the gains made during the previous decades and to answer the many issues raised as a result of their activism in the 1970s and 1980s. Fortunately, the 1990s saw the inception of the "third wave," which brought new perspectives and new women to feminism. Today a variety of organizations and a range of publications are bringing feminism to a new generation.

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Women's Studies Movement

Women's Studies emerged in American higher education in the late 1960s as a result of the organized efforts of scholars who promoted teaching and research on women that challenged both the existing curriculum and traditional pedagogy. It is simultaneously a grassroots movement, led by specific people, particular campuses, and selected communities, *and* a national phenomenon, with organizations and events that fostered and helped link the local initiatives.

The story of the movement to create an academic space for the study of women and gender has at least three separate trajectories. The first involves the growth of educational opportunities for women and the increasing numbers of women holding positions of authority within American society. The second trajectory acknowledges events on hundreds of individual campuses as newly minted female scholars, many influenced by the women's liberation movement, began to research and teach. And the third trajectory concerns the national organizations and developments that enabled faculty and their students to build the discipline of women's studies. The relationships among these three trajectories are, and have been, dynamic. Read together, they tell the story of how ideas and people interacted to change American colleges and universities in the twentieth century.

The Increasing Presence of Women on Campus

The number of women graduating from American colleges and universities steadily increased from the 1950s until the 1990s, when women became the majority of recipients of associate and bachelor's degrees as well as nearly half of those who earned master's and doctorate degrees. As the numbers of women earning advanced degrees grew, cultural norms about women's roles in society shifted, and larger numbers of women remained in the salaried workforce over the course of their lives. Socioeconomic factors helped to fuel these changes. One of these factors was the demand in the post-Sputnik era of the late 1950s to increase the number of college students generally and the number of scientists in particular. National foundations, primarily the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, the Carnegie Foundation, and the Ford Foundation, promoted study by women and helped to fund their advanced degrees.

A second factor was the presence of women who were reentering the academy. In the 1960s, a group of women educators founded the National Coalition for Research on Women's Education and Development to encourage adult women to return to school to complete undergraduate degrees and to pursue higher ones. Led by figures such as Mary Bunting, then president of Radcliffe College, and Helen Astin, the author of *Some Action of Her Own: The Adult Woman and Higher Education* (1976), the coalition advocated collegiate policies that were more responsive to the empirical realities of women's lives.

A third factor leading to the growth of women's studies involved the legal system. Beginning with Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which dealt with equal employment opportunities, federal legislation was passed and executive orders were issued to promote equal rights and opportunities for racial minorities and for women. The inclusion of women in this landmark piece of civil rights legislation was primarily the result of the work of U.S. congressional Representative Martha Griffiths (D-MI). Parallel policies were often enacted at the state and municipal levels as well. The Equal Opportunity Employment Commission, set up to handle the complaints that arose from the act, became a central source of redress for women to combat discrimination. Another piece of federal legislation, Title IX of the Education Act Amendments of l972, addressed discrimination spe-

cifically in educational settings. Finally, Executive Order 11375, 1967, reinforced Affirmative Action by requiring contractors working for the federal government to make good faith efforts to meet the objectives of the law. These policies worked together on multiple levels to help women gain access to colleges and universities and to give them the legal tools with which to pursue broader rights and opportunities.

Bernice Sandler's career illustrates how all of these factors operated together. A graduate student at the University of Maryland, Sandler was instrumental in filing the complaint that led to the passage of Title IX. In the forty years since then, she has been writing and speaking on how to improve campus culture for women. The impact that her actions have had was highlighted in 1997 when she keynoted a conference held at The Citadel. This previously all-male military institution had been forced to admit women to its campus because of the legislation she had helped instigate. When the doors finally opened, the college's staff said, Sandler's work on campus culture had guided them in dealing with the changes. An early product of those changes was evident in another conference event: In addition to being the keynote speaker, Sandler was part of a panel that included The Citadel's first graduating female cadet. The importance of individuals, their ideas, and their actions in producing systemwide effects is dramatically shown in public events like this.

But legal remedies were not the only avenue of change that led to the growth of women's studies. Women's advocacy organizations emerged on campuses to help formulate policies, to provide support, and to give advice for and about women's issues. Some of these Women's Centers grew out of student organizations or campus commissions on women. Others were outgrowths of faculty and staff caucuses to promote women's affairs. Still others formed in cooperation with community groups.

The formation of these organizations on the local level was paralleled by the growth of national advocacy groups geared toward increasing the number of women on college campuses as well as the number of women in positions of authority there. The American Council on Education (ACE), for instance, created an Office of Women's Affairs in 1973, after an almost fifty-year hiatus in attention to women's issues. Headed by Emily Taylor, a well-known dean of women from the University of Kansas, the ACE office was dedicated to promoting women as college presidents—and was stunningly successful; their numbers increased fourfold in thirty years. Other national educational associations also played a part: The American Association of University Women and the Association of American Colleges and Universities, along with many ad hoc groups, cooperated to articulate and advocate for women students, staff, and faculty through lobbying, conferences, scholarships, and publications.

The women who arrived on campus—whether as students, as staff, or as faculty—were quick to demand that the education they were receiving, the policies they were enforcing, and the research and teaching they were conducting be relevant to women. These demands led to the development of courses, essays, and books. Two early collections provided material to teach in these classes and documented the need for the kind of scholarly research that would become the discipline of women's studies over the next three decades. The first of these books, *Sisterhood Is Powerful: An Anthology of Writings from the Women's Liberation Movement* (1970), edited by Robin Morgan, was the first comprehensive collection of writings from the women's liberation movement that helped fuel political activities on campus. The second, *Woman in Sexist Society: Studies in Power and Powerlessness* (1971), edited by Vivian Gornik and Barbara Moran, was the first collection of interdisciplinary scholarly essays to investigate the cultural construction of women's lives.

Building the Scholarly Foundations of an Interdisciplinary Field

Marilyn Boxer begins her comprehensive history of the women's studies movement, *When Women Ask the Questions: Creating Women's Studies in America* (1998), with the observation that "Women's Studies in higher education grew out of advocacy for and inquiry about women, and the experiences of the women who collectively built a new academic field."

The women's liberation movement energized and directed many of the women who entered higher education in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Their political arena was the college campus. As the number of women increased, their relative lack of power and authority underscored their outsider status, whether as newcomers to previously all-male institutions or as minorities in historically coeducational institutions. The central insight of the women's liberation movement—that women were marginal, without substantial or sustained influence in the majority of America's institutions—was readily apparent in academic settings.

The changes these early feminist scholars sought were vast, morally grounded, and achieved largely through persuasion. From campus to campus, women went about organizing to achieve their goals. The story of the first women's studies program, at San Diego State University, offers one example. As Boxer relates the story, a group of twenty women—faculty, students, staff, and community—had formed a committee and lobbied the administration (successfully) for new courses on women for the fall term in 1969. *Newsweek*'s issue of October 26, 1969, called these new courses "one of the hottest new wrinkles in higher education," citing the large enrollment in Lois Kessler's class at San Diego State. That same year, her colleague Sheila Tobias collected syllabi for women's studies classes and published them as *Female Studies I,* the first of a series that became a founding women's studies classic. In the 1970–1971 academic year, Cornell University launched what appears to have been the second women's studies program in the nation.

Over the next three decades, the numbers of courses and programs grew exponentially. In public research universities, pressure often came from the graduate students who were pursuing research on women. In smaller private colleges, women's studies frequently began when faculty sought to teach a most comprehensive liberal arts curriculum. Foundation grants to further the transition to coeducation became the vehicle by which women's studies was introduced in many formerly all-male colleges. Private research universities were sometimes slower to launch full-scale women's studies programs, relying instead on the courses on women taught by junior women faculty within already-existing disciplines. Whatever the setting, students brought the women's liberation movement to campuses and advocated for the new scholarship.

The response of administrations to these pressures varied. In some cases, deans, provosts, and presidents responded readily to the call for inclusion of this new scholarship, prodded as they were by the growth of the research literature (see below). In most cases, a small and dedicated group of campus women had to lobby year after year for the resources to teach a course, for cooperation from other departments to offer courses that would build toward a women's studies certificate, a minor, or a major, and for the administrative infrastructure to organize collateral activities such as lectures and discussion groups. The setup and funding of women's studies units was thus a politically fraught activity. The subject matter was new, the advocates usually held marginal positions, and what was being taught and researched directly challenged the status quo. Nonetheless, from some 200 programs of women's studies in the 1970s, the number has risen to over 700 in the last thirty years.

Although the origins and strategies of the women's studies movement were campus based, nationally the feminist scholars who led the women's studies movement clustered around common goals. *Feminist Scholarship: Kindling in the Groves of Academe,* edited by Ellen Dubois et. al. (1985), illustrates an early stage of goal articulation. Five authors, each an expert in her field, collaborated on this book project. First, they described how the scholars who were creating feminist scholarship and teaching in women's studies programs straddled a complex divide. Trained in and rewarded by departmental structures that reflected historic disciplinary mores, these scholars were reaching beyond their training in terms of subject matter, methodology, and pedagogy in order to investigate women's experiences, past and present. A thorough investigation required that they leave traditional disciplinary boundaries and become interdisciplinary; but to become thoroughly interdisciplinary carried risks for their professional development. Women's studies leaders adopted the strategy of naming the politics of this situation and demanding responsiveness from institutions.

Second, the authors described the emergent research in women's studies. They characterized it as documenting the existence and origins of women's oppression, ideologically and psychologically, and investigating the instances of women's agency. All feminist scholarship, whether historical or contemporary, whether in the social sciences or the humanities, whether highly theoretical or grounded in empirical observations, has revolved around these two poles of discrimination and liberation. Placing the study of women and gender systems into a matrix of other identity variables such as race, nationality, class, sexuality, age, and ability has brought more adherents—and complexities—to the field. Because this women's studies subject matter has such direct relevance to students' lives, teaching methods in the field had to evolve in order to accommodate sometimes intense personal reactions to the topics under discussion.

Positive student response increased the legitimacy and popularity of women's studies. Florence Howe, one of the early pioneers in women's studies, claimed in "Toward Women's Studies in the Eighties: Part l" (Fall 1979) that the field was the quintessential liberal arts subject because (1) it was interdisciplinary and unifying; (2) it taught skills in critical analysis; (3) it

CONSTITUTION OF THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S STUDIES ASSOCIATION
FOUNDING PREAMBLE (1977 [1982])

The National Women's Studies Association (NWSA) is an organization that supports and promotes feminist teaching, learning, research, and professional and community service at the pre-K through post-secondary levels and serves as a locus of information about the interdisciplinary field of Women's Studies for those outside the profession.

The National Women's Studies Association was formed in 1977 to further the social, political, and professional development of Women's Studies throughout the country and the world, at every educational level and in every educational setting. To this end, this organization is committed to being a forum conducive to dialogue and collective action among women dedicated to feminist education and change.

Women's Studies owes its existence to the movement for the liberation of women; the feminist movement exists because women are oppressed. Women's Studies, diverse as its components are, has at its best shared a vision of a world free from sexism and racism. Freedom from sexism by necessity must include a commitment to freedom from national chauvinism, class and ethnic bias, anti-Semitism, as directed against both Ar abs and Jews; ageism; heterosexual bias—from all the ideologies and institutions that have consciously or unconsciously oppressed and exploited some for the advantage of others. The development of Women's Studies in the past decade, the remarkable proliferation of programs that necessitated this Association, is a history of creative struggle to evolve knowledge, theory, pedagogy, and organizational models appropriate to that vision.

Women's Studies is the educational strategy of a breakthrough in consciousness and knowledge. The uniqueness of Women's Studies has been and remains its refusal to accept sterile divisions between academy and community, between the growth of the mind and the health of the body, between intellect and passion, between the individual and society.

Women's Studies, then, is equipping women not only to enter society as whole, as productive human beings, but to transform the world to one that will be free of all oppression. This Constitution reaffirms that commitment. Ratified 1982.

The 1977 founding Preamble, with some changes in 1982, has introduced every NWSA Constitution. Although the constitution and the way it articulates NWSA's Mission have undergone revision, most recently in 1988, the historical Preamble marks the point of origin.

Source: National Women's Studies Association. http://www.nwsa.org/constitution.htm.

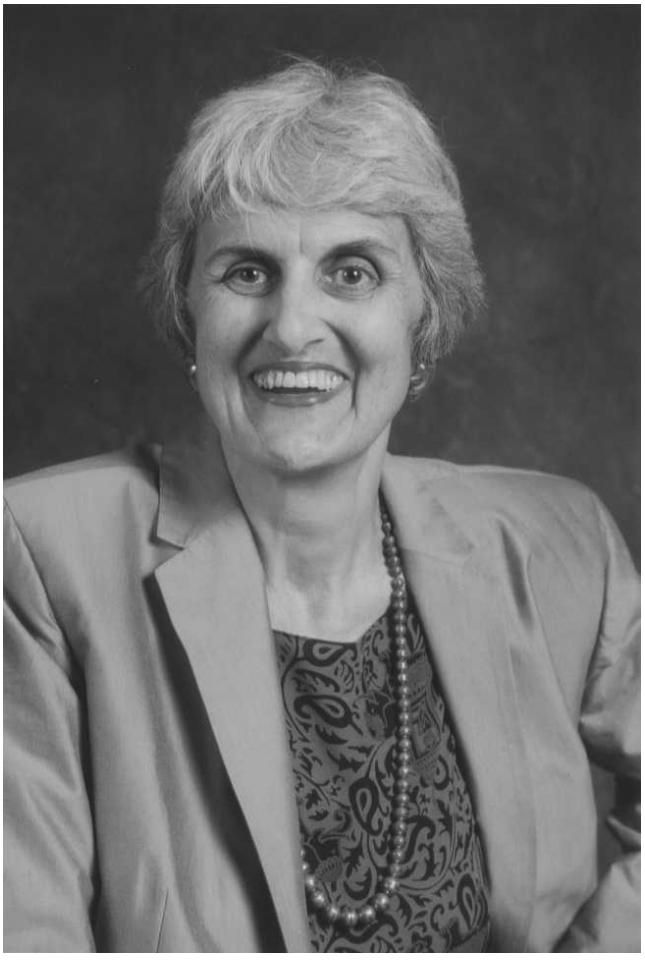
assumed a problem-solving stance; (4) it clarified the issues of value judgment in education; and (5) it promoted socially useful ends. Arguments like Howe's grounded the women's studies endeavor in established values and simultaneously claimed that women's studies took those values further than other fields. This strategy often proved persuasive to faculty colleagues, administrators, and parents, who were impressed with student enthusiasm despite their caution about the novelty of this field of study.

Women's studies scholars continue to do battle for their subject matter, their means of researching it, and their practices of conveying it to the next generation of scholars. This is not to say that the process of change has been negligible. It has been, for both supporters and detractors, enormous. Rather, it is to acknowledge the essentially conservative nature of American higher education and its practitioners.

Ellen Messer-Davidow's analysis in *Disciplining Feminism: From Social Activism to Academic Discourse* (2002) follows the women's studies movement further. She demonstrates how women's studies, begun in the women's liberation movement, initially defied institutional structures in making its claims for change. She goes on to show that its very success in being institutionalized into departments with tenure lines has altered its goals and reshaped its claims for change in the wider, conservative political climate of the early twenty-first century.

CREATING THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE PROFESSION

National networks consisting of organizations, scholarly journals and books, and faculty exchanges for speaking engagements and administrative reviews encouraged the women's studies movement on campuses throughout the United States. One of these networks, the National Women's Studies Association (NWSA), was formed in 1977. Its history highlights both the innovation to be found in women's studies and the controversies that surrounded it. Prior to its beginning, women's studies faculty had created re-



In 1975, scholar Catherine Stimpson helped found the pioneering feminist publication *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society.* *(Photo provided by Catherine Stimpson)*

gional associations such as the Southeastern Women's Studies Association and the Great Lakes College Association's subgroup on women's studies. But unlike these and other professional associations, the NWSA has always included both scholars and activists. The agendas of these two groups of people often diverged, with scholars seeking to institutionalize women's studies on campuses and activists pushing for political agendas that addressed a wider range of women's needs. The organizational structure of NWSA reflects this dual focus of its constituency: membership (for individuals and organizations) and voting rights are channeled through both identity groups and professional positions. The organization's national meetings, which attract some 2,000 participants, have been sites for both networking across the academic-community divide and contesting control of the association. With the development of the Ph.D. in Women's Studies on campuses in the late 1990s and early 2000s, the absence of a strictly professional academic association to set standards, provide scholarly conference venues, and advocate for the field remains a contentious issue.

A second scholarly association was founded in 1981, the National Council for Research on Women (NCRW). Originally, this association consisted only of research institutes, either campus based (like the Wellesley Center for Research on Women) or free-standing (such as the National Organization for Women's Legal Defense Fund), and it worked primarily in the policy arena. Over its twenty-year history, however, NCRW has expanded its mission in at least three ways. It has come to include a wider range of organizations devoted to development and application of research on women and girls (Girls, INC.). It has increased its membership to over 100, including women's studies programs that have research components. And it has issued publications (for instance, reports on women and science), developed policy circles of corporate women, and held annual conferences with a global focus. There is some overlap in membership between NWSA and NCRW, and occasionally the leaders have held discussions about the possibilities of closer coalition activity. However, given their differences in membership, goals, and strategies, these two primary organizations in the field of women's studies have remained distinct.

The women's studies movement created and was nurtured by scholarly journals, both interdisciplinary and discipline-based. The primary interdisciplinary journals have distinct origins. Conceptualized in 1969 and first published in 1973, *Feminist Studies* emerged from the work of scholars involved in the women's liberation movement. Some thirty years later, under the editorship of Claire Moses of the University of Maryland, it continues to follow a tradition of collective editorship for the publication of scholarly articles. *Frontiers* and *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* both began publishing in 1975. *Frontiers,* run independently by a collective of scholars and initially based at the University of Colorado, attempted to bridge the gap between academic and community women. *Signs* developed at the University of Chicago Press, where managing editor, Jean Sacks, sensing the evolution of the field of feminist scholarship, asked Catharine Stimpson of Barnard College to assemble an editorial board to launch the journal. African-American women scholars Patricia Bell-Scott, Beverly Guy-Sheftall, and Ruby Sales began publishing *Sage:*

bell hooks (1952–)

Born Gloria Jean Watkins in Hopkinsville, Kentucky, on September 25, 1952, bell hooks adopted the pseudonym both in honor of her great-grandmother and in an effort to re-create and reclaim her identity. As a poet and writer, the decision to shirk capitalization was meant to remove attention from herself as author and to shift it, instead, to the ideas within the text itself. To hooks, her ideas override her personal identity. She engaged in undergraduate work in English at Stanford University in the mid-1970s, where she earned her B.A. in 1973; received her master's degree from the University of Wisconsin in 1976, and continued her doctoral research at the University of California at Santa Cruz, where she earned her Ph.D. in 1983. Her dissertation examined the work of American author Toni Morrison. Since that time, she has held academic positions at Yale University (as Professor of English), Oberlin College (1988–1993, as Professor of English and Women's Studies), the City University of New York (1994–2001, as Distinguished Professor of English), and is currently a Brown Visiting Scholar in Feminist Studies at Southwestern University.

hooks began work on her first book, *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism* (1981), during her undergraduate years, and it was named one of the "twenty most influential women's books of the last twenty years" by *Publishers Weekly* in 1992. Her second book, *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center* (1984), followed shortly thereafter. These early works set the stage for what would become the overarching paradigms of her imminent work: a focus on black feminist theory, the "white supremacist capitalist patriarchy," and accessibility to readers of all walks of life. The speed with which her ideas reached print foreshadowed hooks's future as a prolific writer, poet, feminist, theorist, and cultural critic.

The numerous books and articles that followed, including, but not limited to, *Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics* (1990), which won an American Book Award in 1991, *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom* (1994), and her most recent *Communion: The Female Search for Love* (2002), examined topics ranging from cultural criticism, pedagogy, and healing, as well as issues of sexuality, families, and communities—all with a feminist perspective and with particular emphasis paid to black politics and culture. Common to all of hooks's works has been a challenge to her readers to consider the linkages between race, class, gender, education, and popular media as fundamentally connected to the ways in which society has been and continues to be structured. In so doing, she asks her readers to address their own roles in perpetuating existing societal forms of oppression, privilege, and power. She particularly emphasizes the need to read all texts with a "critical eye."

Today, hooks continues to actively write; in addition to her multiple books, she has written children's stories, innumerable poems, memoirs, essays, and articles for publications such as *Essence, Z magazine, Artforum, Postmodern Culture,* and the *Black American Literature Forum.* Challenging and disrupting prevailing notions of feminism, the women's movement, antiracist movements, educational institutions, and popular culture, bell hooks will undoubtedly continue the push for dialogue on oppression and domination, and for real social change.

Candis Steenbergen

A Scholarly Journal on Black Women at the Women's Research and Resource Center at Spelman College in 1984. The NWSA launched its own scholarly publication, *The NWSA Journal,* in 1988. These journals inspired the work of many scholars, including bell hooks, whose myriad books, articles, and poems have explored the intersection of gender, race, sexuality, and culture.

By the 1980s, every professional field had begun to publish a journal devoted to research on women, gender, and feminism. Examples number nearly 100 and include *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies, Journal of Women's History, Psychology of Women Quarterly,* and *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research.* Simultaneously, community-based journals on women like *Conditions: A Magazine of Writing with an Emphasis on Writing by Lesbians* as well as popular magazines like *Ms.* produced additional material that fed the women's studies movement.

University presses as well as trade publishers like Beacon quickly recognized the developing market for women's studies and developed lists for feminist scholarship. Press catalogs, sections in bookstores, and online ordering houses all attest to the thousands of titles published annually. One monthly newspaper, *The Women's Review of Books,* is dedicated to the review of books on or of special interest to women, and the substantial book review sections of most academic journals also indicate the importance of these kinds of titles in contemporary scholarship.

Feminist activists and scholars have come together in classes, in publications, and in organizations for more than thirty years to promote the study of women, gender, and feminism—all in the face of countervailing pressures to remain within the established canon of texts and interpretations and inside the dominant organizational frameworks. That the movement has succeeded is due primarily to the persuasion (and persuasiveness) of its advocates, the merit of its arguments, and the success of its human and scholarly products.

Jean Fox O'Barr

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Women's Liberation Movement
1965–1975

The women's liberation movement refers to the development of a political self-consciousness among women beginning in the late 1960s. The movement was characterized by its critique of sexual discrimination as well as by its challenge to traditional gender roles and social attitudes that denied women opportunities in both the wider society and personal relationships with men. Arguing that sex was the primary source of their oppression, women's liberationists challenged the inequalities that prevailed in the family, as well as the sexism that existed in legal, economic, and social institutions, which were causes championed by "women's rights" activists.

Historical Context

Like all social movements, women's liberation did not emerge in a vacuum but was shaped by political, social, and economic developments. The modern civil rights movement that was propelled to the nation's center stage in the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court *Brown v. Board of Education* decision and in the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott signaled that previously marginalized groups were challenging their peripheral status. For women, the signs were less dramatic but no less significant.

Although the women's liberation movement highlighted the inequities in women's personal lives, the political and ideological groundwork that created a receptive environment for such challenges to society's views of women was laid by women who focused on women's institutional oppression. In 1963, John F. Kennedy's Presidential Commission on the Status of Women, made up of women from various organizational backgrounds, reported that women were discriminated against in almost every area of life, from career mobility to divorce laws. Indeed, the very existence of the commission symbolized how women in the postwar period were increasingly mobilizing around a whole host of issues, including gaining a greater voice in unions, religious groups, and political organization.

As the commission laid part of the foundation for the emergence of the women's liberation movement, the ideological base was prepared partially by Betty Friedan in her groundbreaking book, *The Feminine Mystique* (1963). She argued that women were oppressed by a pervasive ideology that glorified domesticity as women's ultimate fulfillment; this idea was promoted heavily in women's magazines and in popularized psychological literature. Contending that housewifery and motherhood stunted women, Friedan challenged women to find additional aspirations such as outside employment and higher education. Although Friedan's book provided an analysis of the circumstances many white middle-class women faced, the conditions she described had already begun to change. In fact, married women's employment had been steadily rising in the postwar era, suggesting that the feminine mystique was not embraced universally. Friedan's descriptions notwithstanding, women received mixed signals about their proper place in American society, which prepared the way for accepting an all-out assault on traditional views of women.

The passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act further contributed to a political climate in which women could contest their exclusion and their oppression. This legislation included Title VII, which prohibited discrimination on the basis of race, religion, creed, national origin, and, significantly, sex. The Johnson administration's priority was eliminating racial discrimination and not sex discrimination, but the law established the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to enforce the provisions of the act; the failure of the EEOC to address sexual discrimination seriously prompted predominantly professional women to form the National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1966.

Pioneering feminist Betty Friedan sits on a couch beside two of her influential works, *The Feminist Mystique* and *It Changed My Life: Writings on the Women's Movement.* *(The Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University)*

Together, these developments set the stage for the emergence of the women's liberation movement toward the end of the 1960s.

ORIGINS

The most important influences in the creation of the women's liberation movement were the social movements that preceded and later coexisted alongside it, namely, the civil rights movement, the New Left, and the Vietnam antiwar movement. All of these movements put forth a critique of and demanded fundamental change for American society. Female and male activists condemned American society for failing to live up to its rhetoric of freedom and democracy. Although some activists hoped to reform the system through existing channels, others were more disillusioned with a country they viewed as greedy, empty, and corrupt.

The civil rights movement served multiple functions for subsequent social movements—it was a training ground for future activists and a source of ideologies, tactics, and strategies. For future women's liberationists, the black movement was both a model for change and a microcosm of the problems that needed their attention. Motivated by a sense of justice, self-determination, and, for some, a calling to transform their country into a genuine democracy, black and white women participated in the struggle as sitters-in, freedom riders, picketers, and boycotters among a host of other roles. They soon realized, however, that their movement's rhetoric in support of democracy, freedom, and self-determination often fell short of the reality where women activists were concerned. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the organization at the forefront of introducing new tactics and ideologies in the movement, was particularly insensitive to its female members.

In response, several SNCC women wrote position papers in 1964 and 1965, drawing parallels between the treatment of blacks in society and the treatment of women in the civil rights movement. They charged that women often performed clerical jobs and were excluded from leadership positions—this in an organization that not only struggled for black equality, but promised equality to its own activists. Male SNCC activists replied that sexual discrimination was a minor issue and an unnecessary diversion from the more important issue of racial oppression. SNCC was vulnerable to attack precisely because it held itself up as the model for real democracy.

The New Left was similarly guilty of failing to live up to its promises of inclusion. Modeled after SNCC, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) experimented with prefigurative politics, which is the principle that your organization and your processes should be models for the type of society you are trying to create. For SDS, that meant an egalitarian, democratic, and meaningful experience, dedicated to improving their own lives and the lives of others, including southern blacks and the inner-city poor. As some women of SNCC discovered, some SDS women felt marginalized by a group that imitated the broader society's gender stereotypes. This was manifested in women often being relegated to the most menial office tasks while the men of SDS were the spokespeople, the ideologues, and the leaders.

Initially, most women members of SNCC and SDS

believed that there was room in their groups to address the concerns they raised—it was now time to broaden the agendas to include women's oppression alongside that of African Americans, draft-age men, and the Vietnamese. When women tried to transform the movements in which they were initially active, they were usually met with resistance, prompting some women to form an independent women's movement.

Several events solidified this decision. One such event was the trend that was developing in the black and white movements in which only members of the oppressed group could participate in their own liberation. Hence, by 1966, the radical branch of the black movement rejected integrationism and embraced black nationalism. Similarly, beginning in 1967, the white male Left concentrated on undermining, through draft resistance, the source of their oppression, the Selective Service System. Women in the black movement, the male Left, and the Vietnam antiwar movement realized that they had been struggling for the liberation of others while being denied the legitimacy of their own oppression.

When women raised the issue of their secondary status in the movement, they were derided and humiliated. A case in point: when SDS women demanded that a statement on women's liberation be included in the organization's official paper, *New Left Notes*, SDS men finally relented. The statement, however, appeared next to a cartoon of a girl in a polka dot dress with visible matching underwear, holding a sign demanding women's rights. SDS men tolerated women's liberation at best, but at worst, they demeaned women, trivializing and infantilizing them and diminishing the importance of their demands. Further evidence of women's marginalization occurred at the 1967 National Conference for New Politics (NCNP). Activists from various struggles met to develop a more cohesive strategy on black rights, the Vietnam War, and other issues. After black delegates had petitioned successfully for greater representation on committees, white female activists attempted the same tactic. White male conference leaders, however, dismissed women's demands.

Organizations

Nineteen sixty-seven was a watershed year for women's liberation. The movement took several forms: Either women formed women's groups within larger organizations, the preferred method for politicos, who remained connected to, but independent from, the male-dominated movement; or women either broke from the male Left altogether or were never a part of it, characteristics of radical feminists. While radical feminists created a separate movement and did not cooperate with male activists, politicos pursued both women's liberation and other causes such as civil rights, and anticapitalist and antiwar work.

Small-scale women's liberation groups began proliferating through 1967. Involving many veterans of other social movements, groups such as New York Radical Women (NYRW) and Westside Group in Chicago were the first to form. Many of the earliest collectives lasted only a short time, only to dissolve and re-form with new members and new names. New York Radical Women, for example, dissolved in 1969, but New York Radical Feminists, which functioned until 1972, replaced it. These groups were primarily radical feminist in orientation while groups such as Bread and Roses in Boston, operating from 1969 until 1973, and D.C. Women's Liberation, operating from 1968 until 1971, were political.

The first formal and large-scale conference of women's liberationists occurred in Sandy Springs, Maryland, in 1968. The meeting included twenty-two women from women's liberation groups active across the country. Although the conference exposed much contention, particularly over the issues of race, class, and ideology, it also provided an opportunity for women radicals to meet independently from men at a more national level.

Ideologies and Tactics

An outstanding feature of the women's liberation movement was how its ideologies were tightly connected to its tactics; that is, the process of doing something was as important as what was being done. While some ideologies were inherited, others were created using small intimate groups, or consciousness-raising, which became a defining aspect of the movement.

Women's liberationists who were veterans of other causes inherited the commitment to radical change, to self-determination, and to other tenets of the movements in which they had participated. Indeed, they created their own independent movement because of the inability of men in the other struggles to apply those ideologies to women. Women's liberation, then, represented an ideological hybrid by combining the "old" ideas of previous social movements with "new" ideas stemming from the shortcomings of the old approaches and those that developed from methods pioneered by women's liberationists themselves.

Intellectual Foundations

Despite women's liberationists' frustration with the male Left, many of them shared its anticapitalist, antiracist, and anti-imperialist position. Women's liberationists, however, saw the primary source of oppression as gender-based, while acknowledging that women were affected by other forms of oppression.

One of the early influential articles was "Toward a Female Liberation Movement" also known as the "Florida Paper," written by two Gainesville activists, Beverly Jones and Judith Brown, and published in 1971. The Florida Paper put women's oppression front and center and advocated for a separatist strategy in which women would be completely independent from men.

Shulamith Firestone became one of the movement's most visible intellectuals with the publication of her 1970 book, *The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution*. Warning against any cooperation with the Left, she urged women to put themselves first in an independent movement that sought to liberate women from patriarchy. She also considered the role that biology, sexuality, psychology, and cultural influences played in women's oppression. A member of the NYRW and other groups, Firestone honed her analyses in discussions with other women.

Women's liberation began as a diffuse movement of radical women connected by previously established contacts and by mail. The movement snowballed once women such as Jones and Brown wrote about their experiences in other movements and in society. Sue Munaker, for instance, a veteran of the draft resistance movement in Berkeley, wrote "A Call for Women's Liberation" in 1968, in which she articulated the marginalization women felt in a male-dominated movement. Her article was then distributed among women in other cities, prompting the creation of women's liberation groups there.

Such pieces literally spread the word, giving radical women the sense that their experiences were not isolated, but that they represented a general pattern of mistreatment and discontent. These early writers served as the foundation of communication for the emerging movement, linking thousands of women together. Lacking national organizations and leaders, this movement relied on such informal contacts and networks. This fact not only revealed that women were excluded from more formal avenues of communication, but also demonstrated the extent to which this movement was a decentralized grassroots movement.

The anthologies that resulted from the exchanges and communication were testament to women's growing politicization. While books such as Robin Morgan's 1970 *Sisterhood Is Powerful*, Kate Millet's 1970 *Sexual Politics*, and Anne Koedt, Ellen Levine, and Anita Rapone's 1973 *Radical Feminism* represented a broad spectrum of political views on women and by women, their very existence was in itself a political act. The publication of such anthologies challenged assumptions about women's ability to organize themselves and to develop skills and ideologies.

Once word spread via these books and articles, women around the country began talking to other women about their experiences at work, in their families, and in society. They soon began organizing informal meetings, or consciousness-raising groups, usually of about ten to twelve women. Women wanted to create an environment where women's oppression and liberation were accorded the same, if not more, seriousness than those of other groups. To do so, they pioneered in the development of new tactics that allowed women to voice their concerns openly, free from male derision. Consciousness-raising allowed women to speak on issues that they once believed were unimportant or too personal, such as housework, sexuality, marriage, family, and children. Discussions also covered workforce issues, gender stereotypes, and depictions of women in popular culture, among innumerable other topics. Women gained confidence as they spoke, many for the first time in any type of public way. As they did so, they realized that many other women shared their interests, fears, and concerns. This enabled some women to understand that what had previously been thought to be personal, or an isolated experience, was actually more widespread and had political dimensions. Women's oppression was found to have broader systematic causes and ramifications, requiring a grassroots search for solutions.

One such solution was to contest media images of women as sexual objects. In 1968, the media were beginning to cover the women's liberation movement. Americans outside the movement were first exposed to it with the 1968 Miss America pageant. Protesting the sexual objectification and commercial exploitation of women, a group of 100 women's liberationists organized a counter-pageant in Atlantic City, outside the official pageant venue. They crowned a live sheep Miss America, drawing parallels between how women and animals were judged. Participants also

tossed objects representative of women's oppression such as *Playboy* magazine, *Ladies Home Journal,* and high-heeled shoes into a "Freedom Trash Can." For the first time, Americans saw one side, albeit a skewed view presented by the media, of a multifaceted movement that challenged society's fundamental assumptions about women.

Institutions

Although some women's liberationists criticized the excessive use of consciousness-raising as overly individualistic, the issues raised in these sessions and in creative protests became the social, political, and economic goals of the movement. Because the movement was so decentralized and organized, quite literally, out of participants' living rooms, it encompassed a broad range of issues. Once women became politicized in consciousness-raising sessions, they often turned to more outward activism.

Because the women's liberation movement challenged society's sexism and its institutional manifestations, one of its goals became the establishment of alternative institutions. Women formed their own health collectives to counter the treatment they had received by male physicians; they created female-centered bookstores, theater groups, and radio programs.

Women inside the movement realized the benefits of female institutions. However, they wanted to reach women who would never read newsletters that were circulated in small groups. To address this issue, women established a more formal media outlet that women controlled to spread feminist writings. In 1972, *Ms.* magazine was born. The brainchild of Gloria Steinem, *Ms.* sought to introduce the ideas of the new feminist movement to a broader constituency. With a circulation in the hundreds of thousands, the magazine pioneered in covering contentious issues such as rape, domestic violence, child abuse, and abortion.

Goals

From these female-focused institutions arose a feminist political challenge to women's social, legal, and political oppression. Abortion, in particular, became a feminist issue once women learned about how their own bodies functioned, prompting them to reassess their position regarding how decisions were made about medical treatment and how women were treated by the medical establishment. The 1970 publication of *Women and Their Bodies* (later *Our Bodies, Ourselves*) by a Boston feminist group contributed to a growing awareness about women's health issues and to the politicization of these issues. Feminists began demanding more information about pregnancy, medication, and the birthing procedures, raising issues related to birth control, fertility, sexuality, and, finally, abortion. Although abortion laws had been liberalized in the 1960s, women wanted unrestricted access to abortion and wanted to remove the decision-making aspects of it from the medical establishment. Although falling short of feminist demands, the breakthrough on abortion came in the 1973 Supreme Court decision, *Roe v. Wade*, which declared that women's right to privacy included the right to terminate a pregnancy.

While both radical and liberal feminists made abortion a public issue, other issues related to women's bodies were raised. Previously private issues such as rape and domestic violence were now catapulted onto the national political agenda. Feminists succeeded in changing how rapes were investigated and prosecuted; for example, eliminating the required third-party corroboration for a rape victim's story inasmuch as most rapes were not witnessed by a third party. Women's groups also pressured various levels of governments to establish shelters for victims of domestic violence and to fund family violence prevention programs.

Feminists from both the liberal and radical branches were responsible for successfully raising public awareness about women's issues. As the radical branch became mired in factionalism, especially over the issues of race, class, and sexual orientation, many radicals found common cause with the liberals and cooperated on many issues, including abortion rights.

Divisions

Once the euphoria of the early women's movement began to wane, differences among women that had been obscured resurfaced. By 1970, lesbians, black women, and working-class women began challenging the contention that women could speak in a single voice of "sisterhood." While some veteran women's liberationists reacted defensively, charging that such critiques were the actions of outside saboteurs who wished to derail the women's movement, it eventually became obvious that differences needed to be addressed.

Early women's liberationists had prided themselves on not re-creating the hierarchies of society and male-dominated movements, thereby allowing for all women in the movement to participate. Activists soon

realized, however, that their unwillingness to appoint spokespeople and leaders meant that others would do that for them. The media often singled out individuals like Gloria Steinem, a pro-feminist journalist, as a leader, even though she had not been known in movement circles. The devotion to anti-elitism became a divisive force when almost anybody who could contribute something as an individual was demonized for trying to attract attention to herself at the expense of the movement. This was particularly true for feminist writers such as Shulamith Firestone, who was accused of trying to profit from the movement, despite her theoretical and intellectual contributions to feminism.

Anti-elitism coupled with lesbianism created insurmountable divisions in the radical feminist movement. At the movement's inception, lesbianism was not a pressing issue. As women built alternative institutions and arrangements, however, they came into closer contact with one another, and many became involved intimately with one another. Sexuality and the power dynamic in personal relations were central to women's liberationists' critique of gender roles. Contradictorily, many straight women's liberationists viewed lesbianism as a sexual issue and not a political one. While heterosexual feminists feared that "lesbian-baiting" might discredit the movement, lesbians took them to task for failing to recognize the political dimensions of sexuality and for failing to see their unique form of oppression. In fact, lesbian feminists argued that lesbianism was the natural progression of women's liberation as it freed women completely from patriarchy in personal relationships. As the "gay–straight split" continued, lesbianism emerged as the vanguard of radical feminism, whereby how one lived one's life became as important as one's political philosophy. By 1975, lesbians dominated the movement.

The focus on lesbianism set the stage for the emergence of cultural feminism. The movement's earlier experimentation on alternative women's institutions foreshadowed cultural feminism's separatism. Cultural feminists maintained that women were essentially different from men; they were more peaceful, democratic, and superior to men. This brand of feminism encouraged women to construct female institutions based on women's values and culture. These concepts appeared escapist to many radical feminists, who believed that cultural feminism encouraged women to withdraw from society rather than fight to change it. The contention over sexual orientation and the rise of cultural feminism prompted many radical feminists to merge into the more mainstream liberal branch of feminism. In so doing, liberal feminism adopted radical positions on many feminist issues such as abortion.

Outcomes

By 1975, the radical branch of the women's movement, originally self-labeled women's liberation, had realized many of its goals. Its dedication to political self-consciousness among women was infectious. As millions of women were politicized, they raised awareness of issues that were previously deemed private or unimportant but that had profound consequences for women. Women's health issues, abortion, rape, and domestic violence became national political issues, as did those associated with liberal feminism, including equal opportunity in education and employment. Furthermore, the movement challenged society's traditionally held views about the proper place of women. Its emphasis on eliminating gender stereotypes and the objectification of women forced many Americans to rethink their views about what it meant to be male and female.

As many women and men incorporated the ideas of the women's movement into their daily lives, other Americans rejected such concepts in favor of traditional views about the family and about women and men. Just as feminists were celebrating their victories on a whole host of fronts, opponents of those victories mobilized. As part of the New Right, antifeminists promoted an agenda that sought to reverse many of the gains made by feminists of all stripes. Rejecting the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion rights, and Affirmative Action, among other issues trumpeted by the women's movement, the New Right envisioned a return to conservative American values, rooted in traditional gender roles. This movement gained momentum through the 1970s, culminating in the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980.

Natalie Atkin

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WOMEN'S MOVEMENT 1990–PRESENT

Third Wave feminism has been carried forward by young women across America in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. The women's movement, like all social movements, has mutated and transformed to meet contemporary concerns—not the least of which is to combat stereotypes about youths and feminism.

Third Wave is the current embodiment of the women's movement in the United States. Referring to waves, in the sense that there are substantial disconnects between generations of feminists, is somewhat misleading. However, the term *Third Wave* acknowledges that feminism has changed over the course of the past 150 years but still references this larger movement in American history.

Prior waves focused on specific political and legal agendas. The First Wave came at the turn of the twentieth century between the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848 and 1920 when suffragists gained the right for women to vote, and the Second Wave in the 1960s and 1970s when women were uniting to gain legal and political equality to men and to reform traditional sex roles. Both waves were marked by large, distinct activist movements. No large, distinctive activist mobilization of the Third Wave is occurring, even though a strong identity is emerging. Third Wave sets out new cultural territory for young women and critiques the work left to do from the Second Wave. Sharing an emphasis on the single status as young women and the occasional young man (those born around 1970), Third Wave constitutes a new generation of feminist politics.

The new generation of American feminists possesses a unique culture, political agenda, and set of challenges. Some of the issues include monitoring the increasing power that corporations have to set public policy agendas, sexual and reproductive freedom, the continued threat of harassment and violence against women, hate crimes based on sexual orientation and gender identity, and women's experience of multiple oppressions.

Third Wave fights misrepresentation of women in the media, works with and talks back to older generations of feminist activists, and recognizes that not much has changed in men's roles in the nearly three decades since the earlier women's movement. With a focus on sex and pleasure, popular culture, and the media, activism is more local, specific, and private. Third Wave challenges the common assumption that there are adhered-to doctrines of feminism that designate one to be a "card-carrying" member. Overall, Third Wave demonstrates that there are many ways to "do feminism" and be a feminist.

DIVERSITY

If one word were to sum up the goals of the Third Wave, it would be diversity. A central tenet of Third Wave feminism is to include women who have previously been excluded from social movements due to race, class, and sexual orientation prejudice. Because of their advantaged status in society, white middle-class (and typically married) women often dominated the activist efforts of First Wave and Second Wave; and, accordingly, race, class, and sexuality issues often fell to the side. Earlier feminists were criticized by women of color, lesbians, and working poor women for excluding issues that were specific to their needs.

Third Wave can be seen as a push against all forms of discrimination simultaneously—sexism, racism, classism, ageism, and homophobia. As a result, the diversity of feminists in the twenty-first century is being addressed and embraced. Third Wave feminists promote a vision of liberation in which there is a wide-ranging plurality rather than any single ideal or notion of a liberated woman. Liberation is seen as diversity in the options available for gender identity and sexual relations. As Third Wavers ac-

Ms. Magazine **founder Gloria Steinem (left) and National Asian Women's Health Organization leader Mary Chung (right) march in San Francisco on April 14, 1996, during a "Fight the Right" march sponsored by the National Organization for Women.** *(AP Wide World Photos)*

knowledge how they are different from each other, they join together with men to fight various systems of oppression.

Men and Feminism

One of the differences between Third Wave and Second Wave feminists is the role of men in their movements. This new wave of feminism does not fight men—but rather combats injustices based on gender. Men are not seen as the enemy or cause of all women's oppression. Still, Third Wavers demand that men's roles and attitudes change to meet women's gains.

Third Wavers also take a different approach to understanding what "women's issues" are today. Third Wavers acknowledge that feminism is about men and masculinity, too, for stereotypes about masculinity are seen as just as limiting and harmful as those about femininity.

And to be female is seen as a misnomer in terms of being a feminist requirement since more and more Third Wavers are sympathetic men. Third Wave sees that the feminist movement needs men to participate in activist causes and to assist in social change. Sex segregation and opting out of society are no longer seen as part of a utopian vision or a valid (let alone practical) solution, such as the earlier attempts at all-women artist and community collectives of the 1970s. Thus, by including men and reaching out to many different types of women, Third Wave is much broader and larger than prior women's movements.

Organizations and Activism

Third Wave feminists are the ideological descendants—and literally often the daughters—of the leaders of the 1960s and 1970s Second Wave. One of the most popular and widely recognized Third Wave organizations, the Third Wave Foundation, was founded in 1996 by Rebecca Walker, daughter of acclaimed writer Alice Walker. The New York–based Third Wave Foundation, a national not-for-profit organization, is devoted to cultivating young women's leadership and activism for women between the ages of fifteen and thirty. One of a handful of national activist organizations for young women, this philanthropic association contests inequalities that result from differences in age, race, sexual orientation, economic status, and level of education. Through grant making, Third Wave Foundation gives direct financial support to young women activists and the projects and groups they lead.

Third Wave activism takes a variety of forms. One increasingly popular event, typically held on college campuses, is the National Young Women's Day of Action (NYWDA). October 2002 marked the tenth annual National Young Women's Day of Action, a grassroots campaign organized by and for young women to raise awareness of reproductive rights that places reproductive and sexual freedom in the context of larger goals, such as racial and economic justice, accessible healthcare, an end to punitive immigration and welfare policies, freedom from violence for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered people, and greater sex education in public schools.

Third Wave organized the first National Young Women's Day of Action in 1992 to commemorate the death of Rosie Jiménez, a young college student who died because she could not afford a safe and legal abortion. She was the first woman known to have died as a result of the Hyde Amendment, a federal law that denies women federal Medicaid funding for

On January 30, 1998, Lisa Santer and Jack Ashcraft serve as abortion clinic escorts—volunteers who protect women seeking to end their pregnancies—in Birmingham, Alabama. A day earlier, anti-abortion protesters had bombed a clinic two blocks away, killing a nurse and police officer. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

abortions. Now, NYWDA provides student and community activists with the tools to raise awareness, develop coalitions, and educate and activate local communities. By teaching young activists how to write a press release, how to contact local media outlets, how to talk to reporters about feminist concerns, and how to create banners, stickers, and leaflets that generate public awareness, these activist days on college campuses every October are helping Third Wavers use savvy media techniques to get their messages across.

Third Wave Foundation and National Young Women's Day of Action are two examples of Third Wave activism, yet Third Wave lacks a unified political platform. Many young women's organizations have been established, yet there is no central membership group or activist planning committee. Third Wave, in fact, refuses a tight and tidy definition of feminist activism, claiming that the most important feminist issues are those most important to each feminist. Ironically, Third Wave feminists are resistant to being identified as a social movement.

History—Growing Up Feminist, Talking Back

Third Wave women grew up in a world shaped by the Second Wave; feminism is a given, and the idea of gender equality is taken for granted. Typically coming of age in 1983, when Sally Ride became the first American woman to travel in space, many Third Wavers have taken Women's Studies or Gender Studies courses at college and have jobs in feminist not-for-profit organizations. Feminism is now old enough that those who were raised from within look back and talk back to those who blazed the trails before them.

Young women writers and activists who came of age in the 1980s, typically college-educated and racially and sexually diverse with an increasingly global focus on issues of concern to women, called for a Third Wave of feminism in the early 1990s. This meant making a conscious break from the attitudes and ideas of the Second Wave of the 1960s and 1970s. While carrying on the unfinished business of Second Wave leaders like Gloria Steinem and Betty Friedan, Third Wave addresses problems internal to the women's movement.

Third Wave questions the Second Wave assumption that patriarchal oppression was a universal experience for all women. Different types of women have historically experienced oppression in different ways. And Third Wavers disagree with each other, and all recognize that is okay. In agreeing to disagree, Third Wave recognizes that feminism was never monolithic and that it never will be. Projects and goals that are still in progress from thirty years ago have been burdened by the difficult task of coalition building with different types of women and the historical—and often legendary—disputes between feminists. Disagreements, say Third Wavers, are productive.

Young women have begun to speak up about feeling ignored, slighted, or patronized by older feminists. Third Wavers criticize Second Wavers for implicit ageism and a condescending "We know better than you" attitude. A paternalistic assumption to know what the "real" feminism is and what "real" women's issues are only furthers stereotypes and slows political gains, claim Third Wavers like Jennifer Baumgardner and Amy Richards. Their collection of Third Wave writings, *Manifesta: Young Women, Feminism, and the Future* (2000), argues for the continued relevance of feminism in young women's lives.

Baumgardner and Richards write about the complexities of coming of age with political ideals molded by Second Wave gains, but where differences and

compromises have replaced what they see as the absolutes of the Second Wave. The Second Wave slogans such as "I am woman, hear me roar!" and "Sisterhood is powerful"—slogans put forward primarily by middle-class, white, and heterosexual women—have been reformulated to a notion of "girl power." Third Wave feminists have even changed the definition of "feminist" to be more inclusive since the emergence of gay and lesbian, transgender, and transsexual civil rights movements.

Third Wavers have incorporated the gains and lessons of the 1960s and 1970s into their own lives. Third Wavers grapple with how to combine some version of feminist politics with what Leslie Heywood and Jennifer Drake, the editors of *Third Wave Agenda: Being Feminist, Doing Feminism* (1997), call the "lived messiness" of real life: such as celebrating women's freedom to buy lingerie at high-end lingerie boutiques and devices at sex toy shops, and enjoy makeup and pornography, while also confronting eating disorders, antifeminist media images, and the stereotypical portrayals of women's sexuality by the fashion and cosmetic industries.

Body Image, Femininity, and Sexuality

Fighting unrealistic standards of beauty set by the mass media is central to Third Wave. Third Wavers are fed up with the pressure to look perfect and wear a size six. The first two waves of feminism focused on clearly defined political and economic gains in relation to men's status, such as to vote, own property, divorce, and inherit money, at the turn of the twentieth century, and then, for reproductive rights, equal pay for equal work, and freedom from sexual harassment and rape—struggles that still continue since Second Wave. Now, Third Wave has extended the fights in the political and economic arenas to the cultural one.

Second Wave faced the difficult task of arguing that women are not naturally feminine or born feminine but are socialized to be "ladylike." Now, Third Wave recuperates and values feminine traits while also contending with new forms of oppressive and objectifying femininity. Third Wave is very concerned about the increase in cosmetic surgery among women—about breast implants, facial reconstruction, and liposuction in particular—that is perpetuating racist, classist, weight-obsessed, sexually objectifying standards of femininity. So, while Third Wave monitors the icons of femininity in popular culture like supermodels and the ascendancy of trendy quick-fixes to women's aging like Botox treatments—those that may have drastic effects on girls' body image and self-esteem—at the same time Third Wave celebrates each woman's choice to apply makeup, bare her belly in midriffs, or select plastic surgery.

And because Third Wavers are just as likely to be both pro-sex and pro-porn, they may carry trendy coin purses that contain the latest lipsticks. Often, this question of "to wear make-up" or "not to wear make-up" is trivialized as if compacts and skin care were Third Wave cause celebres. While lipstick, according to Third Wave, is not seen as a feminist issue, the ability to freely choose to wear it for one's own pleasure is. Ultimately, Third Wave advocates the need to be comfortable and happy with one's appearance and to affirm that every woman has the right to wear what she wants without an assumption of behavior or personality.

Grown-Ups and Girlie Culture

At the same time Third Wave says "bye-bye" to the beauty standards set by Mattel's Barbie doll, they are embracing once outrageous epithets. Even though Second Wavers fought against calling women "girls," Third Wavers willingly use this once-nasty word to name themselves for fun.

Grrrl. It is a word that describes a no-nonsense young woman who, with a smirk and sense of pride, can tackle all that comes her way. Kathleen Hanna, lead singer of the punk band Bikini Kill, coined the term in the mid-1990s. It is a Third Wave reclamation of the world "girl," which is intended to recall the confident and curious, and possibly precocious, preteens that women once were before they understood the message that "proper" ladies don't break rules, investigate to go it alone, or get into trouble. Third Wave websites such as cybergrrl.com relish the term and encourage all to use it. Now, "Girl Power" refers to an expression of brazen individuality. Hype about "girl power"—that strength employed by such cultural icons as the Spice Girls, Buffy the Vampire Slayer, and the Power Puff Girls—continues to make girlie culture trendy.

Similarly, some women have reclaimed the word "bitch" to describe themselves defiantly. For example, Elizabeth Wurtzel published *Bitch: In Praise of Difficult Women* in 1998 to talk about her riot-grrrl rage, and *Bitch: Feminist Response to Popular Culture,* a magazine based out of San Francisco by Lisa Miya-Jervis and Andi Zeisler, continues to grow in national circulation.

Third Wavers take pleasure in evoking playful, flirtatious, enthusiastic femininity for personal expression and political purposes. In addition to recuperating terms typically used to put women down, Third Wave sees "girlie culture" as a style of femininity that connotes maturity and rebellion while calling to mind all-pink bedrooms with frilly curtains. Flavored lip gloss and sparkling bracelets are girlie. In other words, girliness mimics the traditional markers of American female adolescence. This style became increasingly popular in the 1990s among Third Wavers who felt alienated by the media image of feminism.

Over the years, the term *feminist* has developed a very negative meaning; it has become a dirty word. Indeed, Third Wave refers to it as the new "f-word." Some assumptions that are synonymous (even though many are erroneous) with being a feminist include man hating, lesbianism, bra burning, and not being very feminine. As a result, young women may fear being labeled feminist because of these negative implications. One Third Wave goal is to eliminate the swear-word stigma associated with being a feminist. And they are making feminism all the rage with their own savvy backtalk and media messages by using the childlike sweetness of girlie culture to combat the stereotype that feminists are hairy militants who can't put an outfit together.

Fighting Backlash

Despite three decades of feminist social movement, American mainstream popular culture is still very misinformed about what feminism is and who feminists are. And Third Wavers monitor mainstream media constantly for erroneous portrayals.

In 1991, Susan Faludi's *Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women* documented the ridicule and opposition women faced in the media in the 1980s at the height of conservative national politics. Faludi showed how TV, newspapers, advertisements, movies, and fashion trends perpetuate stereotypes about women that ultimately diminish the advances made toward gender equality. Faludi argued that the same media messages also convince women that they had already won all the rights they needed and feminism was stodgy, passé, and terminally unhip.

Backlash furthers many feminist misnomers, according to Third Wave. "Is Feminism Dead?" was the query of a *Time* magazine cover story in June 1998. The cover counterpoised a photo of the TV character Ally McBeal against pictures of Susan B. Anthony, Betty Friedan, and Gloria Steinem. As if a fictional character could somehow represent all young American women, Third Wave began a large-scale critique of many more similar images: a TV sitcom vision of apathetic and selfish thirtysomethings that only want to be sexy, sassy, and successful.

Third Wavers disparage these sitcoms and paperbacks-turned-movies such as *Bridget Jones's Diary* (which hit bookstores in 1998 and theaters in 2001) because they rely on seemingly strong young women professionals as main characters, but these characters are ultimately self-absorbed and obsessed with the eternal hunt for a man and a sex life. These media stereotypes, Third Wavers argue, also pretend that work and love—or career and family—are still mutually exclusive for modern women.

Another contentious example of backlash against young women's efforts, argues Third Wave, is simply naming the current era "post-feminist," which implies that women are in a utopia of equality where feminism isn't necessary. Defining the millennium as post-feminist encourages young women to remain unconcerned with feminism if they haven't felt personally disadvantaged or discounted, warns Third Wave. As a result, many young women will agree with feminist issues—and expect equality in employment, healthcare, and access to public institutions, and feel free to run for political office or to express themselves sexually and artistically—but do not identify with the feminist label. This is referred to as the "I'm not a feminist, but" problem: or the refusal of many young women to identify with feminism.

Third Wave feminism proclaims that the movement is not dead, Americans are not in a post-feminist utopia, and women are not satisfied. Ultimately, Third Wavers lament the general taken-for-grantedness of young women who are apathetic about securing greater rights and freedoms for women. Third Wavers constantly work to attack this lack of feminist self-identification while reaching out to more young women who agree with their issues without identifying these issues as "feminist."

Groups such as The Guerrilla Girls, women artists anonymously attempting since 1985 to improve the general outlook on feminism through parodies, humor, printed projects, and sometimes defacing mainstream media, fight backlash and expose sexism and racism in the art world and the culture at large. In order to draw attention away from their individual personalities so that onlookers cannot define them only as women or as "feminists," they wear gorilla masks during their performances and appearances.

Media backlash has galvanized Third Wave to attack misrepresentations of feminists and young women in the mainstream media. Since the social and political climate is different from three decades ago, Third Wave uses different strategies. They are taking the media into their own hands and are creating their own.

A Media of One's Own

New York– and San Francisco–based and popular culture–oriented, the largest membership base of Third Wave is media-wielding thirtysomethings—many who work in the media as magazine writers and online journalists. Typically attending college during the televised Clarence Thomas–Anita Hill sexual harassment hearings in 1991 and later contributing strong opinions to the media hype around Monica Lewinsky and President Bill Clinton in the late 1990s, Third Wavers have set out to make media of their own.

Third Wave has focused attacks on popular culture to effect social change. Confronting mass media as very visible, big business, and patriarchal, Third Wavers are reformulating political protest. Political expression often takes the form of a "zine," a website, punk music, or all-women music festivals, independently produced documentary videos, or a performance art piece. Third Wavers create and distribute subversive feminist messages in order to counteract images deemed insulting or derogatory.

In homespun popular culture, Third Wavers work to ensure that the complexity of women's experiences is represented and that young women everywhere are aware of their rights. The Guerrilla Girls use witty and sarcastic graphics to mock inequalities in the professional art and media industries. Musician activists like Tori Amos and Ani Difranco combine reproductive rights and antiviolence campaigns with their song lyrics. Magazines like *Bitch* and *BUST* (billed by New York City's Lower East Side creators Debbie Stoller and Marcelle Karp as "a magazine for women with something to get off their chests") are widely distributed outlets for young women's anger and promote a healthier self-image for women. On a smaller scale, zines are edgy, grassroots magazines. Distributed in print or online versions, zines share conversations between women and girls of all different races, ethnicities, nationalities, sexualities, and lifestyles, hash out disagreements between feminists, and discuss current controversies in women's and girls' lives.

While broadening the issues and definitions of feminism, Third Wave makes feminist issues and ideas more accessible to the public and to more women. Crafting popular cultural messages and disseminating them over listservs extends the political activism from the 1960s into today's era of high-speed global telecommunications and the Internet. Although feminism could not continue to be popularized without addressing whatever popular culture controversies emerge around women and gender, that is not to say that Third Wave is successful as a social movement.

A Movement?

Third Wave has accomplished a collective character based on different individual attitudes and styles. The movement is diffuse. It cannot be criticized as disorganized (a common criticism of social movements) because Third Wave hasn't necessarily attempted to organize or represent those who agree with them on feminist issues. Still, Third Wave may be too diverse for its own good. Third Wave insists that it exists, yet it seems to be lots of young women and no one. Third Wave incorporates all young women's concerns as feminist issues while refusing a singular definition of feminism itself.

Despite the difficulty of overcoming mainstream media stereotypes about youths and feminism, young women who might otherwise get behind Third Wave issues have no large activist body to join. Without membership drives to large national organizations, Third Wave is not recognizable as collective action. Third Wave does not look like the Second or First Waves because it does not have a unifying political agenda. There is no unilateral rally around changes in legislation, public policy, or social customs. And Third Wave has shunned suggesting how to specifically bring about social and political change. Their comprehensive approach to gender equality looks fragmented, impossibly broad, and sometimes contradictory.

Feminism for Third Wavers seems to be more about image than social movement. Third Wave seems to be more of an academic rather than an activist construct, a cultural rather than a political identity. Certainly, there should be more to a social movement than simply watching TV or reading magazines from a particular perspective. It remains to be evidenced that Third Wave actually initiates changes that make society a better place for women to live and grow up in.

Sarah L. Rasmusson

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Feminist/Lesbian Separatism Movement

The use of the term *separatism* within the second-wave radical feminist movement is today widely misunderstood. Even many scholars believe that it referred only to lesbian separatism, which was actually a rather late development in an ongoing process of self-definition that began in the earliest days of the movement's deliberate separation from the New Left. Within radical feminism, separatism was understood in at least three senses: to refer to (1) the creation and maintenance of an autonomous women's liberation movement "outside" the New Left; (2) "feminist separatism," created by women who defined themselves mostly (at least at first) as heterosexual, as what was sometimes seen as a "strike against men"; and (3) lesbian separatism, in which lesbian feminists sought to build a movement separate from both men and heterosexual women.

Creation of an Autonomous Women's Movement

Second-wave radical feminism was born in the women's caucuses and discussion groups that radical women formed, starting in the mid-1960s within the "projects" and organizations of the anti-Vietnam War and the civil rights movements, often referred to collectively as "the movement." Some of the dissatisfaction that led up to the formation of these groups was evident as early as 1964, when Ruby Doris Smith Robinson, one of the black women founders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), wrote a paper analyzing the position of women in the organization. Mary King, a white woman who joined the Atlanta staff of SNCC in 1963, along with Casey Hayden, another white SNCC staffer, wrote a similar position paper for SNCC's 1964 meeting in Waveland, Mississippi, on the future of the organization, in which King sought to raise the question of how her growing awareness of herself "as a woman might affect the structure and program of SNCC," given the utter absence of any attention to women's rights within the civil rights movement. King and Hayden's indictment of SNCC's unexamined male supremacy, which they argued was as pervasive and damaging as white supremacy, was met at Waveland with withering criticism. Nevertheless, a year later, King and Hayden coauthored a second version of their statement on women in SNCC, which they mailed to forty fellow women activists and which was subsequently published in the pacifist periodical, *Liberation* magazine. In 1966, after years of escalating tension over women's roles in the organization, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) women who demanded a plank on women's liberation in the SDS platform for the year were answered with a hail of rotten tomatoes and ejection from the group's convention.

In November 1967, a radical faction of the thousands of women who marched on Washington as the Jeanette Rankin Brigade to protest the Vietnam War, alienated by what they saw as the "Establishment" nature of the march, split off to talk about creating an autonomous women's movement. New York's first Women's Liberation meeting was held the same November. In January 1968, New York Radical Women—whose members included Shulamith Firestone, Kathie Amatniek, Anne Koedt, and Carol Hanisch—was accused of trying to divide the antiwar movement by marching with their own float, a papermâché coffin bedecked with banners reading, "The Death of Traditional Womanhood" and "Don't Cry! Resist!" in an anti-Vietnam War rally called by Women Strike for Peace. Throughout the turmoil that was 1968, small Women's Liberation groups proliferated around the country, sparked by women's dissatisfaction with their second-class status in the movement. The participants in these groups—as cogently analyzed by Marge Piercy in "The Grand Coolie Damn" (1969)—came to see that the movement, in which

women did so much of the actual work itself oppressed and exploited them *as women*. Although many of them had built lives and identities around their work in the antiwar and civil rights movement, giving to it significant labor, years of time, and huge quantities of emotional energy, they were thoroughly fed up with the hostile reception that the idea of focusing any part of movement action and organizing on the liberation of women was receiving from both men and "politico" women. The term *politico*, as Alice Echols explains in *Daring to Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America 1967–1975* (1989), was used to refer to those movement women "who attributed women's oppression to capitalism, whose primary loyalty was to the left, and who longed for the imprimatur of the 'invisible audience' of male leftists."

The new radical feminists found themselves no longer able to support the dominant leftist position: that male supremacy is a manifestation of capitalism, sure to whither away once the liberation of the proletariat is won. This position required the subordination of the struggle for women's liberation "after the revolution" against capitalism was victorious. Instead, many of these feminists began to develop an analysis of patriarchy as a system of male dominance, existing in forms always historically specific and inflected by reigning in the economic system, but in important ways separate from—and far older than—capitalism.

It was in the early radical feminists' split from the antiwar and civil rights movement to form an autonomous Women's Liberation Movement (WLM), and its immediate aftermath, that separatism received its first meaning, referring to the actual split through which the WLM was formed. For many radical women, this separatism was a strategy aimed specifically at the movement to make a point "within the people." Radical feminists wanted to remain "on the left" while creating structures and institutions designed to allow women to focus on women's concerns without the continual imposition of male-defined theories and perspectives. They were tired of being told that their concerns were not important; tired of working on oppressions other than their own; tired of fighting over issues such as whether or not women like themselves could be seen as "oppressed"; and tired of being blatantly disrespected and treated as second-class citizens, low-status workers, and sex objects by the almost totally male leadership of movement organizations. Yet they were also not insensitive to charges that in engineering this split, they were "dividing the left" and eviscerating the antiwar and civil rights movement, impairing its ability to do work that they themselves believed was vital. Nevertheless, after suffering much abuse and hostility within the movement as a result of their attempts to advance women's issues, they ultimately concluded that the split—and a continuing separation between feminist and movement organizing—was necessary in order to allow them effectively to work directly on women's oppression. They were through having to justify their theories or their actions in terms of the male-centered goals and priorities of the larger movement. They also wanted to demonstrate to the movement leaders how much it had depended on women's work and how little it could afford to do without this work. At least in calmer moments, the hope was that as a result, the antiwar and civil rights movement would change, confronting its own sexism and complicity in perpetuating the oppression of women.

However much these early radical feminists opposed some of the views then dominant on the left, most of them were not about to align themselves with the earlier first-wave feminism of suffrage and women's equal rights, any more than with the equal-opportunity liberal feminism of the National Organization for Women (NOW), both of which they saw as irredeemably "bourgeois." As Susan Brownmiller reports in *In Our Time: Memoir of a Revolution* (1999), even women who were to become feminist stalwarts of the second wave, such as Robin Morgan, were initially disdainful of the term *feminist*, which they saw as allying them with liberalism. These antipathies are clearly illustrated in an early feminist action staged by New York Radical Women (NYRW) at the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam's (MOBE) Counter-Inaugural of January 1969. On the one hand, NYRW, intent on burning their voter registration cards, tried to convince suffragist Alice Paul to join them in "giving back the vote." (Paul angrily declined.) On the other, NYRW's intent to raise the slogan "Feminism Lives" drew an enraged response from Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell (WITCH), whose members included Morgan, and a threat to counter with sashes reading, "Feminism Sucks"—a threat never carried out, to Morgan's later relief: "Thank God, or Goddess, we did not do that. . . . But we came *this* close. I still thought of 'feminism' as a dirty word." The radical women who split off from the antiwar and civil rights movement to form an autonomous women's movement saw themselves as revolutionaries, whose goal was not to reform the liberal-capitalist system, but to eliminate it, root and branch, along with patriarchy.

The movement they formed called itself the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM), to make clear its distinction from earlier and contemporary liberal feminisms.

Feminist Separatism

As separatism in its first sense was directed at the male-centered movement, separatism in its second sense was directed at first at movement men, though it later changed form to include men in general. Called "feminist separatism," this separatism began with the notion that women should "go on strike," not only against the movement, but also against the individual men with whom they had previously been affiliated. Most of the women who founded the WLM were (at least at this time in their lives) heterosexually identified. Indeed, some of the organizations they founded, such as Redstockings, did not even permit lesbian membership, defining lesbianism as a "deviance"; an impediment to working with the mass of women, who could not be expected to have progressive attitudes toward lesbians; and a liability to feminism, which would then be discredited as representing only a narrow and "deviant" dissatisfaction with the status quo.

Women who were self-identified lesbians and who wanted to work in the WLM were at this time generally expected to keep their lesbianism hidden, lest it become a "distraction" from the "important" issues, divisive within movement projects, and an "embarrassment" to the movement as a whole. They were generally more than willing to do so, for the costs of being publicly identified as a lesbian at the time were extraordinarily high. Nevertheless, many of the early feminists of the WLM were sure that, like the larger movement, men would not confront their sexism unless they were forced to. Women's oppression was "real," in that men derived material benefits from it. Men would not give up their real privileges without a fight. That fight must be pursued collectively, not individually, because the problem was structural and universal, rather than one of any individual woman's relationship with any individual man. To go to the root of the problem, women must join together in solidarity as a class to do battle with the class of men, because for all women, at least at some level and at least at the time in history to which they had come, "men are the enemy." As both the "Florida Paper," authored by Beverly Jones and Judith Brown, and the "Redstockings Manifesto" argued, to go to the root of the problem, women must join together in solidarity as a class to do battle with the class of men, because for all women, at least at some level and at least at the time in history to which they had come, men themselves were the enemy.

Consciousness Raising

Critical to forming solidarity among women was establishing a collective consciousness of women's common oppression and their common interest in ending that oppression. Although women might objectively be a class—in Marxist terminology, a "class in itself"—they could not move purposefully to combat their oppression until they became a "class for itself," that is, a class conscious of itself *as* a class and of its common interests. To forge this transition in consciousness, radical feminists invented consciousness raising (CR), probably taking their inspiration from the "Speak Pains to Recall Pains" practice of Maoist groups seeking to understand the strategic needs of revolution in specific contexts of decadent capitalism. CR became the WLM's central means of understanding women's oppression. Through collective examination in the woman-only sharing of consciousness-raising groups, participants worked to uncover the hidden patterns and meaning of their experiences of daily lives as embodied women living in patriarchy. As trust was established, and as ever more intimate and even embarrassing stories about women's lives in male-dominated society poured out, common patterns of experience continued to show up in what they had previously assumed—and been told all their lives by the culture and almost everyone in it—were private and individual discouragements, slights, and assaults. By this method, they began to reveal the structure of women's oppression as a group. Through CR, feminists came to see—and to communicate by writing theory and by organizing mass actions—that "the personal is political," that is, that most of women's oppression in capitalist-patriarchy (or patriarchal-capitalism) is constructed and maintained outside the official liberal realm of "the political": in the family, in religion, in traditional arrangements of gender and male supremacy, all areas allegedly outside the purview of the state. Catharine A. MacKinnon has argued that through the "feminist method [of] consciousness raising: the meaning of women's social experience" created a new way of looking at what "counts" as knowledge, building a politics that starts from women's lived experience. In creating this politics, men were viewed as an impediment: there was nothing useful they could possibly add to a process of analysis that starts from the standpoint of life experienced by a woman in a culture of male supremacy.

REDSTOCKINGS MANIFESTO

July 7, 1969

Redstockings, one of many grassroots women's organizations, was founded in 1969 by radical feminists dedicated to defending the women's liberation movement from male supremacy. The following is their manifesto.

1. After centuries of individual and preliminary political struggle, women are uniting to achieve their final liberation from male supremacy. Redstockings is dedicated to building this unity and winning our freedom.
2. Women are an oppressed class. Our oppression is total, affecting every facet of our lives. We are exploited as sex objects, breeders, domestic servants, and cheap labor. We are considered inferior beings, whose only purpose is to enhance men's lives. Our humanity is denied. Our prescribed behavior is enforced by the threat of physical violence.

Because we have lived so intimately with our oppressors, in isolation from each other, we have been kept from seeing our personal suffering as a political condition. This creates the illusion that a woman's relationship with her man is a matter of interplay between two unique personalities, and can be worked out individually. In reality, every such relationship is a class relationship, and the conflicts between individual men and women are political conflicts that can only be solved collectively.
3. We identify the agents of our oppression as men. Male supremacy is the oldest, most basic form of domination. All other forms of exploitation and oppression (racism, capitalism, imperialism, etc.) are extensions of male supremacy: men dominate women, a few men dominate the rest. All power structures throughout history have been male-dominated and male-oriented. Men have controlled all political, economic and cultural institutions and backed up this control with physical force. They have used their power to keep women in an inferior position. *All men* receive economic, sexual, and psychological benefits from male supremacy. *All men* have oppressed women.
4. Attempts have been made to shift the burden of responsibility from men to institutions or to women themselves. We condemn these arguments as evasions. Institutions alone do not oppress; they are merely tools of the oppressor. To blame institutions implies that men and women are equally victimized, obscures the fact that men benefit from the subordination of women, and gives men the excuse that they are forced to be oppressors. On the contrary, any man is free to renounce his superior position provided that he is willing to be treated like a woman by other men.

We also reject the idea that women consent to or are to blame for their own oppression. Women's submission is not the result of brainwashing, stupidity, or mental illness but of continual, daily pressure from men. We do not need to change ourselves, but to change men.

The most slanderous evasion of all is that women can oppress men. The basis for this illusion is the isolation of individual relationships from their political context and the tendency of men to see any legitimate challenge to their privileges as persecution.
5. We regard our personal experience, and our feelings about that experience, as the basis for an analysis of our common situation. We cannot rely on existing ideologies as they are all products of male supremacist culture. We question every generalization and accept none that are not confirmed by our experience.

Our chief task at present is to develop female class consciousness through sharing experience and publicly exposing the sexist foundation of all our institutions. Consciousness-raising is not "therapy," which implies the existence of individual solutions and falsely assumes that the male-female relationship is purely personal, but the only method by which we can ensure that our program for liberation is based on the concrete realities of our lives.

The first requirement for raising class consciousness is honesty, in private and in public, with ourselves and other women.
6. We identify with all women. We define our best interest as that of the poorest, most brutally exploited woman.

We repudiate all economic, racial, educational or status priveleges that divide us from other women. We are determined to recognize and eliminate any prejudices we may hold against other women. . . .
7. We call on all our sisters to unite with us in struggle.

We call on all men to give up their male privileges and support women's liberation in the interest of our humanity and their own.

In fighting for our liberation we will always take the side of the women against their oppressors. We will not ask what is "revolutionary" or "reformist," only what is good for women.

The time for individual skirmishes has passed. This time we are going all the way.

Source: Sisterhood Is Powerful: An Anthology of Writings from the Women's Liberation Movement (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), 598–601.

Furthermore, because of their male privilege and their male-dominant standpoint in the world, their contributions would actually be damaging to the process, skewing it by their ascribed male authority.

A Movement of Women Only

The early radical feminists had come of age in a world in which—even more so than today—expertise and authority were gendered male. Just as the men of the movement had felt little compunction about telling them what women "needed," so they had been told all their lives by male experts, teachers, doctors, and scholars what was wrong with them and how they should go about fixing it. In addition, they had lived all their lives with the assumption that they would submit to male authority, defer to male egos, live under male protection, and provide service and comfort to males in ways that men would prescribe. In splitting off from the antiwar and civil rights movement, feminists had separated themselves from some of this male control, claiming space in which to create their own analyses and theories of their situation, sometimes explaining that they needed "to get away from the male voices, in order to be able to hear ourselves." This phrase was often used by radical feminists to explain their separatism to outsiders. But male voices were everywhere. How far was it possible to separate oneself from incessant masculinist pronouncements and proscriptions? And how far was that even a good thing? These questions remained for radical feminism throughout its history, and they were answered in many different ways in many different places.

It might seem that the establishment of an autonomous WLM did not require that this new radical feminist movement be populated only by women. As a body of knowledge or an ideology, there appears to be no reason feminism could not be embraced by men as well as women. Yet although liberal-feminist NOW explicitly defined itself as an organization of "men and women," the WLM was not NOW. It recognized no liberal requirement to be inclusive. and it was committed to the belief that men and women have fundamentally opposed real interests in terms of the continuation of patriarchy. Furthermore, as in CR, men had nothing to contribute, and because of their social status and privilege, they must inevitably exert patriarchal power over the women for whom the movement existed. As Robin Morgan wrote in the introduction to *Sisterhood Is Powerful* (1970), "women's liberation is . . . the genuine radical movement. . . . I haven't the faintest notion what possible revolutionary roles white heterosexual men could fulfill, since they are the very embodiment of reactionary-vested-interest-power[–except] possibly not exist? No, I really don't mean that. Yes, I really do." In her influential farewell to the left, "Goodbye to All That," printed in the inaugural issue that followed radical women's takeover of the underground New York journal *Rat* (February 9–23, 1970), Morgan asked why "white men [who] are the most responsible for the destruction of human life on the planet . . . [are] controlling the supposed revolution to change all that? . . . A legitimate revolution must be led by, *made* by those who have been most oppressed: black, brown, and white *women*—with men relating to that the best they can." She concluded, "[Women] are rising with a fury older and potentially greater than any force in history, and this time we will be free or no one will survive. *Power to all the people or to none.* All the way down, this time."

The anger that experiences in the New Left and with men's social power in general had engendered in many early radical feminists is apparent in Morgan's statements. This anger was for most feminists only exacerbated by the consciousness-raising process, where "click" experience piled up upon "click" experience to reveal to them what a bad situation the patriarchy had put them in. (A "click" experience was a sudden moment of enlightenment when the hidden sexist meaning of a social convention previously thought to be benign suddenly became apparent.) It was said at the time that "every good feminist goes through her really *angry* period, when she really *hates* all men." Whether or not that was universally true, it was clear that a significant number of early radical feminists were nakedly angry at the lot in life that patriarchy had assigned to them and directed that anger—at least for a time—at men in general. The WLM was uniformly assumed by the women in it to be "women only" in its day-to-day operations, though exceptions might be made in some rare circumstances. Flyers for meetings, rallies, and marches commonly bore the tag line "all women welcome," telling men explicitly to stay away. In some feminist projects, such as bookstores, which were necessarily open to the general public, it was a common practice to establish "womanspace" or "women's space," as a realm into which men were not to go.

Personal Separatism

Although separatism was controversial within the WLM, many individual radical feminists sought to live feminist-separatist personal lives. Some groups,

such as NYRW, sought to keep separatism a short-term strategy confined to the political realm; others, such as Judith Brown, a founder of Gainesville Women's Liberation and Boston's Cell 16, and Beverly Jones of the influential "Florida Paper" of June 1968, advocated at least temporary personal separation from men. Women who maintained personal separatism sought to keep all their interactions with men—and the institutions of patriarchy—to a minimum. Besides deliberately separating themselves from male lovers—and perhaps remaining celibate—many radical feminists also rejected male friends and sought to avoid patriarchal culture, living without televisions and staying away from mainstream ("male-stream") media, relying on alternative WLM and movement news sources, and reading only feminist books and publications. Many also refused to vote or otherwise participate in "in-system" politics and would not become involved with the police under almost any circumstance, even should they themselves become the victims of crime. For many of these women, paid employment was one context in which they were regularly required to interact with men, though some managed even to avoid that by securing employment in WLM projects or through self-employment.

Family relationships were a source of some consternation for many of these women, and all manner of personal strategies were pursued, from maintaining relatively unaffected relationships with male relatives to cutting them off completely along with the rest of the male world. A particular source of controversy within the WLM in this regard was the case of women who were the mothers of male children. Although the WLM was happy to welcome these mothers themselves, groups and projects took very different positions on when and where their male children were also welcome. For example, in defining who might come into womanspace, policies varied. Sometimes a blanket "no men or male children" prohibition existed; other times policies might be age-specific, allowing male infants or children up to a certain age. These policies and their determination were always very contentious, owing to the recognition that barring the male children was, in most instances, tantamount to shunning their mothers as well.

The Woman-Identified Woman

These tendencies were extended by the development within the WLM of the idea of the "woman-identified woman" and of an analysis of "compulsory heterosexuality." Early radical feminists did not particularly celebrate the feminine. Like Emma Goldman, who was a huge influence on many of them—as reflected by the popularity within the movement of the reader, *Red Emma Speaks*, edited by Alix Kates Shulman (1972)—they often disdained what they saw as the weakness, passivity, silliness, and vanity of "ordinary" women. Styling themselves as serious revolutionaries embodying the toughness that role implies, early radical feminists (though they might espouse a model of androgyny as their personal ideal) tended to adopt the style of argument and relating in their interpersonal interactions that they had learned in the movement. This style was decidedly "male": aggressive, intellectual, uncompromising, and deadly serious.

In time, however, a critique began to develop within the WLM of "male-identification." A "male-identified" woman was one who longed for male approval, who privileged masculine values and ways of being, and who internalized patriarchy's definition of women. Because patriarchy elevated masculine traits and values as the ideal for both men and human beings, and rejected and devalued women, in a patriarchal society "androgyny" must privilege the masculine, unless active attention were paid to resisting misogyny and revaluing the feminine. In this revaluing, as Radicalesbians wrote in "The Woman-Identified Woman" (1970), what passed for "femininity" in patriarchal culture was revealed to be a "slave status . . . [conferred by] the man whose name we bear . . . [as] what we have to be in order to be acceptable by him." Feminists instead needed to realize that "irrespective of where our love and sexual energies flow, if we are male-identified in our heads, we cannot realize our autonomy as human beings."

Radicalesbians was an ephemeral group formed around the "Lavender Menace" action organized by Rita Mae Brown, Artemis March, Ellen Shumsky, and several others to raise the issue of lesbianism at the second Congress to Unite Women of May 1970. Fortified by a group of Vassar students, they decided to bring forth the issue of the movement's fear of lesbians and of being labeled as a lesbian movement. This fear was prevalent, with women who were lesbians encouraged to "keep it to themselves." Lesbians were generally looked upon as something of an embarrassment or, as Rita Mae decided, a "menace." The women who called themselves "Radicalesbians" wrote a statement entitled "The Woman-Identified Woman," and stenciled two dozen T-shirts with the words "Lavender Menace." At the Second Congress to Unite Women, they seized the stage and poet Mar-

tha Shelley took the microphone. For the next two hours, numerous women joined them in revealing their own lesbianism and standing in solidarity with the group. The group had coined the term *woman-identified* in an effort to find a term that was less threatening to heterosexual women than "lesbian." The power of their redefinition of lesbianism as a choice that was primarily political and their explanation of lesbianism in terms of the logic of feminist separatism worked in the WLM to fuel what was called the "gay-straight split" that roiled the WLM between 1970 and 1972. By 1972, however, the model of the "woman-identified woman," who refused to participate in cultural misogyny, loved and valued women, and recognized the true social value of women's ways of being, had become ascendant As understood within the WLM, this woman need not be lesbian in terms of sexual practice, but should be a "political lesbian" in her solidarity with and direction toward women. It was also important that she understand that heterosexuality was not a choice for women, but an institution in which women were forced to participate under threat of severe punishment. As Adrienne Rich later explained it in "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence," even in patriarchy all women, in their emotional and relational lives, exist somewhere on a "lesbian continuum." Yet female solidarity is frustrated by the coercive institution of compulsory heterosexuality, which seeks to destroy woman-identification, to set women against one another, and to mold them to male ends.

Lesbian Separatism

The women who participated in the WLM were struggling to liberate themselves from male dominance. They were also, in the main, feminist separatists and angry at patriarchy and men, countercultual and generally iconoclastic and rebellious. It should therefore not be surprising that, at least in part activated by these ideas, it wasn't long before large numbers of them were purposely choosing lesbianism and "coming out in the women's movement." As a member of the *Big Mama Rag* collective in Denver put it in their founding edition late in 1971, "How can you conquer an oppressor when you sleep with him every night?" It was a later aftermath of this "chosen" lesbianism that resulted in the third expression of separatism in the WLM, lesbian separatism.

From the elevation of the ideal of the woman-identification within the WLM to the status of the proper model for a radical-feminist woman, to the notion that that woman is also lesbian in her life-orientation and sexuality, required only a very small step. Traditional ideals of sexual morality, revealed by the analysis of compulsory heterosexuality to be nothing more than operations of patriarchal power, were irrelevant. Why, therefore, would any woman-identified woman and political lesbian not also choose to be an actual lesbian? Was it because she was unable to free her mind and herself from compulsory heterosexuality? Or was she "still" sleeping with men because she was actually male-identified?

Eventually, a tension arose around this issue and ultimately split the WLM. Some—though far from all—of the women who had embraced lesbianism within the WLM as a political choice and an act of personal liberation, began to argue that a "true" radical feminist was also a lesbian. Expressions of disdain for heterosexual women began to be heard in many radical feminist projects and organizations, along with assertions that all "the real work" of the movement was being done by lesbians. Heterosexual women were criticized for continuing to participate in an institution well known to be oppressive and unhealthy for women, rather than directing all their energies toward women and the WLM. Furthermore, some lesbians began to argue that not only did heterosexual women improperly give their own energy to men, but also served as transmitters of the energy of other feminist women to men, depriving the WLM of that energy as well. This argument held that because heterosexuality is so negative for women, those women in the WLM who continued to participate in it were constantly complaining to other women, many of them lesbians, about their relationships and demanding continual support from those other women in order to be able to sustain the relationships, thereby transferring lesbian energy to men.

These critiques and assertions of lesbian superiority eventually found expression in the creation within the WLM of groups and projects that identified themselves as lesbian separatists. Lesbian separatists demanded that lesbian feminists construct a movement separate not only from men but from heterosexual women as well. However, they were from the outset vigorously opposed by many other radical feminists who also identified as lesbian, but who refused to sanction any move that would split the WLM and eject women from it because of their sexuality. A great deal of debate and controversy within WLM journals and projects resulted from this development. The conflict was further exacerbated by the fact that some lesbian separatists began to invoke a body of essentialist

feminist theory, exemplified by Elizabeth Gould Davis's *The First Sex* (1971), which argued that women were inherently superior to men, who were the "deformed" products of a mutation in one of the female x-chromosomes that had resulted in the stunted and misshapen male y-chromosome. As might be anticipated, to the politically astute women steeped in progressive theory who had built the WLM from its outset, and who refused to participate in lesbian separatism, such arguments appeared nothing short of fascism.

Women of Color Reject Separatism

By the mid-1970s, women of color had begun to organize themselves into separate black feminist groups and to advance powerful critiques of the WLM's separatism as rooted in both racism and classism. The best known of these critiques is contained in "The Combahee River Collective Statement," produced in 1977 by a collective of women of color who had been meeting together in Boston since 1974. Taking their name from a guerrilla campaign organized and led by Harriet Tubman which freed more than 750 slaves, the Collective was animated over the years by numerous women veterans of the New Left and WLM, as well as civil rights, black nationalism, and the Black Panthers. These women came to Combahee because their disillusionment with their earlier movement experiences had led them "to the need to develop a politics that was anti-racist, unlike those of white women, and anti-sexist, unlike those of Black and white men." The "Statement" argues that separatism is a luxury predicated on the privilege of white women, in which women of color—though they may be feminists and lesbians, as were the members of Combahee—could not participate. Their first loyalty must be to their communities, under siege by the policies and practices of institutionalized racism; to split them by separatism would leave everyone in them even more vulnerable to racist attacks: "Our situation as Black people necessitates that we have solidarity around the fact of race, which white women of course do not need to have with white men, unless it is their negative solidarity as racial oppressors. We struggle together with Black men against racism, while we also struggle with Black men about sexism."

Throughout the 1970s, the Combahee River Collective extended their influence by sponsoring a series of seven black feminist retreats which created connections among large numbers of women of color activists. In the early 1980s, Collective member Barbara Smith, along with Audre Lorde, cofounded Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press. In her introduction to *Home Girls: A Black Feminist Anthology* (1983), Smith emphasizes the need that a comprehension of the "simultaneity of oppressions" creates for coalition building, which seeks to bring about "racial change in a way that unites oppressions instead of isolating them."

In summary, we can see in the radical-feminist WLM a progressive development over a number of years of variants of separatism. Beginning with the creation of the autonomous women's movement separate from the New Left, this separatism found expression in a "feminist" form of separation from men and a "lesbian" form of separation from men and heterosexual women. As each of these separatisms developed, some women stayed behind. Among them were many women of color, who saw separatism as predicated on white privilege and dangerous to their communities in a racist society.

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Anti-Rape Movement

Any list of the accomplishments of the contemporary American women's movement, or the second wave of feminism, is likely to include the feminist movement against rape as a major highlight. It is because of the anti-rape movement that we, as a society, benefit from the availability of rape crisis centers and hotlines, more victim-friendly laws, and a better understanding of the impact of this crime. This movement also helped give rise to campaigns against domestic abuse, sexual harassment, and child sexual abuse. Today, every rape victim is likely to have access to services and receive sympathetic treatment from law enforcement and prosecutors, thanks to the activism of the feminists who first dared to say *rape* in public. In spite of these activists' years of work to elevate societal consciousness, however, their ultimate goal of ending rape has yet to be achieved.

The term *anti-rape movement* might suggest the existence of some explicitly *pro-rape* force, but very few people would express favorable attitudes toward rape. In fact, American society has long treated rape as criminal behavior. The movement against rape has instead sought to uproot deeply held societal attitudes that make rape persist as a social problem. These include the beliefs that women secretly crave rape, women say no to sex when they really mean yes, black men are especially prone to raping (white women in particular), and rapists are deranged psychopaths or sex-crazed villains. Anti-rape campaigners sought to dismantle such myths in both public institutions and personal attitudes. They were successful in removing the taboo of rape and raising public awareness of this issue.

Emergence of the Anti-Rape Movement

The anti-rape movement originated and took shape within the larger context of the U.S. women's movement. As a result, the anti-rape movement can be considered a submovement or a spinoff of the larger second wave. Although it took a unique form and had its own leaders and organizations, it was never divorced from the larger movement. Activist Susan Griffin wrote, "The issue of rape was in no way ever separate from the question of the whole liberation of women as we have been defined by patriarchy, and we did not see it as separate." Feminist politics and analysis were crucial to the budding anti-rape campaign.

Women's Liberation and the Anti-Rape Movement

Rape arrived on the feminist agenda in the context of the women's liberation movement, or radical feminism. This branch of second-wave feminism took the form of decentralized grassroots groups, loosely organized mainly in cities and college towns around the United States. Radical feminists believed that women could achieve freedom only through the eradication of male supremacy and the societal institutions (marriage, the family, and the state, for example) that support it. The members of this branch of the women's movement were unafraid of engaging in flamboyant actions that challenged widely held taboos, and they had no interest in maintaining respectability in the public eye. They were thus well-suited to call attention to controversial sexual matters. The women's liberation movement provided the organizational context that set the stage for the anti-rape movement.

In fall 1970, the New York Radical Feminists (NYRF) first raised the rape issue in their consciousness-raising groups and made it their centerpiece issue. Consciousness raising was the process by which women connected the intimate features of their personal lives with the larger picture of male dominance. Well-known anti-rape activist, Susan

Brownmiller explains that a NYRF member brought up the issue in a meeting. Three women present spoke up to tell about their own experiences of rape or attempted rape. Women were shocked to realize how common rape was. Through this process, feminists realized that rape was not an isolated incident based on bad luck or victim behavior. It was not a racist frame-up of a black man by a white woman. It was not something the victims secretly enjoyed. Instead, it was a symbolic and real demonstration of male dominance over women. Feminists defined rape as a crime of violence, not of sexual passion. Radical feminists challenged the sexual entitlement of men and demanded sexual autonomy for women.

In early 1971, NYRF, soon joined by New York Women Against Rape, began coordinating "speak-outs" in which women told about their rape experiences in public settings. Susan Brownmiller was one crucial player in organizing these events. The speak-outs served as mobilizing events that drew public attention, including media coverage, to the new movement. In addition, the radical feminist media began publishing information and theory about rape, helping to spread the word about this "new" issue. Between 1970 and 1973, consciousness of rape was being raised among women's liberation groups in all parts of the country—New York, Santa Monica, Los Angeles, Berkeley, Washington, D.C., Chicago, Seattle, Denver—and with this consciousness, the anti-rape movement was born.

Liberal Feminism and the Anti-Rape Movement

The other main branch of the second wave—women's rights or liberal feminism—was less crucial to the formation of the anti-rape movement. But its activists did become aware of the radical feminist activism on rape and helped to advance the movement beginning around 1973. The liberal feminists were centrally organized, with national groups and local chapters. Their most visible organization was the National Organization for Women (NOW), which today remains one of the largest feminists groups. Women's rights advocates believed that feminists must work to secure the rights and responsibilities of full and equal citizenship for women. They pressed for legal reform and economic equality between women and men within the existing sociopolitical structure. These activists were much more concerned about maintaining a respectable public image than radical feminists were. Thus, liberal feminists did not address the sexual subject of rape until after the women's liberationists started removing the taboo.

The most active liberal feminist anti-rape campaigner was Mary Ann Largen of Virginia, elected to be the first coordinator of the NOW Rape Task Force (NOWRTF) in 1973. NOWRTF encouraged local and state NOW chapters to investigate the rape laws and policies in their areas in order to develop action plans for legal and institutional reform. The liberal feminist anti-rape activism in NOW inspired the development of grassroots law reform efforts in numerous states and cities around the country. Because NOW poured the vast majority of its resources into pressing for the Equal Rights Amendment, an important liberal feminist goal, NOWRTF was short-lived.

Women of Color and the Anti-Rape Movement

The participation of women of color—that is, female members of minority ethnic or racial groups in the United States—in the anti-rape movement was influenced by larger trends. Feminists have noted that mainly white, middle-class women have made up the women's movement and that its agenda has largely reflected the priorities of this group of women. Feminists encouraged each other to ignore differences based on race, class, ethnicity, and sexual orientation, and to focus on the common bond of womanhood in designing feminist goals and strategies. The mostly white groups attempted to include women of color in their membership, and some of them did assume leadership positions, but the groups failed to attract large numbers of nonwhite women. By focusing on gender oppression at the expense of racial and economic oppression, white feminists often overlooked the ways that gender, race, and class work together to maintain oppression. Women of color did form independent feminist organizations to bring to the fore those issues affecting themselves and poor women, such as the National Black Feminist Organization and the Combahee River Collective.

Black women, among them the noted activist and writer Angela Davis, sometimes expressed distrust of the anti-rape movement. They stressed that white anti-rape activists ignored the special circumstances of women of color, who experience rape and other forms of gender oppression differently from white women. African-American women also feared that greater regulation of rape by the criminal justice system would disproportionately target men of color. The history of lynching in the United States, which was built on fraudulent rape charges against black men, is a powerful reminder that racism and rape frequently connect.

Nevertheless, women of color did participate in

the anti-rape movement. For example, in 1976 in Los Angeles, Latina women created a bilingual rape hotline for Spanish-speaking women, although real diversity in the anti-rape movement of that city did not come about until the mid-1980s. Furthermore, the rape crisis center in Washington, D.C., served as a hub of organizing for black women in the 1970s. White women who founded the center realized that it would be undesirable for a majority-white center to serve a majority-black city. Women of color affiliated with the center did not wait for white women to invite them to join the movement; instead, they developed analyses of rape that fit the experiences of women in their communities. They took their awareness of rape into their neighborhoods and educated others about the seriousness of this crime, and they took information about their communities to their work at the center. Loretta Ross and Nkenge Toure, Washington, D.C., Rape Crisis Center activists from the 1970s and 1980s, together with other women of color, shaped a center that could meet the needs of their communities.

Organizing and Strategies

Since the emergence of the anti-rape movement, activists have built social movement organizations to address the problem in many ways. These groups reflected a range of feminist ideologies. Some organizations, identified with liberal feminist goals, focused on legal and institutional reform. Others, identified with the radical feminist branch, viewed rape as one piece in a larger system of white male dominance. The distinctions between liberal and radical dissolved somewhat only a few years into the anti-rape movement, as activists sought to do whatever was necessary to serve victims and challenge the persistence of rape. In the early 1970s, and even today, organizing has focused on several different but related strategies: self-defense, Take Back the Night rallies, crisis center development, and law reform.

Self-defense

Efforts focusing on fighting off attackers were among the first activities by women's groups to organize around the rape issue. In 1969, members of Cell 16 in Cambridge, Massachusetts, advanced an agenda of martial arts training and self-sufficiency for women. When the anti-rape movement emerged in 1970, the advantages of self-defense became clear: through self-defense, women might become empowered to overcome their socialized passivity and resist rape. Organizing focused on martial arts, assertiveness training, and providing women with fighting skills.

In the 1960s and 1970s, men dominated the martial arts, and instructors often viewed women's fear as a source of profit. To provide a feminist alternative, in 1971 martial artist Py Bateman founded the Feminist Karate Union (FKU) in Seattle. The FKU united martial arts instruction with consciousness raising, giving women the opportunity to discuss their fears and experiences of self-defense. On the East Coast, feminists founded the Women's Martial Arts Union to bring together women practitioners in Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore. The periodicals *Black Belt Woman* (Medford, MA) and *Fighting Woman News* (New York) emerged in the mid-1970s to keep interested women connected. Furthermore, feminists combined self-defense projects with other strategies, such as rape crisis centers and Take Back the Night. Today, rape crisis centers, universities, and community centers routinely offer women's self-defense classes. Anti-rape writers and activists have argued eloquently in favor of self-defense as a way to empower women to feel less vulnerable and to fight an attacker.

Take Back the Night

One of the most enduring and recognizable anti-rape collective actions is the Take Back the Night (TBN) march and rally. In this action, women gather to reclaim—at least symbolically—the night and the streets as women's rightful place. Activists designed the action as a one-time or annual event, not typically as an ongoing project. One of the first actions bearing the TBN name took place in Pittsburgh in 1977, featuring speaker Anne Pride delivering a violence against women memorial by the same name.

The idea of "taking back the night" goes back further, however. For example, the 1971 pamphlet "Stop Rape" by Detroit Women Against Rape suggested that feminists patrol the streets to resist women's unwritten exclusion from the public sphere after dark. In 1975, in celebration of Women's Equality Day (August 26), NOW called for members of its chapters across the country to engage in protests and actions in the streets at night and resist women's victimization. These examples of women symbolically reclaiming the streets and the night bear striking resemblance to what has come to be called Take Back the Night. TBN marches and rallies continue to take place on college campuses and in communities throughout the country.

Rape Crisis Centers

Rape crisis centers (RCCs) have been the primary organizations of the anti-rape movement. Centers vary in the resources they provide, but all offer some direct services to victims, have some process to reach out to victims, and contain some form of internal rape education and training. Today, RCCs exist as independently operated agencies in some locales; elsewhere, they act as departments within hospitals or district attorneys' offices or in conjunction with battered women's shelters. The relationship between individual centers and the feminist movement also varies.

Radical feminist activists founded the first RCC in Washington, D.C., in 1972. Among the founders were Elizabethann O'Sullivan, Karen Kollias, and about ten other women. All of the founders were themselves survivors of rape. In deciding what services the center should offer, they were determined to provide the kinds of support they would have wanted when they were raped. When the center opened its doors, it offered emergency telephone counseling, escorts to police stations and hospitals, support groups, and public education. The D.C. Rape Crisis Center (DCRCC) embraced a philosophy of self-help: they hoped to empower rape victims to make their own choices about how to proceed after a rape. The center recognized that police and hospital staff often mistreated victims, so some women might prefer to avoid these institutions. This meant that the staff did not take a position on whether victims should report to law enforcement; they believed that only the victim herself knows what course is best. They put the victim's needs first and sought mainly to support her in whatever choices she made.

Rape crisis centers soon became the focal point of much anti-rape organizing around the country. Within less than two years of the founding of DCRCC, centers opened in Florida, New York, North Carolina, Michigan, Wisconsin, Arizona, Illinois, California, and Pennsylvania. In 1974, Washington, D.C., activists formed the Feminist Alliance Against Rape, a national coalition of anti-rape projects that made an explicit connection with antiracist feminist politics, which remained active through the mid-1980s. The more professionally oriented National Coalition Against Sexual Assault was founded in 1978. Presently, RCCs are in place in nearly every locale in the United States. A pro-victim, self-help philosophy remains the guiding force behind all rape crisis centers.

Rape Law Reform

Social movement activists have a long tradition of using legal strategies to create social change. Early in the anti-rape campaign, activists began examining the law of rape and learned that rape itself had always been treated as criminal, punishable behavior. They came to understand, however, that existing laws made prosecution and conviction very difficult and only rarely succeeded in punishing rapists. In most states' rape laws, prosecutors had to prove that victims did not consent to sexual intercourse. Usually, the only evidence of nonconsent were signs that the victims vigorously fought their attackers (bruises on the victim, marks on the body of the accused, and so on). Thus, a victim who was afraid for her life and did not put up a struggle could be seen as consenting to sex. It did not matter whether she resisted verbally or was too afraid to fight. This requirement made rape cases very difficult to prosecute. The law permitted the defense to introduce evidence of a victim's sexual history, and most people assumed that a woman with sexual experience could not or would not say *no* to sexual activity or deserved to be raped. In addition, rape laws did not apply to marital relationships, shielding men from charges of raping their spouses. These laws, known together as the common law of rape, were held in place by a distrust of women's claims.

Anti-rape activists teamed up with feminist lawyers and law students—a group that grew very quickly in the early 1970s—to analyze existing law and propose reforms. Applying the new feminist understanding of rape, these activists formulated strategies to pass more pro-victim statutes. Activities in Michigan provide an early example of feminist success. The Michigan Women's Task force on Rape (MWTFR) began as a division of the Women's Crisis Center of Ann Arbor. MWTFR members decided to pursue rape law reform and enlisted the help of law instructor Virginia Nordby, who worked with the task force and law students to research the existing law and formulate reforms. The task force wrote a sweeping reform statute, one that revised all aspects of the existing laws (in most other states, reform took place in a more piecemeal fashion). The new law, known as the Criminal Sexual Conduct statute, redefined rape to include a wider range of sexual violations. Furthermore, the law introduced gender-neutrality and a degree structure for the crime. The proposed law removed the requirement that a victim resist her attacker. It also contained a rape shield provision, which

restricts the amount of evidence of a victim's sexual history admitted at trial. The Michigan legislature passed the law, with few changes to the MWTFR version, and it went into effect in 1974. Significantly, the legislature refused to accept the removal of the spousal exemption, though that reform took place several years later. This statute is widely considered a feminist reform.

Law reform activities took place all around the nation. By 1980, all fifty states and the District of Columbia had considered or passed small and large reforms. All of the elements of the Michigan law were pursued by law reform activists in the other states: redefinition of the crime, staircasing of offenses, evidentiary reform, rape shield, and removal of the marital exemption. Because of the incremental nature of changes in public policy, the reform effort continues in many states even today. In Georgia, for example, law students, rape crisis center activists, and lawyers began working together to propose a comprehensive reform of the rape law as recently as 1999.

Rape on the Public Agenda

A major achievement of the anti-rape movement has been to move this issue from the strictly feminist agenda to the national public policy agenda. For more than three decades, the activists of this campaign have been able to persuade some of the major institutions of our society—government, the media, law enforcement, medicine, and education—to think about the problem of rape in ways they never had before.

The 1970s saw an unprecedented amount of policymaking on the rape issue at every level of the federal government. In the states, legislators were rewriting rape laws at the prompting of anti-rape activists, as we have seen. States and counties also wrote or rewrote policies governing the way institutions—including hospitals, police departments, and prosecutors' offices—managed rape cases and rape victims. At the federal legislative level, Senator Charles Mathias (R-MD) proposed the first anti-rape bill to create a National Center for the Prevention and Control of Rape (NCPCR) in 1973. The bill became law in 1975. NCPCR was a funding organization designed to support research and anti-rape projects. It succumbed to President Ronald Reagan's budget cuts in the early 1980s. Another federal legislative initiative was the Rape Victims Privacy Act, sponsored by Representative Elizabeth Holtzman (D-NY), which amended the federal rules of evidence to include a rape shield provision. It became law in 1978. Even the U.S. Supreme Court decided two rape-related cases (*Cox Broadcasting Corporation v. Cohn*, 1975; and *Coker v. Georgia*, 1977). These are just a few examples of the flurry of public policy attention to the rape issue in the 1970s.

There are two explanations for the policy successes. First, the 1970s witnessed a deluge of rhetoric prompting politicians to get tough on crime. Lawmakers carefully avoided casting votes that would make them appear "soft" on crime. Anti-rape activists were effectively handing these politicians a crime issue to support. Unfortunately, this law and order agenda was based largely on white fears of minority criminality. This tough-on-crime agenda has only intensified in recent years.

Another reason for the policy successes of the anti-rape movement was the growing media attention to rape. Media coverage can be crucial if a social movement intends to effect social change. Through the mainstream media, rape came to be defined as a major social problem. The press attention to rape increased dramatically over the course of the 1970s. Stories ranged from routine reporting of crimes committed to case studies using a specific victim's story, to general stories about rape as a social problem. The change in reporting, however, was not only quantitative but also qualitative; the press was now willing to discuss rape in victim-sympathetic ways. In addition, high-profile rape cases, such as those of Inez Garcia in California and singer Connie Francis in New Jersey, called heightened attention to the issue. The media even paid attention to the anti-rape movement itself, highlighting turning points in activism. Because the issue was so prevalent in the media and public consciousness, policymakers had little choice but to take rape seriously.

Although feminists usually saw the policy developments of the 1970s as positive, they did understand that their own definition of rape did not match the public's or policymakers' definition. For example, anti-rape activists viewed rape as one part of a larger picture of female subordination, as the symbolic and real expression of male dominance. They theorized rape as a problem grounded in women's socialized passivity and men's socialized aggression. Activists understood that most victims were raped by men they knew, often men with whom they had been intimate. And they knew that law enforcement typically targeted poor men and men of color when investigating and prosecuting sexual assault. Very little of this feminist rape consciousness was translated onto the public anti-rape agenda. To policymakers, rape was the act of a few criminally minded individuals, was committed only by strangers, took place primarily on ur-

ban streets, and defied explanation. In the policy setting, then, anti-rape ideology existed only in a diluted form.

Recent Developments

The anti-rape movement continues today in spite of a political and social movement context that differs dramatically from that of the early 1970s when it emerged. The media have continued to pay attention to the issue. For example, high-profile rape cases involving charges against William Kennedy Smith and Mike Tyson sparked debates on the problem of acquaintance rape. Celebrities have also gotten involved in the fight against rape: with the support of recording artist Tori Amos, herself a rape survivor, the Rape, Abuse & Incest National Network was founded in 1994. It provides a national sexual assault hotline (800–656-HOPE) that refers callers to local rape and abuse services. These issues help to keep rape on the public agenda. In at least two additional settings—college campuses and legislative bodies—the struggle to end rape ebbs and flows.

Campus Activism

Beginning in the 1980s, the public discourse and feminist analysis of rape paid new attention to the date rape phenomenon, highlighting research findings that most victims are raped by men they know. Of course, this fact was well known in feminist circles for some time; but the media picked up the discussion relatively late. Much of the new awareness of the problem originated in university settings and focused on young women's experiences. Beginning in the 1980s and reaching into the 1990s, student anti-rape groups started springing up around the country. Among them were Students United for Rape Elimination (SURE) at Stanford, Students Concerned About Rape (SCARE) at Syracuse, and a host of other such groups. At some schools, women's groups expanded their focus to include rape, such as Sisters in Solidarity to Eradicate Sexism (SISTERS) at Spelman and Students for Women's Concerns at Vanderbilt. Campus men's groups, for example Tulane Men Against Rape (T-MAR) and Rape Education and Active Leadership (REAL-Men) at North Carolina State, have concluded that men must be active in the fight to prevent rape.

The focus of each group varies. They might organize educational programs, staff helplines and escort programs, or sponsor Take Back the Night marches. One recent national effort has been organized by the V-Day Campaign. This is an effort, spearheaded by playwright Eve Ensler, to perform the Obie-award winning *The Vagina Monologues* on campuses and in other community settings. The campaign focuses on raising awareness of violence against women worldwide, and all funds raised go to anti-violence causes. Since 1998, V-Day has energized the anti-rape movement on college campuses and beyond. No matter what their focus, all campus anti-rape groups have a commitment to upholding sexual autonomy and preventing acquaintance rape. University administrators have generally welcomed these forms of student organizing, but whether they are motivated by fear of liability or a real commitment to rape prevention may never be known.

Legislative Efforts—The Violence Against Women Act

Rape remained on the public policy agenda throughout the 1980s and 1990s in the states and nationally. The capstone federal policy initiative was the passage in 1994 of the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA), the most visible legislative success of the anti-rape movement (in conjunction with the battered women's movement). The NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund, together with the coalition group National Task Force to End Sexual Assault and Domestic Violence, were the main activists behind VAWA. This legislation created a federal civil rights provision for rape and domestic violence. This provision created a federal right to be free of violent crimes motivated by gender—rape, sexual assault, and domestic violence—and allowed victims to sue perpetrators for damages in federal court. In addition, VAWA allocated millions of federal dollars to promote violence-prevention efforts in the states. This landmark legislation was widely celebrated as an unprecedented success by activists in the movement. The celebration was short-lived, however: in *United States v. Morrison* (2000), in a five to four decision, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the civil rights provision, stating that Congress had no constitutional authority to pass the provision. Antiviolence activists are now left wondering whether any federal recourse for gender-motivated violence is possible.

Conclusion

The multifaceted anti-rape movement has made its mark on the American political and social landscape. Beginning with the 1970s' radical feminist analysis of rape—which challenged not only rape myths but also male dominance in all its forms—the movement has effected an ideological shift in society. No longer must

rape survivors live with the pain of silence and shame. They now may seek help from agencies and counselors who are likely to tell them simply, "It is not your fault." Police departments and hospitals have made improvements in their treatment of rape victims, and legal reforms have removed many of the obstacles to pressing charges. Rape crisis centers offer educational programs in the hopes of preventing rape from happening in the first place. Colleges and universities routinely offer rape prevention programming and sometimes make attendance mandatory. This is a far cry from the hostility most rape victims experienced, if they told anyone at all, over three decades ago. But problems from within and without persist. Fear of minority criminality continues to inform the rape issue and the movement, and women of color continue to feel marginalized. Moreover, a backlash of sorts has called into question many of the basic tenets of anti-rape feminism. Thus, the work of the movement remains unfinished. The revolution in popular attitudes, begun in the consciousness-raising sessions of the 1970s, will continue well into the twenty-first century.

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4

Labor Movement

Introduction

In most of the world, labor movements are conventionally considered to be the most critical force in civilizing society. From a comparative and historical standpoint, labor is intimately related to the creation of social democracy on a global basis. From the dawn of industrial capitalism, labor movements have advocated greater levels of political and economic equality, giving rise to the creation of liberal-democratic states in the West that have conferred systems of universal electoral participation which have in turn engendered social programs that promote the provision and more equitable distribution of basic human needs: healthcare, education, housing, food, and dignity at the workplace.

A comparative examination of the historical trajectory of social democracy demonstrates that social democracy emerged in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in an uneven fashion: some countries developed comprehensive systems of social welfare, while others developed programs in a more piecemeal manner. In view of the general global trend toward social democracy, pushed through by workers movements, the U.S. labor movement has had a uniquely divergent historical trajectory that accounts for its relative weakness in demarcating the system of social protection for working-class people.

Today, although labor is in a defensive position throughout the world, organized labor in the United States has more limited power and effectiveness than labor movements in comparable developed countries in Western Europe and North America. Thus, in nearly every category of economic security, American workers lag far behind those in other advanced industrial countries. On average, American workers continue to earn less and work harder than workers in countries with stronger labor movements.

Thus, is the U.S. working class and concomitant labor movement more conservative than labor in comparable countries? To the contrary, although the United States has a limited social safety net, ironically, American workers have demonstrated a solid record of militancy that in many ways eclipsed that of their counterparts in Western Europe. This militancy, however, is expressed not through the ballot box or the political arena, but through collective action at the workplace. The tradition of worker syndicalism in the United States can be explained by the fact that American democracy emerged in the late eighteenth century, well before the apogee of the American labor movement. Electoral participation in the United States was truncated at its inception.

At the time of America's founding, only white upper-class males could vote. Unlike comparable European democracies, voting participation did not occur in one fell swoop but was granted gradually for women and African Americans, in the wake of the abolition, women's, and civil rights movements. Although much of labor has been excluded periodically from participation, the working class was divided on the basis of identity, and the means of recourse were severely circumscribed by bitter opposition to political rights to be obtained through the state. Thus, the history of the labor movement is viewed more prominently through the lens of class struggle at the point of production. Since workers could not gain power through the state, voluntary action by associations of workers through the workplace was the most prominent form of resistance.

Unlike European social democracies that developed labor-based parties, the U.S. constitutional framework of divided and fragmented government restricted working-class activity through party formation. However, it would be a great mistake to conclude that the absence of a working-class party is a sign of moderation and complacency. Contrary to prevailing wisdom, American workers were and are interested in militant action, but the delimited political means of dissent through the formation of an authen-

tic party pushed labor to seek economic and legal rights directly at the workplace. Thus, since the workplace was the major point of contention, workers in the United States have engaged in strike action to a significantly greater degree than their European counterparts. Working-class militancy sweeps through American labor history. Moreover, American labor history is marked by the independence of the working class from institutions. Although a smaller percentage of U.S. workers are in unions, many have engaged in autonomous wildcat and unauthorized strike activity that challenged the hegemony of U.S. business.

The stillborn efforts to create a labor-based party in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries did not stop working people from rebelling against oppressive conditions. In the nineteenth century, workers and their unions made demands against employers for better pay, improved working conditions, and respect on the job. The movement to reduce the workday and to ameliorate dangerous workplace conditions in the nineteenth century forced public officials to respond. Without the right to form recognized labor organizations, working people engaged in militant strike activity in the face of violent repression by state armed squads and almost universal court rulings equating unions with criminal conspiracies. That working people continued to resist, risking not just their jobs but their lives, provides evidence of the remarkable human spirit for equality and justice.

Once again, in the early twentieth century, employers and the state resisted worker movements to establish unions of their own. Although craft unions represented a small fraction of the working class, the rise of mass production created uncontrollable pressure by workers to create unions in manufacturing industries.

The advent of the New Deal and the National Labor Relations Act in the 1930s produced labor-management accords that have demobilized worker militancy and the ferment of industrial workers. The accords produced gains for members and nonmembers of unions by setting industrial standards and demanding improved healthcare, education, and government social programs that resulted in the rise of the public sector labor movement in the 1960s. Still, the labor-management accords demobilized much of the working class, who relied on union leaders to do the bidding for them. Moreover, many unions abandoned organizing drives and became relatively lethargic in representing the broader working class. However, by the late 1960s, as a result of declining profitability, business waged a new offensive against organized labor as a means to increase productivity. As a consequence, unions are not as adept at protecting worker interests as they once were. Organized labor's density in the workforce declined from some 35 percent in 1955 to less than 13 percent in 2001.

The decline in organized labor does not mean that workers have no way of resisting unfair employers. Indeed, workers continue to oppose abusive employer practices by independent nonunion action, holding unauthorized strikes, calling in sick, and slowing down the work process.

Still, in order to build a strong labor movement, unions will have to organize new members. However, labor now recognizes that many of the laws and agreements crafted in the 1930s and watered down since do not correspond to the contemporary workplace, since a growing number of workers are now employed in the service sector. Since the 1970s, the service sector that has tended not to be unionized has superseded manufacturing. The new challenge for the labor movement will be to organize service sector workers—the vast majority of whom are low-wage support workers. In addition, many of the workers ripe for organizing are women, people of color, and immigrants that do not form part of the leadership of the mainstream labor movement.

The labor movement also must confront the reality of globalization of work. Not only is the United States losing manufacturing jobs to low-wage countries, but service jobs in the communications industry are now increasingly being exported to low-wage regions. Globalization of work necessitates the U.S. labor movement to form strategic alliances with labor throughout the world in defending the dignity of work and the human rights of workers. In the United States, globalization has also increased the number of workers employed under sweatshop conditions—jobs that are essentially unregulated by the state. Workers employed by sweatshops of all kinds are paid below minimum wages, work longer hours, and do not have health and safety protection.

The labor movement will not regain its strength without a new commitment to organizing workers and challenging the dominant political structure to change labor law to facilitate joining unions and improving conditions of work. U.S. labor history demonstrates that working conditions and wages were improved only when a strong labor movement emerged to challenge unfair employers and state and federal laws that impeded their ability to band together to form unions of their own. Success always emerged in the wake of rank-and-file pressure for

more responsible and democratic unions. In times of quiescence, employers and the state watered down laws that protected workers. Throughout U.S. history a strong social democracy is dependent on a vibrant labor movement that demands the expansion of state protection for workers, a larger public sphere that guarantees greater access to public education, healthcare, social welfare, and other protections that create a modicum of equality. In every era corporations, unchecked by a strong labor movement, will not be deterred in reducing social protection through privatizing essential social services, advocating for the reduction of the tax base, and eliminating programs that keep the population educated and healthy.

As the entries in this section demonstrate, workers in the past have always defied management power that is wielded abusively. Implicit in many of the essays that follow is the fact that workers will need to find new repertoires of solidarity to sustain their wages and working conditions and improve and help build a stronger social democracy.

Immanuel Ness

LABOR MOVEMENT 1600–1790

The groundwork for the U.S. labor movement that spiraled in the nineteenth century was set in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, spanning the colonial period and the American Revolutionary era. Although there was little in the way of a formalized labor movement during the colonial period—where workers organized with the express purpose of furthering their collective interest—this early period would lead to the factory system, which gave rise to the modern labor movement.

Samuel McKee Jr. distinguishes labor in early America into four categories: free (skilled or unskilled), apprentices, indentured servants, and slaves. These classifications were all imported from Europe. Labor in colonial America was shifted across time and region. So, while slavery for all intents and purposes ended in New York at the end of the eighteenth century, it would be nearly another century before America would see its demise in the South. Each category provides a glimpse of the opportunities and constraints placed upon labor activism, no less the formation of a movement.

FREE LABOR

To be free in the colonies meant that one was an artisan or mechanic and paid one's way from England and Europe or one was an indentured servant who had served his contract period and was released from further obligation. American society was mostly agrarian—more than 90 percent of the first settlers relied on agriculture to survive. Land was plentiful and could be obtained cheaply. Family members performed much of the farm labor. The remainder of the population settled in the towns and cities that would become America's economic hubs, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston. These towns, which were the sites of local and international trading, required a more diverse workforce. Millers, carpenters, coopers, printers, and handicraftsmen of various skills were in steady shortage and, thus, were in high demand. Though general, unskilled labor was also needed, the pervasive shortage of skilled workers was a demand Europe found difficult to fill.

Numerous enticements were offered to skilled workers to leave their homes and settle in the unknown and often difficult American terrain. Free land, high wages, and the opportunity for self-proprietorship were proffered to those willing to make the harsh voyage. England abandoned these offers, however, when legislators there feared that too many of their skilled workers were leaving to build up a colony that could eventually sever its economic dependency on England. The English parliament began restricting emigration of skilled workers to the colony as early as 1718. England forbade emigration of both workers and machinery plans in the textile industry and then gradually extended the prohibition to include iron, steel, and coal industry workers.

Despite the hardships of the long and often harrowing Atlantic voyage, those Europeans who settled in America often enjoyed a better life than their brethren in the Old World. Foster Rhea Dulles and Melvin Dubofsky writing in *Labor in America* (1984) note that life in the New World generally meant more material comforts, improved health, and longer life expectancies, despite class differences. There was a high level of literacy and learning, even among ordinary colonists, that was unprecedented. Furthermore, the ownership of land and the independence of business that many free laborers experienced did not allow for the transference of traditional, feudal English rule and greatly shaped the character of the American mythology of individualism and equality.

Itinerant work was common. Workers would ply their trades and skills from home to home, bringing their tools with them. Skilled workers did not begin setting up shops to serve customers on a widespread basis until the eighteenth century. Often, craftsmen

would take on an apprentice or purchase a servant to assist in the business.

As towns grew, demand for artisanal work increased. Master craftsmen who owned their own ships hired journeymen workers to assist with them. The journeymen workers were artisans and mechanics who worked for wages. Master craftsmen also received labor from apprentices.

Apprenticeships

To gain entry into a trade, workers would apprentice themselves to master craftsmen who were willing and able to pass on knowledge of the craft in exchange for cheap labor. Apprenticeship was regulated by both the state and English guilds. Contracts bound the apprentice to serve his or her master or mistress. In turn, the master or mistress agreed to teach the apprentice a trade and house, feed, and clothe him or her. As with indentured servants, the agreement varied and would generally last four to seven years. In New York, masters were obliged to pay any registration fees to ensure the freedom of the apprentice upon completion of training. Many masters and mistresses educated their apprentices beyond the craft, teaching them reading and writing skills.

It was not uncommon for apprentices to be children given by their parents to a master or mistress to secure a trade. In some instances, children were given at a very young age, constituting more of an adoption than an apprenticeship. Despite the trappings of security and education, some apprentices subjected to abuse and cruelty ran away from their masters. Parents would sometimes instigate their child's fleeing from the master if they suspected that their child was not being cared for properly or was not imparted sufficient training and knowledge. If a judge determined that apprentices were abused or untrained, contracts could be rendered void.

Apprentices worked in any number of trades such as glaziers (glassblowers), smiths, or printers, to name a few examples. Female apprentices often did domestic work and learned spinning or sewing. Upon completion of their contracts, apprentices received a set of clothes, tools, and sometimes a small sum of cash.

Indentured Servants

Many skilled and unskilled settlers to America came from Europe as indentured servants. Indentured servitude meant that emigrants would have their passage paid. In return, they promised to work for an agreed term of service. This enabled emigrants to come to America without the initial outlay, which some did not want to spend and most did not have. Family groups that came as indentured servants were known as "redemptioners" because they paid a portion of their passage at the time of their departure and promised to redeem the balance by working in the colony.

Masters of indentured servants did not have the same responsibility as masters of apprentices, obligated to impart skills or a trade to the apprentice. The master was obligated to provide indentured servants adequate food, shelter, clothing, and protection. Although property ownership was generally allowed, voting, marriage, or engaging in a trade for personal gain was forbidden without the consent of the master. Upon completion of the term, servants were given clothing, tools, and other goods to make their way in the world. Male servants performed a wide variety of tasks while female servants generally performed domestic duties.

Although skilled workers from England were eventually prevented from leaving England to settle in the colony, unskilled workers, especially the "unwanted elements" of society, were encouraged to leave. It was erroneously believed at the time that England was overpopulated. Also called "transports," vagrants, the unemployed, criminals, widows, and orphans were shipped wholesale from England, often involuntarily, with the dual purpose of reducing England's underclass while developing a larger consumer society in the colonies. A quarter of all British immigrants were convicts. Colonists were disgusted and upset at the export of England's "undesirables" and eventually succeeded in halting the migration of criminals. Transports also included political prisoners who were frequently exiled for their religious beliefs. The tide of sending transports to America changed near the beginning of the Revolution, when England curbed all emigration. American governors were prohibited from issuing land titles and naturalization bills to immigrants from Great Britain and Ireland. This issue was taken up in the Declaration of Independence.

Some impoverished Americans willingly accepted servitude, most likely because no alternative remunerative jobs were available or because they owed a debt. Christians were legally prevented from going into servitude. Indentured servants and slaves were advertised for sale in the newspapers in much the same way that other property was. Following English law, masters were not allowed to dismiss servants before the end of their agreed upon term without sufficient reason and approval of town council members

and its chief officer. In the event of incurable illness, dismissal of servants was forbidden. When a servant became injured while employed, the master provided for all costs incurred. Unwarranted and unnecessary dismissals, it was reasoned, would place an undue amount of burden on poor relief agencies. Conversely, workers were not permitted to leave their positions at will. This was done primarily to prevent masters from luring potential employees away from their present master.

Servants also conspired with each other and slaves to help each other run away. In the early days of the colonies, blacks were sold as indentured servants as well as slaves. Servants escaped from ships before they could be sold or ran away during their bondage. Servants departed from their masters for a variety reasons—cruel masters, change of heart, and the realization that they could earn higher wages selling their services in the free market.

For white servants, especially early in the colonial period, running away successfully required, at best, a change of appearance, because their parting was usually advertised in local newspapers with only a description of their physical features. Being white, they could slip into general society fairly easily. For blacks, it was much more difficult to integrate into society because of the color of their skin, even in areas with free blacks, because their numbers were so small. If a black runaway was detained and unclaimed, the finder would retain him or her, the same way any other property might be retained.

Slave Labor

In *Race and Nationality in American Life* (1957), historian Oscar Handlin writes that prior to the eighteenth century, only two categories of persons existed: free and unfree. With the institutionalization of slavery, the new categories distinguishing Americans became free and slave. The development of slavery in America has a unique history. White unfree workers as well as black workers were referred to as slaves in equal measure, with the trafficking of Irish servants also known as slave trade. In fact, the terms "slave" and "servant" were used somewhat interchangeably, slave being an epithet whose usage did not necessarily imply increased subservience, at least in terms of race or personage. There were also little differences in bondage times between blacks and whites. Although some blacks were kept in bondage permanently, others were held in servitude for a limited number of years or were able to purchase their freedom perhaps through the tending of small plots of land when not working for their master. Blacks who served out their service periods became artisans and farmers on their own land and enjoyed a similar status to free whites. In fact, in 1668, in a county in eastern Virginia, 29 percent of blacks were free.

Christianity was also taken into account in determining slave and servant status, and those who converted were often released. After labor's value increased, however, legislators rethought this religious loophole and between 1667 and 1671 enacted laws that negated conversion as a determinant for manumission.

Furthermore, many parts of the colonies, especially in the North, had smaller and more seasonal agricultural economies that did not require investment in a perpetual and relatively expensive labor force. It was simply more economical to hire workers for the short term than to have to feed, clothe, and house them year round.

Shifting economic conditions and the increasing desire to institutionalize racism as a means of social control hastened the entrenchment of slavery in the American way of life. August 1619 opened the chapter of black slavery in America when twenty Africans were brought to Virginia. Although many white transports were brought to the colony under duress, as Handlin notes, *all* blacks were brought to America involuntarily. Slavery began gradually, with a significant number of blacks being sold as indentured servants as well as slaves. In 1664, England took over New Amsterdam from the Dutch and declared in law that service terms for black servants were to be "perpetual." By the last half of the seventeenth century, slavery became legal in all thirteen colonies.

After 1690, South Carolina began to move its economy away from the naval and fur trade industries toward large-scale agriculture, including rice, cotton, and indigo plantations. Plantation owners immediately recognized that having a permanent labor supply, which could be exploited, was the most profitable way to farm. The enormous profits in trafficking and ownership of slaves "steadily sucked slaves" to the plantation. Those who owned slaves already realized they were sitting on goldmines and encouraged the breeding of future slaves. The opening of Africa in 1698 to free trade brought large numbers of slaves to the Chesapeake and South Carolina areas, and by the eighteenth century there were heavy and rapid increases in the slave population due in part to importation but also in great measure to births.

Although the early colonial period was comparatively less racialized, at least in legal terms, white

masters still preferred white workers to black ones. Recently imported Africans were seen as strange and unruly, lacking English-language skills and an understanding of European customs and mores. In the hierarchy of desirable black workers, preference was given to skilled native-born black males, while unskilled recent arrivals were the least preferred.

Workers from Europe became increasingly reluctant to come to the colonies because of the harsh life they would experience as recounted by other emigrants. To encourage more white workers to come to America, contract periods were shortened and land was offered as part of the freedom dues for many Europeans, including the Irish, who were not regarded in the same social category as those with English ancestry. This period initiated the Irish into a higher social category, separating them from blacks and Native Americans, who were increasingly thought of as the lowest elements in American society. The shortage of white workers and the inability or unwillingness to grant land to servants completing their contract also precipitated the buildup of black slave labor.

Slaves did mostly agricultural work. Women as well as men toiled in the fields; women also did domestic work: cooking, cleaning, spinning, and child rearing, including working as wet nurses. On larger plantations, slaves were divided into house servants and field hands, who were the majority on any plantation. Slave compensation was, of course, nil, and the basic necessities slaves received were mostly abominable. Housing was poor, usually without windows or flooring. The food was meager, consisting of starch and low-quality meat. Clothing—or cloth for the women to sew—was distributed once or twice year, with each adult receiving a pair of shoes that were usually the same for men and women and with children receiving no shoes until they could work in the field.

The American economy began to diversify more after 1720. In addition, artisanal indentured servants often left their respective trade to become independent farmers upon completing their contracts. The influence of these shifts trickled down to black slaves, enabling them to acquire more mechanical skills. Slave owners diversified the skills of their slaves to make up for seasonal slowdowns and inflationary periods. It was also not unusual for slave owners to rent out their slaves; this alternative was often very profitable for the owners.

The training of slaves as artisans was problematic for free white artisans. Most notably in the South where there were more blacks than in the North, skilled white workers complained that skilled black workers were competing for their jobs. By and large, this was true, especially in the towns. Legislation was enacted to restrict the hiring out of slaves and to prevent blacks from sharing in the income from their labor.

Despite the fact that businessmen working in tandem with the state developed a divisive strategy aimed at weakening attempts to formulate any sort of working class, black, white, and Native American workers still managed to form bonds. In the early colonial period, it was not uncommon for servants and slaves to work together to escape their lot. Punishment for those captured was harsh, usually hanging or immolation. But even for minor infractions, servants and slaves alike received lashings and beatings. Because of their impoverished nature, it was impossible to levy fines for most infractions.

The rapidly growing numbers of blacks in the South encouraged whites to enact strict legislation against slaves. In South Carolina, nearly two-thirds of their population was black, and in Virginia it was 50 percent. Whites lived in constant fear of slave uprisings. The gathering of blacks, even on Sundays, was severely limited, and when runaways were caught, slaves not involved in fleeing were also punished.

WOMEN

Women have been generally overlooked in research studies, even though women in the colonial and Revolutionary periods performed work both inside and outside the home. Barbara Mayer Wertheimer begins her chronicle of women workers by noting that Native American women were the first women to work in America. They were the first people known to grow corn and to produce maple sugar. Generally, in most tribes, they were responsible for agriculture and domestic work including child rearing. If it was not for these women, who shared their knowledge of the land, the earliest colonial settlers would not have survived.

The first settlers to America came from England in 1607, settling in what they called Jamestown. Shortly thereafter, large numbers of women were brought from England to keep the male settlers content and to populate the new colony. Originally, women were allotted land in similar fashion to male settlers, but this policy was halted because it impeded women's need, and perhaps even desire, to marry quickly.

The harsh colonial life was especially taxing to women. Women married young and bore many chil-

dren. They often died young, and their husbands usually sought to remarry quickly. Women who did not have their own family, land, or business were often supported by relatives. Referred to as "spinsters," they labored in the home, were given no privacy, and had no spending money. Widows in New York, however, organized themselves to protest their treatment by society, stating that they supported the government by paying taxes and carrying businesses.

Women maintained the household and reared the children. Husbands and sons usually ran the small businesses that sustained the early colonists, and wives and daughters often provided additional labor. The women, therefore, learned to shoe animals, work with metals, keep the books, and operate tools. Girls did not learn trades the way apprenticed boys did; their instruction was done in the home by helping family members.

Some women earned their living through the few professions that were allowed women. Keeping a tavern or inn was mostly a woman's business. Midwifery and doctoring were other professions in which women dominated, at least until the Revolutionary period. However, because women were not seen as equal in the eyes of the law, they had their own unique difficulties. A Maryland doctor named Katherine Hebden was unable to collect her payment for services rendered. Her husband had to take the case to court on the grounds that he was entitled to money owed him for work his wife had performed.

Labor Organizing

Unions, in the modern sense of the term, developed in the nineteenth century. In the colonial and early independence era, some workers formed mutual aid societies to provide death benefits to workers and other rudimentary services, but the organizations typically did not protest harsh conditions. Nor did they advocate politically or socially the improvement of worker rights.

The guild system that protected worker rights in Europe did not readily transfer to American society. Still, workers organized protests against government regulations that impinged on their survival and dignity on the job. Attempts were made in the colonial era to regulate the maximum level of wages and to fix prices for goods and services to prevent workers from earning more than necessary for subsistence.

Although there were certainly instances of labor disputes in colonial America, scholars continue to debate whether these disputes can be conflated to be equivalent to strikes. Undoubtedly, a number of individual work stoppages and demands for changes in the workplace, whether in compensation, hours, or treatment, flared up from time to time. However, strikes—the collective stoppage of work and services to obtain improvement in wages and working conditions—began at the end of the eighteenth century, as the unbridling of workers from their masters or slaveholders through the development of capitalism became pervasive, particularly in urban industrial areas. Thus, the strike is indelibly associated with capitalist social relations.

Various examples of early strikes are recorded by numerous sources. Thomas R. Brooks writes that America's first labor strike occurred in Philadelphia in 1786 by printers who "turned-out" to obtain a minimum wage of six dollars per week. Dulles and Dubofsky claim that the first recorded strike in U.S. labor history did not occur until 1799 by a group of organized cordwainers—shoemakers who work with Cordovan leather—in Philadelphia. After staying off the job for ten weeks, the cordwainers won a new contract from the master shoemakers.

In John R. Commons' comprehensive series, *History of Labour in the United States* (1918), David J. Saposs writes on the problem of distinguishing between strikes by master workmen and those by journeymen. The master workmen generally revolted against price regulation by public authorities, whereas the journeymen struck against employers to maintain wages. In the instance of the strike in 1786 by printers in Philadelphia, the printers were both merchants and laborers, so the "purity" of their strike, as a true workers' protest, becomes somewhat suspect. Brooks notes that black sweepers' refusal to work in Charlestown, South Carolina (present day Charleston), in 1761 might well constitute the first worker-led work stoppage.

Other labor disturbances in the colonial period include a mutiny of indentured servants and fishermen in 1636 off the coast of Maine, protesting the withholding of wages. In 1661, indentured servants in Virginia planned a rebellion. Officials in Maryland faced a public disturbance attended by workers in 1663. Protesting against their conditions, ship carpenters in 1675 issued a formal protest against their conditions. New York City recorded a work stoppage by licensed carters in 1677. Ordered to clean the streets of New York for 3 pence per cartload, they protested the pay and their treatment by the city as well. The carters protested their conditions again in 1684. Also in New

York, bakers stopped baking bread in 1741 and tailors stopped sewing in 1768. In 1768, indentured servants revolted in what is now Florida. That same year also saw a turnout by journeymen tailors in New York protesting their low wages and offering to perform their services for private employers.

During the Revolutionary period there were instances of strikes and disturbances, which were spurred by inflationary prices and declining purchasing power and, undoubtedly, encouraged by the rebellious nature of the times. In November 1778, journeymen printers in New York demanded and received pay increases. Similar protests were waged in 1779 by seamen in Philadelphia, shoemakers in New York in 1785, and journeymen printers in Philadelphia the following year.

The independence era also saw public debate about the inhumanity of the system of slavery. Prior to this time, abolitionist groups and individuals demanded cessation of slavery on moral grounds. The eighteenth century witnessed the development and questioning of the rights of citizens in general, and the question of slavery became part of that discussion. The hypocrisy of demanding full rights from the British while enslaving a significant number of their own was not lost to many colonialists. Indentured servitude had already begun waning, and after the war, slave importation ceased.

Malini Cadambi

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LABOR MOVEMENT 1790–1860

If there is a single development that marked the beginning of the antebellum labor movement, it occurred in 1827 when skilled artisans from across more than a dozen unions in Philadelphia organized that city's Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations (MUTA). As the preamble to its constitution announced, the organization aimed "to raise the mechanical and productive classes to that condition of true independence and equality which their practical skill and ingenuity, their immense utility to the nation, and their growing intelligence are beginning imperiously to demand." To be sure, collective action by skilled workers in the new American republic well predated the MUTA. In the quarter-century following the American Revolution, mechanics' institutes emerged to celebrate the productive role and promote the economic interests of their members, and to uphold such hallmarks of artisanship as the traditional apprenticeship system. Early craft unions such as the Federal Society of Journeymen Cordwainers (shoemakers) in Philadelphia (1794), appeared, and these in turn became vehicles for strikes.

Still, the MUTA represented a critical new departure and the next phase in the history of organized American labor—the nation's first citywide confederation of trade unions. This innovation, together with Working Men's parties, local trade unions, cooperative workshops, and (in the 1850s) national unions, comprised the basic institutional landscape of the antebellum labor movement and, at least in terms of trade unionism, of the American labor movement ever since.

SOCIOECONOMIC ORIGINS OF THE MOVEMENT

Not quite forty years before the founding of the Philadelphia confederation, artisans in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and elsewhere had paraded in commemoration of the ratification by their respective states of the new Federal Constitution (1788), which they believed would enhance their economic prospects by creating a central government able to stimulate American industry and thus national prosperity. Their elaborate floats celebrated not only the new federal edifice but also their deep-felt pride of place in it—their essential role as the nation's "bone and sinew" and, related intimately to that, their claim, if as yet not fully realized, to independence and equality. By the age of Jackson, however, growing numbers of skilled white workingmen, like the members of Philadelphia's central labor union, were building not floats but a labor movement, were declaring not the ascendancy but the degradation and decline of workingmen and labor in republican America. These tightly intertwined institutional and ideological developments would, however unevenly and sporadically, persist, broaden, and deepen between the late 1820s and the Civil War.

Behind these developments lay a profound and ongoing transformation of work wrought by the market revolution of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (c. 1780–1830). With the growth of markets, itself the product of revolutionary changes in transportation (first roads and turnpikes, then canals, then railroads), more and more Americans were drawn more deeply and regularly into commercial exchanges and contractual relationships. For craftsmen, as for all free adult white Americans, this brought liberating choice and opportunity, but also increasing social inequality. Thus, ambitious master craftsmen with adequate capital could, and did, join the growing ranks of entrepreneurial merchant capitalist employers who sought financial gain and upward mobility by manufacturing a particular good for an extensive market. In most cases (printing and textiles were the notable exceptions), this involved for most of the period not mechanization but rather the "sweated" sub-

FACTORY RULES FROM THE HANDBOOK TO LOWELL 1848

The "Lowell System," imposed on young women working in a textile mill for Frances Cabot Lowell, a manufacturer, became a prototype for many workers employed in the embryonic manufacturing industries of mid-nineteenth-century America. Under the harsh system, "mill girls" worked long hours under unsafe conditions for low pay.

REGULATIONS TO BE OBSERVED by all persons employed in the factories of the Hamilton Manufacturing Company. The overseers are to be always in their rooms at the starting of the mill, and not absent unnecessarily during working hours. They are to see that all those employed in their rooms, are in their places in due season, and keep a correct account of their time and work. They may grant leave of absence to those employed under them, when they have spare hands to supply their places, and not otherwise, except in cases of absolute necessity.

All persons in the employ of the Hamilton Manufacturing Company, are to observe the regulations of the room where they are employed. They are not to be absent from their work without the consent of the overseer, except in cases of sickness, and then they are to send him word of the cause of their absence. They are to board in one of the houses of the company and give information at the counting room, where they board, when they begin, or, whenever they change their boarding place; and are to observe the regulations of their boarding-house.

Those intending to leave the employment of the company, are to give at least two weeks' notice thereof to their overseer.

All persons entering into the employment of the company, are considered as engaged for twelve months, and those who leave sooner, or do not comply with all these regulations, will not be entitled to a regular discharge.

The company will not employ any one who is habitually absent from public worship on the Sabbath, or known to be guilty of immorality.

A physician will attend once in every month at the counting-room, to vaccinate all who may need it, free of expense.

Any one who shall take from the mills or the yard, any yarn, cloth or other article belonging to the company, will be considered guilty of stealing and be liable to prosecution.

Payment will be made monthly, including board and wages. The accounts will be made up to the last Saturday but one in every month, and paid in the course of the following week.

These regulations are considered part of the contract, with which all persons entering into the employment of the Hamilton Manufacturing Company, engage to comply.

JOHN AVERY, Agent.

Source: Factory Rules from the Handbook to Lowell, 1848. (Chicago, IL: Illinois Labor History Society, 1848).

division of skilled manual work among dependent journeymen (now the "employed") concentrated in central workshops and paid low wages.

Under these exploitative conditions, journeymen found it increasingly difficult, if not impossible, to follow the traditional artisanal path to master status and the "competency," or modest independent means, that status conferred. Nor could the traditional apprentice system survive cost-cutting masters–employers who turned it into a source of cheap child labor. In short, even as the market revolution enabled some craftsmen (well-situated masters in particular) to prosper, the handicrafts—both as a system of production and as a social relationship that bound journeymen and masters together around historically mutual interests—were undergoing "bastardization," and artisans were in turn bifurcating into bosses and wageworkers. By the late antebellum period, a large and permanent wage-earning working class had emerged in the United States.

Journeymen in the reorganized handicrafts were neither the only wageworkers in the industrial sector nor the only workers to engage in collective labor protest. The emerging factory system—symbolized most famously to contemporaries by the water-powered textile mills of Lowell, Massachusetts—provided a second, if less common, path to wagework and a setting for employer–employee conflict. By mid-century, unskilled laborers like dockworkers and those who built the canals and railroads essential to the market revolution formed another permanent segment of the new wage-earning working class and engaged in strikes against employers.

Still, in composition and ideology, the antebellum labor movement was dominated by skilled and semiskilled workingmen experiencing and resisting their

own proletarianization. If not all labor protest was their protest, it was through their organized collective actions, as well as their ideas, that the labor movement largely arose and developed.

Ideology and Aims

Antebellum labor activists articulated a mobilizing ideology focused on both the exploitation of artisanal labor and, more broadly, the growing social inequality attendant on the market revolution and industrialization. Refashioning the republicanism of the American Revolution, they linked the progress (and thus the fate) of the republic to the labor, the virtue, and the welfare of its workingmen, and they mounted a moral critique of free-labor capitalism that located the root cause of degraded labor and social inequality in a pervasive and selfish "spirit of avarice." That rapacious spirit, they believed, warped government and society, creating the conditions under which parasitical "nonproducers" (or "the aristocracy"), themselves possessed and morally deranged by avarice, unjustly deprived workingmen of the fruits of their labor. As a result, the discourse of the movement warned, workingmen were on the verge of enslavement through loss of their personal independence, and the republic itself was on the verge of that fatal corruption that (history and republican theory taught) was the inevitable consequence when love of liberty succumbed to love of gain. It was thus their urgent, momentous, and heroic duty to rescue, through organized collective action, labor and the republic from tyrannical wealth and the grotesque inequality it fostered.

Important as these themes were, there was significantly more to the movement's ideology than the "artisan [or labor] republicanism" stressed by a generation of labor historians. For one thing, as those historians themselves have noted, republicanism combined labor rhetoric with an emphasis on equal rights and the labor theory of value. Thus, workingmen proclaimed their right to organize for their own protection and sang countless paeans to the generative and civilizing powers of their useful (skilled) labor. Moreover, they juxtaposed such paeans with laments of labor's degradation, thereby highlighting and protesting what they saw as a jarring, telling, and dangerous contradiction between the dignity and respect labor deserved and the contempt and exploitation it suffered.

From the complementary currents of evangelical Protestantism, with its promise of salvation through free will and free-labor capitalism, with its promise of economic gain through individual exertion, came the theme of collective self-agency that saturated workingmen's ideology and lent it effectiveness in rallying workers to the cause. If workingmen awoke to their imminent slavery and united to resist those who would enslave them, this theme promised, victory—and with it the gratitude of "posterity"—would be theirs. Its logical counterpoint was that workingmen ultimately had only themselves to blame for their oppression. Indeed, the notion of workingmen's ironic and perverse complicity in their own degradation figured prominently in the movement's ideology, complementing and reinforcing republicanism's emphasis on vigilant citizenship.

The parallels with antebellum revivalist Protestantism's treatment of individual sin and salvation are revealing. Labor ideology in this period (and beyond) was, on the whole, saturated with evangelical language and themes, a fact too often obscured by the almost single-minded stress placed by most labor historians on artisan republicanism. Scripture, for example, provided rich material for pointed condemnations of unjust (that is, ungodly) accumulations of wealth, especially on the backs of those who labored. As prominent labor leader Seth Luther declared, quoting Jesus, in his *Address on the Origins and Progress of Avarice* (1834): "YE CANNOT SERVE GOD AND MAMMON." (It is worth noting here that "avarice" was at once a republican and religious trope, and like similar multivalent keywords in labor discourse it at once facilitated and reflected labor activists' blending of the two traditions.) Protestant millennialism not only supplied assurances that, as already noted, workingmen aroused and united in defense of their rights would prevail, but simultaneously elevated their cause to the plane of cosmic Christian conflict between light and darkness. On their cause, on their redemptive mission, rested the fate not simply of workingmen but of humanity itself.

Religion, then, lent labor protest legitimacy, hope, momentousness, and a clarifying moral critique that blasted the exploitation of labor and social inequality. Simultaneously, like republicanism's fear of class privilege and in conjunction with it, Christianity's emphasis on forgiveness muddied class ways of thinking and blunted the movement's radical edge.

Antebellum labor ideology was also highly racialized and gendered in tightly intertwined ways. In a republic where the vast majority of freemen were white men, whiteness was virtually synonymous with republican independence and citizenship, and blackness with dependence and servility (both exter-

nal and internal). Such a context ensured that jeremiads about workingmen's (imminent) descent into "white slavery" (a term far more common than "wage slavery") bespoke racialized anxieties about the security of workingmen's whiteness. Blacks loomed as the Other whose fate workingmen feared, abhorred, and seemed in danger of sharing. In such a context, as historian David Roediger (drawing on W.E.B. Du Bois) has argued in *The Wages of Whiteness* (1999), workingmen sought refuge in their whiteness, and whiteness (or more precisely, its privileges) in turn provided them with a psychological "wage" that could compensate for their economic exploitation.

The racialized anxieties workingmen's rhetoric bespoke were intimately bound up with dread of emasculation. The attributes of a slave—most notably, dependence and physical and mental servility—were precisely those of an unmanly man. Hence, antebellum labor ideology represented the labor movement as at once the expression and redemption of (white) worker manhood. Manly workingmen, it instructed time and again, were organized and united in defense of their rights; responsive to the heroic duty to which they were called as deliverers of labor, the republic, humanity, and posterity from the thralldom of oppressive wealth; and ultimately invincible. Manliness was also invoked, explicitly and implicitly, to contrast fair (i.e., manly) workingmen with their unjust (i.e., unmanly) oppressors.

In manliness, in short, race, class, and gender converged. As a trope, moreover, it served to condense and make even more compelling the major discursive elements of the labor ideology it pervaded. At the same time, in its accent on character and respectability, shared with and strengthened by the discourse of whiteness, manliness rhetoric muted even as it amplified the movement's class timbre.

The manliness trope occasionally inflected even the rhetoric of protesting women workers and their female allies in interesting ways. In 1844, New England activist Sarah Bagley combined feminist overtones with deference to workingmen's manly agency when, on one hand, she firmly protested the economic and political circumstances of New England's female factory operatives, while on the other she looked to workingmen "to protect your daughters and sisters."

In contrast, a contemporary of Bagley mocked men's pretensions to manliness ("Prate no more of your manliness") and asserted that not men but "the strong and resolute of their own sex" would protect women. Other female labor leaders conceived of mobilized and united workingwomen in ways that paralleled the concept of manliness among their male counterparts.

Nor were the twinned tropes of slavery and whiteness confined to male workers' rhetoric. Urging the women shoebinders of Lynn, Massachusetts, to strike for a higher wage in 1860, Clara Brown was quoted in the *New York Times* in language that brought a sharp rebuke followed by a revealing clarification on her part: "Don't let them make niggers of you; (Shame, there are colored persons here.) I meant Southern niggers."

The ideology of the antebellum labor movement was thus multidimensional and complex. It was also elastic. For these reasons it lent itself to no single, specific program, but rather to a variety of movement objectives, some more pronounced in one phase than in another, all of them intended to redress labor's degradation and the social inequality it so glaringly reflected. For the same reasons, it lent itself equally well to excoriations of "nonproducers" and "purse-proud aristocrats," "grinding employers," and "capital" (a term invoked with increasing regularity in the period's second half).

Among the principal demands that defined the movement as it first emerged in its early years were public funding of public schools; restrictions on (or even the abolition of) state-chartered corporations (paper-money-issuing banks were judged to be particularly dangerous); abolition of imprisonment for debt; restrictions on convict labor; mechanics' lien laws to ensure payment for work done; reform of militia service so as not to burden workingmen financially; and the dispersal of public land in the West to small homesteaders rather than speculators (an aim that, with varying intensity, persisted throughout the period). As this list suggests, privileges and monopolies obtained through "class" legislation favoring "the few" at the expense of "the many" were perceived as the primary problem.

This early antimonopoly stance and related concern with government-sponsored "artificial" privileges would to varying degrees remain a general feature of the movement. At the same time, from the early-1830s on, labor activists as a whole repeatedly focused on developing trade unionism at the craft, city, and national levels; staging strikes over wages and hours; securing the ten-hour day; and, as an alternative to the wage system, establishing worker-owned cooperative workshops (in addition to land reform).

The ideology (and related objectives) of antebel-

lum labor protest at once cast doubt on, critiqued, and suggested alternatives to the period's dominant free-labor ideology. Free laborism stressed the imperative and possibility of virtually unlimited (white male) self-making in a world where wagework was (supposedly) but a temporary condition, a waystation on the road to becoming one's own boss, who in turn hired other men on their way up. It took as givens and represented as natural the values and workings of the marketplace, above all competitive individualism and the law of supply and demand.

Organized workingmen did not reject upward mobility; indeed, their rhetoric occasionally pointed with pride to mechanics who, through their own skill (or genius) and hard work, had risen out of the ranks of labor. But neither did they embrace the unbridled, exploitative, selfish race for wealth they perceived all around them and to which they attributed their own, and the republic's, alarming situation. Their ideology represented the scramble for gain as immoral and corrupting of republican simplicity and virtue, as rewarding only a few, and as exposing the hypocrisy in free-labor rhetoric about the dignity of labor ("If labor of the hands is thus honored and rewarded," a leading labor paper of the 1840s pointedly asked, "why such a universal scramble . . . to forego its honors and rewards, by entering into speculation and trade?"). And it rejected the arguments of free-labor proponents that the price of workmen's labor—their property, some labor advocates called it—should be determined by supply and demand, and that unions were both unjust and unnecessary. Labor ideology was not revolutionary—it did not envision the violent overthrow of one class by another; but, as the foregoing suggests, it was radically oppositional in its challenge to the basic thrust and dominance of free-labor values.

Phases and Leadership

The early years of the movement were dominated not by trade unionism but by labor politics in the form of Working Men's parties, the most important of which were centered in the metropolitan Northeast. Philadelphia led the way when the MUTA resolved in early 1829 to organize a party in that city. New York and Boston soon followed suit. Party platforms shared a thoroughgoing antimonopolism focused on the evils of legislatively created corporations in the financial and manufacturing sectors. Despite the impressive showing of some at the polls—Philadelphia Working Men, for example, won more than 30 percent of the vote in 1829, while that same year the New York party elected a journeyman carpenter to the state assembly (and came close to sending six others to Albany with him). The parties proved short-lived. Inexperience, factionalism, and the lure of Andrew Jackson's Democratic Party, which attracted workingmen's votes with its antimonopoly agenda and its celebration of producers over nonproducers, all took their toll.

Wary of labor politics, workingmen's advocates in the early 1830s concentrated instead on trade unionism. A flurry of union building and strikes ensued, fueled in no small part by the ten-hour day demand. (That demand, it should be noted, entailed political pressure brought to bear at the state and federal levels, and thus the labor movement never eschewed politics altogether in this period of surging unionism and beyond.) Led by the General Trades' Union (GTU) of New York (1833), citywide federations of local unions soon emerged in more than a dozen cities in the East and trans-Allegheny West. The GTUs not only lent financial support to strikes by member unions but also sponsored lectures and labor newspapers. Their conventions and committees, moreover, schooled journeymen in participatory union democracy. Trade union membership probably hovered between one-fifth and one-third of urban journeymen, a proportion never again attained before the Civil War.

Beyond the citywide federations, two innovative organizations of this period were the New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics, and Other Working Men (1832) and the National Trades' Union (1834). The association dedicated itself to the ten-hour day and set March 20, 1832, as the date on which, absent overtime pay, all members of the organization "except practical farmers" were "to labor no more than ten hours for one day." As its title suggests, it was the first attempt at industrial unionism in the United States, seeking to unite in a single organization factory operatives, unskilled laborers, and skilled tradesmen. The Trades' Union, whose founding convention attracted delegates representing more than 25,000 workers in six Eastern city centrals, marked the first national organization of American workers, though during its two-year existence it remained geographically narrower than its name promised.

The upsurge in unionism was accompanied by a veritable wave of strikes, with some of the most important action occurring in Boston, Philadelphia, and New York. In 1835, Boston carpenters, masons, and stonecutters, joined eventually by the city's housewrights, struck for the ten-hour day. Though ultimately unsuccessful, the strike produced a stirring and influential document in the antebellum struggle

for shorter hours, the "Ten-Hour Circular." Depicting the struggle as one between workingmen and "Capital," the circular declared in language redolent with republicanism, evangelical Protestantism, whiteness, and manliness: "We cannot, we will not, longer be mere slaves to inhuman, insatiable and unpitying avarice." Sentiments like these helped that same year to inspire a general strike in Philadelphia (the nation's first) for the ten-hour day. The strike was notable for including skilled and unskilled, Irish and native-born workers. Aided by a petition campaign, it succeeded in pressuring the city council to limit the hours of workingmen employed by the city to ten. Other employers quickly followed the council's example.

In New York the next year, striking journeymen tailors became the object of an employer offensive against unions and strikes that left twenty tailors convicted of conspiracy. Both the conviction and the presiding judge became instantly notorious among the workingmen of New York and beyond. Some 27,000 of the city's residents rallied in protest, burning Judge Ogden Edwards in effigy and blasting the prosecution of the tailors as "a concerted plan of the aristocracy to take from them that Liberty which was bequeathed to them as a sacred inheritance by their revolutionary sires." In Philadelphia, protests led to an unprecedented formal alliance between skilled and unskilled workers when the Trades' Union voted to include dockworkers.

Some women workers were also caught up in the strike wave of the 1830s. The New York Tailoresses' Society, organized in 1831 and 1,600 strong, struck that same year. In mid-decade Philadelphia, women shoe and clothing workers struck with the support of unionized male shoemakers and tailors. Among female textile operatives, the most notable strikes occurred in Lowell, Massachusetts, where mill owners' vaunted paternalism was both challenged and exposed as selfish when women stopped working in 1834 to resist wage cuts (unsuccessfully) and again in 1836 to oppose higher boardinghouse rents (resulting in compromise).

It was against this backdrop of surging and, for unions, resource-draining strike activity that the labor movement after mid-1836 began to embrace cooperative production as the "more permanent" answer to workingmen's oppression called for by the National Trades' Union. Cooperation, that organization maintained, would enable workingmen to sell "their labor directly to the consumer," thereby ending speculation and ensuring "they would receive the full product." As historian Bruce Laurie more pointedly summed up this program in *Artisans into Workers* (1989), it was "a collective project to achieve social equality and worker control." Though many cooperative workshops were indeed soon established, they, like the labor movement itself, succumbed to economic depression in 1837.

In its first decade, the movement was led by an array of talented activists, some of whom would continue as leaders when the movement revived in the 1840s. William Heighton, a cordwainer born in England, founded Philadelphia's MUTA; edited the Union's newspaper, the *Mechanics' Free Press;* and authored three speeches, the first of which ("An Address to the Members of Trade Societies, and to the Working Classes Generally. [1827]) profoundly influenced the rising of workingmen in his city and perhaps beyond.

The career of another Philadelphia cordwainer, William English, illustrates how thoroughly involved activists could be in the full range of existing labor institutions. English served as a leader of the Philadelphia Working Men's party, as a founding delegate to the National Trades' Union, and as president of the Philadelphia Trades' Union. He orated in favor of the ten-hour day and helped to found the National Association of Cordwainers before being elected state representative in 1836.

Among the New York leadership, machinist Thomas Skidmore created a considerable stir with his *The Rights of Men to Property!* (1829), a proposal for eliminating social inequality through an agrarian program of redistribution and expropriation. His approach was too extreme even for the Working Men's party to which he belonged before being expelled. Breaking with Skidmore, labor editor George Henry Evans developed a moderate land reform proposal that would figure prominently in the labor movement in the 1840s. Other leaders benefited the city's GTU, especially printer Ely Moore, its first president, and chairmaker John Commerford, who succeeded Moore in 1835. Moore had been elected the previous year to the chairmanship of the National Trades' Union and to the U.S. House of Representatives. New York also produced Sarah Monroe, leader of the Tailoresses' Society, about whom little is known.

In Boston and New England, the carpenter Seth Luther emerged as probably the region's most influential and best known labor activist. A brilliant orator and agitator, several of whose addresses were published as pamphlets, Luther helped to organize the Boston Trades' Union and also championed factory hands. He was likely principal author of the "Ten-Hour Circular" and was still agitating the cause

eleven years later in 1846, the year he died. No antebellum labor leader produced more scorching jeremiads on the evils of avarice and factory work.

Luther's agitation in the 1840s was part of the labor movement's post-Depression revival around especially the ten-hour day demand. The struggle galvanized New England journeymen and female mill workers who cooperated across lines of skill and gender. Women played a critical role by engaging in petition campaigns to pressure state legislatures to enact ten-hour statutes. Male–female cooperation was institutionalized when the New England Workingmen's Association (1844) agreed in 1845 to admit the Lowell Female Labor Reform Association (1844). Both groups led the way organizationally.

Sarah Bagley rose to prominence as leader of the Lowell Female Labor Reform Association. A Lowell operative herself, Bagley spearheaded a petition drive aimed at the Massachusetts legislature, organized factory women in New Hampshire, and published critiques of factory conditions and owners. She collaborated with harness maker William F. Young, editor of the influential *Voice of Industry*, organ of the Workingmen's Association, and a key figure himself in the decade's labor agitation. For a brief period, Bagley edited the *Voice* after her association acquired it.

The ten-hour struggle of the 1840s had mixed results. New Hampshire passed the nation's first state ten-hour law in 1847 ("ALL HAIL NEW HAMPSHIRE," exulted the *Voice*), and Pennsylvania followed suit a year later after strikes and political pressure dating from 1845. Both laws, however, had loopholes. The Massachusetts legislature, notwithstanding the testimony of Sarah Bagley and six other women before a House committee, and a subsequent intensified petition campaign, refused to act.

Even as the ten-hour contest unfolded, workers and their leaders sought alternatives to the wage-labor system in cooperative workshops and land reform. From shoemakers in Lynn to German tailoresses in Cleveland, they established cooperatives throughout the North and West. Under the leadership of George Henry Evans, the National Reform Association (1844) promoted land reform as the solution to workers' ills. With its slogan "Vote Yourself a Farm," the organization sought to make public lands available for free to homesteading families. Both cooperationists and land reformers were represented in the Industrial Congresses that nourished labor activism across the urban North from the mid-1840s to the mid-1850s.

The 1850s witnessed a major development in the

THE FACTORY BELL
By an Unknown Factory Girl 1844

Most nineteenth-century Americans did not own a clock or a watch of their own to keep time. The tolling of the factory bell signified the beginning and end of the harsh workday for young women employed in the New England textile mills.

Loud the morning bell is ringing,
Up, up sleepers, haste away;
Yonder sits the redbreast singing,
but to list we must not stay.

Not for us is morning breaking,
Though we with Aurora rise;
Nor for us is Nature waking,
All her smiles through earth and skies.

Sisters, haste, the bell is tolling,
Soon will close the dreadful gate;
Then, alas! we must go strolling,
Through the counting-room, too late.

Now the sun is upward climbing,
And the breakfast hour has come;
Ding, dong, ding, the bell is chiming,
Hasten, sisters, hasten home.

Quickly now we take our ration,
For the bell will babble soon;
Each must hurry to her station,
There to toil till weary noon.

Mid-day sun in heaven is shining,
Merrily now the clear bell rings,
And the grateful hour of dining,
To us weary sisters brings.

Now we give a welcome greeting,
To these viands cooked so well;
Horrors! Oh! not half done eating—
Rattle, rattle goes the bell!

Sol behind the hills descended,
Upward throws his ruby light;
Ding dong ding,—our toil is ended,
Joyous bell, good night, good night.

Source: Factory Girl's Garland, Exeter, New Hampshire, May 25, 1844.

history of organized labor in the United States with the rise of national unions in various trades (among them the hatfinishers, cigar makers, typesetters, shoemakers, machinists and blacksmiths, and iron molders). Some were short-lived; all were important as a next stage in labor's organization-building. With the national unions came new leaders like molder William Sylvis, principal founder of the Iron Molders' International Union (1859), who grasped the need for strong national organizations in the context of nationwide markets and employers' associations. Sylvis himself would emerge as the nation's single most important Civil War–era labor leader.

The decade also saw continued agitation for the ten-hour day and episodes of intense strike activity culminating in what was then the largest strike in U.S. history, the Lynn shoemakers' strike of 1860. More than 20,000 men and women participated, bolstered by their numbers and placards like the one proclaiming, "American ladies will not be slaves: Give us a fair compensation and we labor cheerfully." Leadership came from men like Alonzo B. Draper, editor of the *New England Mechanic*, president of the Lynn Mechanics' Association, and an advocate of women's participation in support of higher wages for journeymen, and from women like Clara Brown, a young factory stitcher who sought to raise women's wages along with men's. After two months the strike ended in defeat. Its size, its mass mobilization of factory workers, and the presence of the militia were all harbingers of labor–capital conflict in the future.

Assessment

The antebellum labor movement, like all social movements, was characterized by strengths and weaknesses, some more easily seen with the advantages of hindsight and historical study. Certainly, the movement succeeded in bequeathing to American workers in the Gilded Age and beyond a core set of institutions—trade unions, city centrals, and at least fledgling nationals—as well as attendant institutional practices that would empower and sustain them in their conflicts with capital and would form the basis of the modern American labor movement. It succeeded, too, in developing and passing on the weapon of the strike, along with a program for radical change—cooperative production—that promised to make both strikes and wage labor obsolete. It ameliorated the exploitation of some, though by no means all, workers, prepared the way for the eight-hour day struggles, and engendered working-class pride and self-respect. More generally, the movement established organized labor protest as a permanent, if contested, part of the American political and social landscape.

And yet the divisive lines of ethnicity, race, gender, and skill seriously hobbled the movement. Nativism, together with the massive influx of German and especially Irish immigrants in the decade 1845–1854, created a fragmented working class, though there were hopeful instances of solidarity across ethnic lines. The movement also excluded blacks and marginalized white women. Even when male unionists supported, or sought the support of, women workers, they did so typically out of a sense of chivalry or a desire to lend legitimacy to their own cause.

The very language of labor, with its densely intertwined tropes of whiteness and manliness, iterated and reiterated racial and gender lines. And since lack of skill was readily associated with blacks, women, and Irish immigrants—who in turn were easily associated with dependence and lack of self-control—skilled workingmen most often shunned the unskilled. A different kind of line, between North and South, also limited the movement as Southern white male artisans actively cast their lot not with one another but with the slaveholding elite.

The movement's language and ideology were also problematic. There was a melodramatic and romantic cast to both that tended toward oversimplification—for example, the notion that aroused and united workingmen were invincible, which ultimately left only workingmen themselves to blame for their oppression. And for all that republicanism, evangelical Protestantism, whiteness, and manliness fed the movement's class-inflected oppositional critique of free-labor capitalism, they simultaneously muted classist ways of thinking and blunted labor radicalism.

Nonetheless, the antebellum labor movement stands as a significant and inspiring, if flawed, movement for social justice that first confronted more than 175 years ago issues of economic fairness that are with us still.

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Labor Movement 1861–1877

The years 1860 to 1877 were a pivotal era in the history of American labor. The Civil War was the catalyst that transformed both the economy and society, hastening the pace of industrialization and concentration of wealth in America. Monopolies and trusts were consolidating control of the nation's most important industries, making it more difficult for smaller firms to compete. Two interrelated trends posed a serious threat to workers' welfare: declining wages and the loss of jobs due to mechanization of the work process. The war brought prosperity to many businessmen and financiers, but most workers saw prices increase and their earning power decline. Male workers' earnings dropped, but women earned less than half of what men did, and children could be exploited for even less. Employers regularly pitted each against the other to keep wages down. Despite full employment conditions during the Civil War, the effects of labor-eliminating mechanization and unskilled workers had caused real wages in 1865 to drop by one-third from their 1860 level. Mechanization of many industries also meant that work could be simplified to the point where employers did not have to pay a premium for skilled workers.

This upheaval in the workplace challenged labor, which was primarily organized on local levels, or along craft lines, to organize unskilled and semiskilled workers along industry lines on a national scale. The question for organized labor was whether it would remain as a narrow-based pressure group of craft workers, or transform itself into a broad-based working-class social movement open to all workers. The Civil War, which gave America, as President Abraham Lincoln put it, "a new birth of freedom," unleashed social forces of egalitarian reform in the labor movement. As a result, unions had to grapple with how they would respond to questions of race, gender, and immigration.

The Iron Workers

During the mid-nineteenth century, the Iron Molders' International Union played an important leadership role in the effort to unite labor and mobilize it as a social movement. The Iron Molders was one of the most militant unions of the day, seeking social reforms through political action. Its president, William H. Sylvis, was one of the era's most dynamic labor leaders. Under his leadership, the Iron Molders established small-scale, worker-owned cooperatives, so that they could keep the fruits of their labor. But their cooperative efforts were overwhelmed by the growing industrial capitalist system. Workers cooperatives could not raise the capital necessary to update their relatively small factories with the latest equipment and technology, and therefore could not compete with the larger, corporate-owned factories. Sylvis also supported women's rights and labor solidarity, both domestic and international. Having witnessed firsthand how strikes had almost wiped out the strike fund, Sylvis was persuaded that strikes were not the best instrument for advancing labor's cause. Instead, he argued for political action and was instrumental in the formation of the National Labor Union and the National Labor and Reform Party, both of which strove to organize mutual aid associations and to challenge employers directly at the workplace.

The Eight-Hour Movement

Since there were no regulations governing the length of the working day, it was not uncommon during this period for workers to labor ten to eighteen hours a day, six days a week. The issue of shorter hours was a top priority for the labor movement, and the fight for the eight-hour day was the historical continuation of labor's pre–Civil War struggle for the ten-hour day. A machinist named Ira Steward, who worked twelve-hour days, became one of its chief proponents. As a

delegate to the International Union of Machinists and Blacksmiths' convention in 1863, he was instrumental in the passage of a resolution calling for the enactment of a law to guarantee workers the eight-hour day. The union donated $400 and put Steward in charge of organizing the movement. He was president of the Boston Eight Hour League and the National Ten Hour League. In 1864, he formed the Labor Reform Association to push the fight for the eight-hour day. The next year, he teamed up with the abolitionist Wendell Phillips to found the Grand Eight Hour League. With the end of slavery, Phillips and many other abolitionists turned their attention to the problems associated with wage slavery. However, this potentially powerful coalition broke up when union members wanted to bar the importation of Chinese workers from America.

Borrowing a political tactic from the land reform movement, the Grand Eight Hour League of Massachusetts lobbied politicians in 1865 to secure their pledge of support for the cause. This political strategy secured only twenty-three supporters in the Massachusetts legislature, but the depression of 1866 spurred worker interest in political reform, especially the eight-hour day. Steward argued that cutting working hours without cutting pay would not only give workers more leisure time, but it would also increase employment and workers' purchasing power. In *Toil and Trouble: A History of American Labor* (1971), Thomas R. Brooks cites a popular rhyme that summed up Steward's idea: "Whether you work by piece or by day; decreasing the hours increases the pay."

The momentum for the eight-hour movement increased as Connecticut, Illinois, Missouri, New York, and Wisconsin passed laws during the late 1860s. However, these state laws contained glaring loopholes; they permitted employers to require that their employees sign ten-hour contracts. The eight-hour provision applied only if employers failed to mandate longer hours, and Wisconsin's law applied only to women and children. These laws were short-lived since the desperate search for work during the depression years of the 1870s effectively nullified this modest advance. The movement had better success on the federal level when Congress passed an eight-hour law in 1868. However, it applied only to laborers and mechanics working for the federal government. The eight-hour day was a plank in the Republican Party's platform in 1872, but most workers would have to wait until 1886 for the labor movement to take up the issue again. Shorter working hours remains a goal of many in the labor movement today.

The National Labor Union

Rapid industrialization and technological developments such as the railroads and telegraph during the Civil War hastened the process of the nationalization of the economy that had begun prior to 1860. It became apparent to a handful of labor leaders that the traditional system of isolated local trades' assemblies was no longer sufficient to cope with the threat posed by large corporations and trusts whose reach spanned the nation, and beyond. Two unsuccessful attempts were made to form a national federation of unions in 1864. First, Robert Gilchrist, president of the Louisville Trades' Assembly, called for a national convention, but his call went unheeded. But a second call in September resulted in a meeting of twelve delegates from eight local trades' assemblies under the rubric of the International Industrial Assembly of North America. The assembly never met again, but its constitution called for the establishment of a strike fund based on per capita union membership, a concept later used by unions such as the Knights of Labor and the Cigar Makers. Moreover, its organizational structure, which rested on local trades' assemblies, became the model for the National Labor Union.

Although the eight-hour movement did not achieve its goal, it did give birth to the first national federation of labor, the National Labor Union. The process began when the Grand Eight Hour League of Indiana called for state conventions across the land to elect worker representatives to attend a national convention. In March 1866, representatives of all but two national unions met in New York and called for a national convention to be held in Baltimore in August. The local orientation of most unions of the day is illustrated by the fact that local trade unionists in New York City quickly accused the national leaders of exceeding their authority by calling for the national convention. A compromise was reached allowing the Baltimore convention to be held on August 20 and the National Labor Union to be founded.

William Sylvis was a moving force in the formation and leadership of the National Labor Union and became its first president. The political center of gravity was the local trades assemblies as the distribution of delegates to the 1866 convention shows: seventy-seven delegates representing 60,000 workers answered the call, including fifty delegates from fifty local trade unions, seventeen delegates from thirteen trades' assemblies, seven delegates from five eight-hour leagues; and three delegates from two national unions. The National Labor Union was not a union

per se; rather, it was a loose federation of unions, and it also included political reformers from the suffrage, abolitionist, and other movements. It was too unwieldy to hold together for long, but it represented an important effort to bring unity and a semblance of national cohesion to the decentralized American labor movement.

The National Labor Union's leadership was dominated by political reformers and intellectuals, more so than labor leaders. Its political reform agenda was expressed through committees established to address a wide variety of concerns: the eight-hour day and other labor concerns, land reform, currency reform, women's rights, cooperation, inflation, the abolition of contract prison labor, and the establishment of a public works program. However, the National Labor Union's political reform goals were often in conflict with the racist outlook, and "pure and simple" unionism, of many of its local union members. The goals of political reform were beautifully expressed by one National Labor Union leader quoted in Brooks's *Toil and Trouble:* "What is wanted is for every union to help inculcate the grand ennobling idea that the interests of labor are one; that there should be no distinction of race or nationality; no classification of Jew or gentile; Christian or infidel; that there is one dividing line, that which separates mankind into two great classes, the class that labors and the class that lives by others' labor." Although the 1869 convention admitted Isaac Myers, president of the Colored National Labor Union, as a delegate, it sidestepped the issue of race, effectively killing any action to effect racial unity in labor's ranks. The importation of Chinese laborers was another issue that divided the National Labor Union. Many in the labor movement urged the repeal of the Burlingame Treaty (1868), which recognized the right of the peoples of the United States and China to emigrate to each other's country.

National leaders, some of whom were not workers, pursued broader political goals, but local trades' assemblies, which made up the National Labor Union's backbone, wanted concrete benefits for their members. Political conflict between its constituent parts was a major cause of the union's demise. Moreover, the lack of adequate revenue, due to poor recordkeeping and assessment of dues, meant that the National Labor Union had trouble funding its operations from the start. Sylvis died in 1869, and the National Labor Union began to decline in 1870. Political bickering between the political reform and pure and simple unionism factions led to the ultimate demise of the National Labor Union. The Industrial Congresses held between 1873 and 1875 represented a futile attempt to resurrect the mission of the National Labor Union without its focus on political reform. This was a seeming impossibility, and the congresses, like the National Labor Union before it, represented a national leadership body in search of a membership base.

The National Labor and Reform Party

Sylvis recognized that labor was in a weak position; even when workers won a strike, employers often regained their advantage through firing, blacklisting, wage cuts, increasing production requirements, and breaking unions. Instead, he argued for political action. The National Labor and Reform Party was the result of his vision that labor should have its own political voice. Like the National Labor Union, the National Labor and Reform Party reflected the ideas of political reformers and intellectuals more than those of labor leaders. On February 21, 1872, the National Labor Union held a political convention in Columbus, Ohio, and adopted its political reform goals as the National Labor and Reform Party's platform. Its platform called on the federal government to bypass the banks and directly issue a national currency ("Greenbacks"); establish the eight-hour day; provide public land for landless homesteaders, not corporations or real estate speculators; regulate the railroads and telegraph companies; enact civil service reform; and abolish prison contract labor.

The convention nominated Judge David Davis of Illinois to be its candidate for president, but he declined the offer and the party was left without a presidential candidate. Although this fiasco effectively killed the National Labor and Reform Party, it met again in Cleveland in September to nominate a second candidate, Charles O'Connor, a New York lawyer. O'Connor was the first Roman Catholic to run for president, but he received only 18,602 votes.

The Order of the Knights of St. Crispin

Named for the patron saint of their trade, the Order of the Knights of St. Crispin was founded in 1867 by Newell Daniels. Although it was founded in Milwaukee, the order's roots lie in Massachusetts. Daniels was a refugee of the Massachusetts shoemaker strike of 1860 where the order was well received. The order was formed in response to pay decreases brought on by the introduction of shoemaking machinery prior to

the Civil War that could be operated by unskilled workers. Shoemaking was once a proud craft that commanded decent wages, but even low-paid children could now make shoes. With increased competition in a labor market where sixteen-hour days were not uncommon, the prevailing wage was only $3 a week for men and as little as $1 for women. These adverse social conditions set the stage for the order's founding.

The Knights of St. Crispin were greeted by shoemakers who realized that collective action was needed to stem the loss of jobs and falling wages. Nationwide, its growth was so rapid and widespread that 600 local lodges were represented at the first Grand Lodge, the nationwide gathering of the order, in 1868. For the next five years, it was the most powerful labor union in the United States. At its peak, the Crispins had an estimated 50,000 members, and their reach was international. The Crispins sought legislation and collective bargaining agreements to protect their jobs from unskilled workers, "green hands" as they called them. The order's political influence was such that the politicians sought its endorsement. They established producer's cooperative stores to help insulate workers from the vicissitudes of the labor market. They also favored the idea of consumer cooperatives that were pioneered in England by the Rochdale plan (one of the earliest worker cooperatives) in the 1840s. But, as with other worker cooperatives, they could not compete with larger, better-financed corporate enterprises.

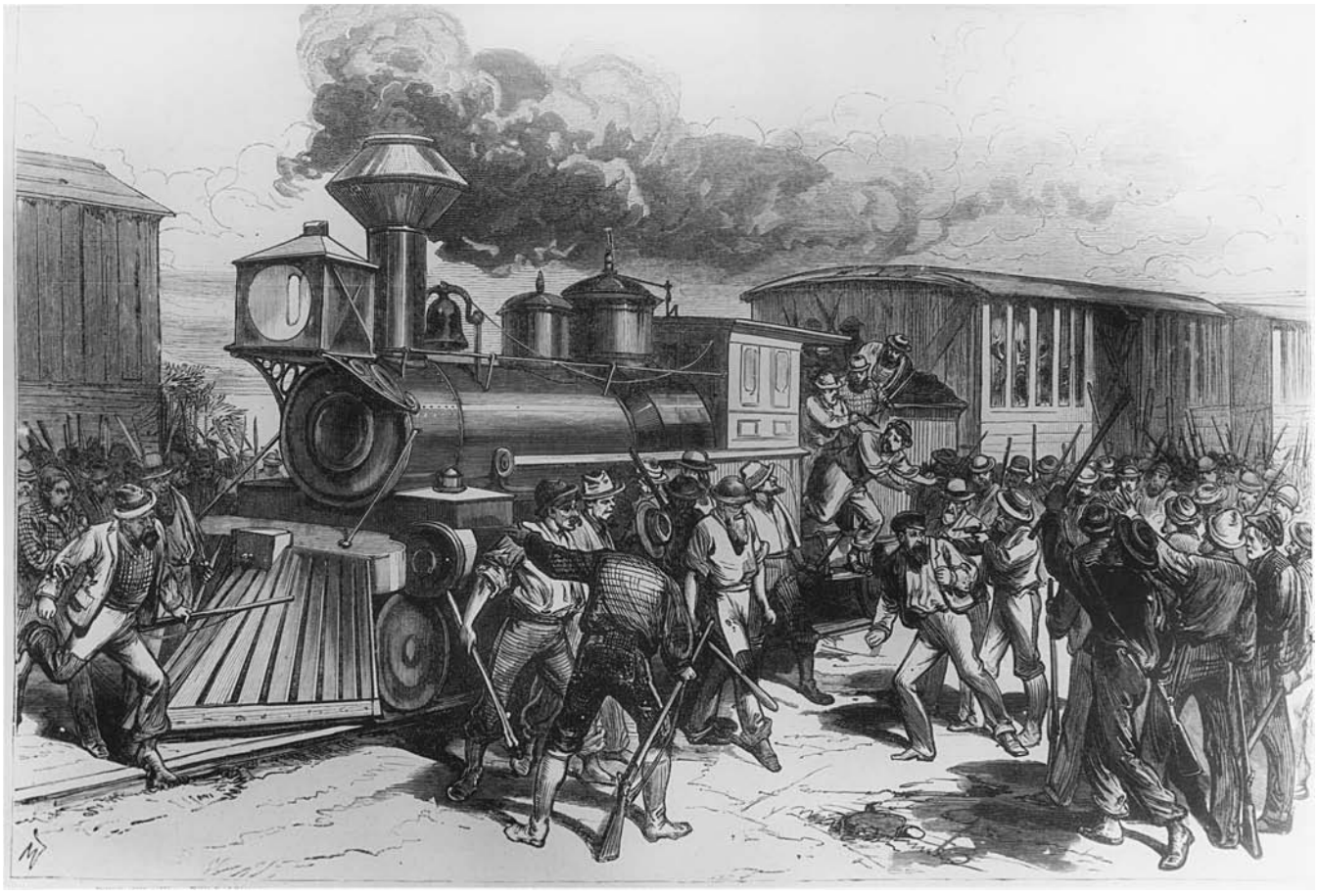
During 1868–1869, the Knights of St. Crispin successfully conducted many strikes, which took employers by surprise. It also successfully fought against pay cuts for its members. Female shoemakers also united, forming the Daughters of St. Crispin in 1870 to maintain wages and improve working conditions. Although many male-dominated unions of the era discriminated against female members in their trade, the Knights were supportive of the Daughters. The Daughters of St. Crispin, in turn, worked closely with their male brethren, gaining the Knights support in several strikes. When female shoemakers were fired in Baltimore for their union membership, the local Knights conducted a sympathy strike to show support for their sisters' right to belong to a union.

Employers countered the Knights of St. Crispin's success by organizing into trade associations, blacklisting union agitators, and hiring strikebreakers. In 1870, a North Adams, Massachusetts, employer could not find any local strikebreakers to hire. He transported seventy-five Chinese workers from San Francisco by transcontinental railroad, paid them less than half the wages earned by the order, and broke the strike. In Philip Foner's *History of the Labor Movement in the United States: From Colonial Times to the Founding of the American Federation of Labor* (1947), the employer is quoted as declaring that he would continue to break strikes in order "to free himself from the cramping tyranny of the worst of American trades-unions—the Knights of St. Crispin"—illustrating the extent to which employers feared the collective power of the Crispins. However, the Crispins could not compete with this tactic and so turned their ire against the Chinese strikebreakers as much, if not more than, the employers. From 1872 onward, employers were consistently able to break strikes. The Knights of St. Crispin failed to adapt to the changing times by not reaching out to organize the unorganized, such as the Chinese immigrants. By 1875, the Crispins had all but dissolved as a labor union. Labor circles at the time widely believed that strikes were a weak tool, so the Crispins eschewed strikes in favor of arbitration, that is, collective bargaining and negotiation, with employers. However, it was too late for the Crispins to change strategy, and they completely disappeared by 1878.

Although the Knights of St. Crispin disbanded in 1878, so many of its leaders and members joined the more successful Knights of Labor that they became its backbone. As a result, the Knights of Labor adopted many of the innovations pioneered by the Knights of St. Crispin.

The Cigar Makers International Union

Originally founded on June 21, 1864, as the National Cigar Makers Union, it changed its name to the Cigar Makers Union International in 1867. The union was a skilled trade union whose membership was predominantly made up of male cigar rollers. Female cigar rollers tried to join the union in 1864 but were rejected by their male counterparts, who did not see a compelling need to admit women. Men were suspicious that women, who were paid less by employers, were competing for their jobs. Subsequently, the women formed their own union and built it to the point that the men accepted them for membership three years later. But in 1872, the men took the self-defeating step of excluding women from membership when skilled female Bohemian cigar makers entered the market. Employers were quick to hire the women as strikebreakers. Adolph Strasser ruled the union with an



When railroad workers walked out in Martinsburg, West Virginia, then blocked a train from passing through town until the company rescinded a wage cut, President Rutherford B. Hayes sent in federal troops to disperse them. This action ignited the first nationwide strike in July 1877. *(Brown Brothers)*

iron hand, establishing top-down control over the locals. A young cigar roller named Samuel Gompers came to prominence in the Cigar Makers Union as a result of his political skill at reorganizing and stabilizing the New York local during this time period. The union, like others during this time period, faced increasing threats to their jobs posed by the introduction of labor-eliminating machinery.

The Panic of 1873

In 1873, the overproduction of industrial and agricultural goods, combined with a decline in demand, created conditions of economic instability. Excessive stock speculation on railroad construction projects further weakened the economy to the point where, on September 18, the prominent banking firm Jay Cooke and Company collapsed. The resulting bank panic sparked a stock market crash that resulted in more than 5,000 business failures by year's end, a sharp drop in national income, and widespread unemployment, especially for working-class Americans.

The panic of 1873 had a devastating effect on organized labor, especially the national unions that had gained a foothold during the 1860s and early 1870s. In 1873, there were thirty national unions in existence, but only eight were left by 1877. From the end of the Civil War to 1873, organized workers' wages rose due largely to their success at building national unions, winning strikes, and engaging in collective bargaining. But the panic of 1873 triggered a long depression that lasted until 1878 and caused a serious decline in union membership, employment, and wage rates. Employers had the upper hand, and tactics such as blacklists, lockouts, "yellow dog" contracts (signed between employers and union leaders, without the participation of workers), and lawsuits were effective tools for disciplining a workforce that was living in desperate circumstances.

The National Strike of 1877

By 1877, workers had suffered through four years of depression, unemployment, and wage cuts. When the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad cut wages by 10 percent on July 16, the second pay cut in eight months, railroad workers went out on a wildcat strike. The strike rapidly spread to other railroads across the nation. Enraged workers demonstrated and rioted in protest in Baltimore, Chicago, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis, as well as in many smaller cities and towns across the nation. Militia had to be called in from as far away as Philadelphia to restore order after the Pittsburgh militia failed to restore order; in some cases, they refused to shoot civilians, but they failed to subdue the strikers who destroyed railroad tracks and burned down machine shops and the Union Depot. Workers in other industries also went on strike, transforming a railroad strike into a general strike that spread to all regions of the country. For a few days the workers were in control of, and operated, railroads, bakeries, and other businesses.

President Rutherford B. Hayes called out federal troops to quell the uprisings at Martinsburg, West Virginia, and Pittsburgh to subdue the striking workers and their sympathizers. Nine people were killed in Martinsburg, eighteen in Chicago, and twenty-six died in Pittsburgh. Hayes's use of federal troops broke the strike. Property damage was estimated in the range of $5 to $10 million. Perhaps the closest the United States has come to a sustained nationwide general strike, the National Strike of 1877 was a great social upheaval that sent shock waves through the upper echelons of society. Frightened state legislators around the nation responded by passing repressive conspiracy laws aimed at hamstringing organized labor and authorizing funds to build massive National Guard armories to house troops and munitions to guard against future worker uprisings.

Conclusion

America's break with its prewar past was so dramatic that historian Charles Beard labeled the Civil War the Second American Revolution. But revolutions are usually followed by periods of reaction and retrenchment by elites and conservative social forces, and this period was no exception. Labor's story during this era was one of trying, and failing, to form national unions to counter the growing power of capital. Labor's failure to meet this challenge was largely due to the fact that power in most unions of the time was lodged in the locals. Efforts to establish a national labor federation, such as the National Labor Union, foundered because of its top-down organizational structure. The National Labor Union's leaders had few followers, and its power base was in the local trades' assemblies. The Knights of St. Crispin was more successful in this regard largely because its national organization grew out of its grassroots base. This period was also noteworthy for the clash between labor's political reformist and its pure and simple unionism wings. Conflict arose on issues dealing with race, gender, and immigration between those in the National Labor Union who wanted to go into the political arena to reform society along more egalitarian lines and those, such as the Knights of St. Crispin and the Cigar Makers, who preferred to accept the status quo and concentrate on gaining immediate material benefits for their members. There was also conflict between the former group, which wanted to organize all workers, and the latter, which wanted to limit the focus to craft workers. Ultimately, these issues overwhelmed attempts to unite the two factions and build a national federation of labor of skilled and less skilled labor. Progress on these fronts would come in slow, incremental steps with future generations of workers, but the seeds of reform were planted during this era.

Vernon Mogensen

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Knights of Labor

It is instructive to begin a discussion of the Knights of Labor as a social movement with two observations and two metaphors. First, the Knights of Labor was the largest labor organization in the United States in the nineteenth century. During its heyday in the 1885–1887 period, when it grew almost sixfold, it dwarfed its rival, the American Federation of Labor. The second observation is that the amazing growth of the Knights appeared to thoughtful onlookers to be a knitting together of America's highly diverse workers into a modern class, willing and able to act on its own interests. Karl Marx's associate, Friedrich Engels, opined in *The Labor Movement in America* (1887) that the Knights "are the first national organization created by the American working class as a whole."

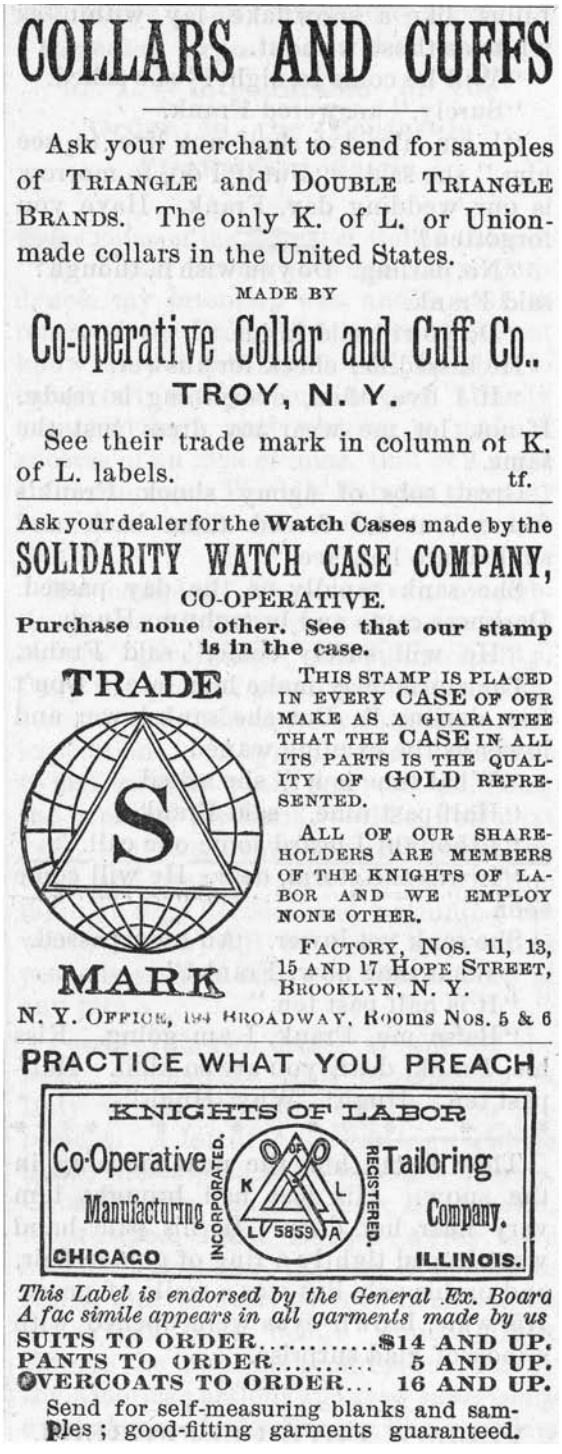
But we must beware of imputing too much motive power to the organization known as the Knights of Labor. For the most part, the Knights did not organize and direct the social movement of workers in the mid-1880s as much as it served as a vehicle for that movement. In this regard two metaphors for the Knights are relevant: that of an umbrella and that of a parade. The Knights by its organizational openness, its grand ambitions, and its devotion to humanitarian reform was able to link together a wide variety of reformers—Single Taxers (followers of Henry George), Irish Land Leaguers, Greenbackers, Anarchists, Socialists—and diverse ethnic groups—Germans, Irish, Scandinavians, African Americans, and Central Europeans—workers of all skill levels, and women as well as men. Put together in almost a decade of growth, this heterogeneous mixture never quite congealed and ultimately proved quite combustible.

The second metaphor, that of a parade, should be understood in nineteenth-century terms. Political candidates and agitators often used parades led by impressive brass bands on the platforms of wagons to "drum up" support for speeches and rallies. The idea was to create a stir so that bystanders joined from the enthusiasm of the moment or "the bandwagon effect." The parade went on, but its membership was usually different from moment to moment. Such, in many respects, was the Knights of Labor, an organization characterized by enormous membership turnover at the local level and a succession of groups at its leadership helm. With only tenuous membership loyalty, the Knights' prospects were precariously dependent on the successes and failures of the strikes (there was little compromise bargaining in this era) into which it entered and the resulting fluctuations in public opinion (the bandwagon effect). That very dependence makes a strong argument for considering the Knights as a social movement rather than merely a labor organization.

Formation of an Industrial Working Class

One of the most important and influential insights of social movement theory into the process of movement formation is that the existence of deep-seated and valid grievances is not sufficient of itself to mobilize a social movement. In order to convert political opportunities into a social movement, the aggrieved group must have access to organizational resources. Rather than being recruited into a movement one by one out of an amorphous mass, aggrieved individuals usually join social movements as part of preestablished networks, organizations, or communities that are coopted by emergent social movements. Such associational networks provide social movements with the necessary legitimacy and incentives to participate, communication networks, and leadership resources. Thus, grievances may exist for many years until the resources become available that allow potential participants to take advantage of new political opportunities.

Such was the case with America's new industrial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This Label is endorsed by the General Ex. Board
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Send for self-measuring blanks and samples; good-fitting garments guaranteed.

With more than 700,000 members at its peak, the Knights of Labor was the largest working-class organization of the nineteenth century. Knights established cooperative factories and—as this advertisement shows—urged consumers to purchase only union-made goods. *(Wisconsin Historical Society/WHi 5068)*

working class, which in the mid-century was composed largely of recent immigrants from Ireland and Germany, the bulk of them Catholics. By the 1870s, the core industrial region was expanding from New England and the Mid-Atlantic region into the Great Lakes states. Pittsburgh, Detroit, Cleveland, Buffalo, Chicago, and Milwaukee became fast-growing industrial centers. The population of these cities was approximately 30 percent immigrant, with the percentage rising to over 67 if children were included. The immigrant percentage was far higher—sometimes double—in industrial employment. Perhaps as many as half of these new industrial workers were Catholics.

Unskilled immigrant industrial workers labored upwards of sixty-hour work weeks at poverty wages. Employment was highly uncertain, with busy periods alternating with slack ones and factory shutdowns. Families lived in overcrowded tenements or dilapidated shacks without paved streets or indoor plumbing; hence, in the summer typhoid and other epidemic diseases were common. In the winter, these urban districts were covered with a thick dust from the coal used to heat their homes.

Yet, with the exception of the skilled craftsmen among them, immigrant industrial workers rarely formed or joined protest movements until the 1880s. In large part, this was because they were marginalized by the nation's dominant reform discourse, which was Evangelical Protestant. Though it had figured heavily in the struggle against slavery, Protestant discourse had little to say about the wrongs done to immigrant workers. Indeed, the 1850s antislavery reformers were often tinged with anti-Catholic Know-Nothingism. In the two decades after the Civil War, the native reform tradition began to adapt to new industrial realities. The Knights of Labor would lead in that transition.

At first, the Knights were squarely within the dominant reform tradition. Uriah Stephens, the founder in 1869 of the Knights of Labor, was trained to be a Baptist minister and had been a proponent of John Fremont, the radical antislavery alternative in 1864 to Abraham Lincoln. When Stephens spoke, as he often did, about the need for "solidarity" of skilled with unskilled workers, this had as much to do with the Protestant reform tradition of benevolence and Christian brotherhood as it did with class consciousness. Likewise, his opposition to wage slavery drew as much from an abhorrence of the sin of idolatry of wealth as it did from the secular movements of labor and socialism. In addition to this element of Protestant reform, Stephens emphasized—as did other Prot-

estant trade union leaders of this era—character formation and personal uplift, manifested in a commitment to temperance and abstinence and opposition to saloons.

Stephens had also been a Mason, and he made the Knights a secret, oath-bound organization. During the initiation ceremony, which seemed to take up most of the local meetings, members in disguises read the elaborate initiation ritual, while new members wore blindfolds. Meeting times and places, even the very name Knights of Labor, were kept from the public.

At first, the secrecy, ritual, and reform language of the Knights were well suited to its existence as a small craft organization of garment cutters in Philadelphia. Secrecy served as a protective coloration to conceal it from its enemies among the employer class. And the crusading rhetoric of Christian brotherhood gave to its organizing a transcendent mission. But by 1876 a few organizers had begun to admit "sojourners"—new members not of the same craft—from the coal mines and unskilled trades in the Pittsburgh area.

The contradiction grew even greater after the Great Upheaval of 1877, a railroad strike against intolerable wage cuts that mushroomed into a pitched battle between industrial workers in the new Western (now Midwestern) industrial region of the country and the forces of order, including the U.S. Army. For the tens of thousands of workers who had participated in the collective actions of 1877, the Knights' grand idea of the organizational solidarity of all toilers promised to harness the newly displayed power of workers to bring the country's industry leaders to its knees. The number of district assemblies (which governed the local assemblies) jumped from three to fourteen immediately after the strike. Knights' assemblies also appeared in cities like Chicago and Detroit where the Knights offered a viable alternative to trade unions, which had been destroyed by the depression and unemployment.

Almost immediately, in the tradition of the older reform associations, these assemblies went into politics usually in conjunction with Greenback reformers. Yet, despite its growth, the extension of the order into the Great West, and its electoral success, the Knights was constrained in its develoment by its fundamental makeup. The secrecy and ritual antagonized the Catholic Church, which had historically been opposed to secret societies as dangerous competitors. The turn to politics in keeping with its reform tradition also had its drawbacks, for when the depression ended in 1879, the party movement collapsed and with it so did many Knights assemblies. Meanwhile, the revival of prosperity restored the fortunes of the trade unions, and labor activists left the temporary umbrella of the Knights. By 1879, with membership dwindling and dues income in freefall, the order was in crisis.

It was at this juncture that Terence Powderly, the Knights' Grand Master Workman who had succeeded Stephens in 1878, engineered a fundamental shift in the organization. An Irish Catholic machinist with roots in the trade unions and Catholic workers, Powderly understood the importance of mollifying church authorities. Under his leadership, the 1881 convention of the Knights abandoned secrecy and the oath. It also shifted the organizing and fund-raising efforts of the order from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. The shift was almost revolutionary in its impact. The order shed its reputation that it excluded Catholics, and it opened itself to new and radical currents that were sweeping the Irish Catholic working class.

Virtually at the same moment that the Knights made their shift, Irish American working people began joining clubs by the thousands to support the Irish National Land League (INLL). The INLL was a "new departure" in Irish nationalist politics, uniting the movement for home rule in Ireland led by Charles Parnell, the revolutionary movement for Irish independence led by the Clan na Gael, and the agrarian movement of Irish peasants to regain title to the land. In America the INLL's drive to raise funds for the Irish movement was met with a great outpouring of enthusiasm and generosity among all segments of the Irish American community from the lace curtain Irish and the church to Democratic Party politicians and ordinary working people. Most significantly, the issue of land reform became an opening wedge for radicals like Patrick Ford, editor of the *Irish World and American Industrial Liberator,* to preach their doctrines of social reform to Irish Catholic workers. Ford's "Spread the Light" clubs enrolled hundreds of industrial workers, Knights of Labor activists, trade unionists of all backgrounds, and Socialists. The potentially explosive movement to override the prerogatives of property in (Irish) land became a broad movement transcending ethnic and religious backgrounds.

Just as important, members of the INLL popularized the Irish practice of shunning those who collaborated with the British enemy. The INLL's support for the "boycott," which originated in the struggle against a British land agent, Captain Boycott, was quickly exploited by trade unionists and Knights leaders for working-class purposes. In Chicago, for example, the Knights led two major boycotts during strikes in

1881–1882. During that period, Myles McPadden, an Irish nationalist Knights organizer, whom Powderly had dispatched to Chicago, brilliantly capitalized on the popularity of land reform and the boycott to organize dozens of new Knights of Labor local assemblies, most of them in industrial areas of Chicago. By the end of 1882, the Knights organization in Chicago and elsewhere had been transformed from a body of political reformers in mixed local assemblies devoted to Greenback politics to a labor organization of industrial workers, with a plurality of Irish Catholics. Fully 40 percent of the names of all delegates and officers of Chicago's two district assemblies were Irish. Nationally, the order began to grow rapidly in 1882, with a majority of new local assemblies being trade in character.

The reorientation of the Knights under Powderly's leadership and its use of the Land League and Irish nationalist movements to draw in Irish Catholic workers exemplified how social movements must coopt existing organizational, communication, and leadership networks to be successful. It also exemplified another critical element in social movement formation—"framing"—that is, the social process by which grievances are generalized and shaped into political claims that resonate with public opinion. Framing often involves a "dressing up" of collective actors in symbolic clothing. The new popularity of the boycott exemplified that symbolic process. Boycotting was not something new. The American revolutionary movement had used it in the 1760s–1770s, and trade unions had boycotted sporadically well before the 1880s. Clothing that tactic in the rhetoric of Irish nationalism served to ease the way of Irish workers into the labor movement and to spur the spread of boycotting in the movement at large. As McPadden put it, the power of the Knights lay not in strikes but in the ability to "boycott" scabs.

By the same token, framing could also involve a change in meaning of old symbols. Thus, what was once Christian brotherhood and universal humanitarianism—expressed in the Knights motto, "an injury to one is the concern of all"—became a synonym for a labor principle, amalgamation across craft lines, and a working-class identity. Only the Knights of Labor, an organization with one foot in the reform tradition and the other in the labor movement, could have effected this symbolic transformation.

Expansion and Turbulence

By 1882–1883, the Knights were poised to make another transition—to leadership of a broad national movement of industrial workers for the eight-hour day. Labor's Great Upheaval from approximately spring 1885 to fall 1887 illustrates an important development in social movement theory, the notion of "cycles of contention." Under the right circumstances, social movements can rapidly diffuse, wavelike, across the social system, overwhelming existing institutions, and then just as quickly recede and demobilize after succumbing to repression and dissension. A cycle of contention usually begins when "political opportunities" appear for well-placed "contenders." When they find their demands frustrated by authorities, they reframe their claims to draw in additional claimants. The "mobilization phase" is normally marked by the following: the rapid diffusion and intensification of conflict; the development of new routine forms of collective action (what theorists call repertoires); the appearance of new organizations and the expansion of existing ones; and the creation of new "master frames." The ensuing demobilization phase involves a mixture of participant exhaustion and organizational factionalism between radicals and moderates, followed by selective state repression and selective acceptance of movement demands.

Political opportunities converged in the mid-1880s from several sources. With the start of the 1883–1885 depression, a series of wage reductions spread across the Wabash rail system, in the hands of Wall Street tycoon Jay Gould. With Gould's railway running full bore to cover high fixed costs amidst falling prices, it could ill afford a strike. Just as critically, public opinion supported the railway workers, organized in a Knights' District Assembly. With the governors of three states arbitrating, the Knights beat back the wage reduction; the men won an additional strike in September 1885 using a boycott of the Wabash Railroad's rolling stock. Altogether in the 1884–1885 period, the order engaged in five railway strikes and won four of them.

All rail strikes in this era had national repercussions, but because this one involved a national organization with the grand pretension to organize the entire working class, its effect was nothing short of electric. The defeat of a large national corporation using the new weapon of the boycott greatly heartened workers. Once-fearful railroad workers flooded into the Knights assemblies, especially in the Midwest. Isolated local trade unions—the American Federation of Labor had not yet been born, and its predecessor, the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions (FOTLU), was moribund—sought national-level solidarity by affiliating with the Knights. Accession of the

unions brought thousands of new members to the Knights.

Unorganized, unskilled workers also rushed into the order en masse. The list of entrants was nothing short of a cross section of the American working class: thousands of working women, many of them sweated garment workers from New York and Chicago; hundreds of African-American waiters, barbers, and printers, including thirty-five local assemblies in the Richmond area alone; Socialist German furniture craftsmen together with machine hands from the Midwest; and Polish rolling mill workers from Milwaukee all marched under the banner of the order. Nothing like it had ever been seen before, and the press, by exaggerating the organizational cohesion and effectiveness of the Knights, contributed mightily to its meteoric growth. Within a period of not more than six months, the Knights of Labor grew from a national organization of approximately 104,000 in 1885 to 725,000 in 1886.

A similar mix of opportunities helped the Knights win prestige and grow in mushroom style on the local level. In Chicago, the heart of the movement, local trades unions had benefited from the support of the Democratic Party regime of Mayor Carter Harrison. By refusing to use police to intervene during strikes in the early 1880s, Harrison enabled unions to defeat employers and establish footholds in the city's industrial economy. With the advent of falling prices during the 1883–1885 depression, unionized employers counterattacked, and these same unions struck again. This time the opportunity structure proved unfavorable.

Facing possible defection of anticorruption Democrats and criticism from the local Citizens Association and press for buying votes with his police policy, Harrison turned to a little known police captain. John Bonfield, to mollify employers. In protecting strikebreakers crossing picket lines in February 1886, the police forced local unions to turn to the Knights of Labor and the boycott as an alternative. When striking boxmakers, who had been stymied by Bonfield, won their struggle with the help of the Knights, and another Knights' boycott against prison-made shoes proved successful as well, the mood in the city shifted dramatically. In what one student of social movements has called a "moment of madness"—a time in which all things seem possible and social learning is intensified and telescoped in time—the Knights reaped a bountiful harvest of recruits. By late March, the *Chicago Tribune* reported that the local order was growing at the rate of a thousand per week. From 1885 to 1886, Chicago Knights had increased membership tenfold, and the number of workers on strike in the city had increased from 6,618 to 87,849. Similar moments of madness occurred in New York, Cincinnati, Milwaukee, Kansas City, and other cities following Knights' boycott or strike victories, though on a smaller scale than in Chicago.

In 1886, the Knights of Labor boasted a membership of more than 700,000, making it the largest working-class organization of the nineteenth century. The Knights quickly declined, however, racked by internal dissension and—as this 1887 cartoon shows—the unpopular leadership of Grand Master Workman Terence V. Powderley. *(Brown Brothers)*

Once within the fold of the order, workers gravitated toward the shorter hours movement, a demand that had long been a staple of the American labor movement. In 1884, the FOTLU had called for a strike on May 1, 1886, to institute an eight-hour day for American workers. In advance of the date, local Eight-Hour Associations formed in many cities to spread the word. The eight-hour demand was framed in a new way. Hitherto, it had been viewed as a means of uplifting workers as virtuous citizens of the republic; some Socialists supported the fight for eight hours as a way of accelerating the evolution away from wage labor and toward a new order of producers cooperation. The argument of the Eight Hour Leagues, however, was economic and social in nature. Shorter hours

would decrease unemployment, unite the interests of all workers, and increase consumer demand, thus counteracting overproduction. From 1886 to the turn of the century, the eight-hour day demand and its portrayal as labor's solution to depressions and unemployment would become the movement's new master frame.

For the short span of time between the success of the boycott and the May 1886 strike, the movement for the eight-hour day seemed to possess the force of a tidal wave. Almost 50,000 Chicago workers had won the demand by the end of April, and on May 1 another 60,000 struck. Nationally, New York had 45,000 strikers, Cincinnati 32,000, Baltimore 9,000, Milwaukee 7,000, and Boston, Pittsburgh, and Detroit each boasted between 3,000 and 4,700 strikers. Altogether, about 200,000 struck on May 1. Chicago's 35,000 packinghouse workers were the largest single group to win shorter hours. More lasting victories were won by building trades and cigarmaker unionists.

Just as the boycotting "mania" and shorter hours rage reached their peaks, a counterforce was gathering steam that would deal a crushing blow to the Great Upheaval. Internally, a brewing conflict between militants and moderates split the Knights asunder, leaving the entire movement vulnerable to attack. On March 13, 1886, Powderly issued a secret circular that disavowed Knights of Labor support for the May 1 strike. Nationally, the Knights were facing demands for strike funds and boycotts from tens of thousands of raw, undisciplined recruits, in addition to requests for support from viable bodies of trades unions. If the order had possessed a centralized strike fund, it might have been able to exert some control over the mania that had gripped the nation's workers. But, in contrast to the most advanced national unions, the order's strike fund was collected and controlled by local and state district assemblies. Powderly's circular was a desperate attempt to regain control over the distended order.

Exacerbating the difficulty of focusing the energies of the mushrooming shorter hours movement was the large-scale involvement of the Anarchists in Chicago. Although they had at first scorned the eight-hour day demand as a mere palliative, by fall 1885 they began to view it as an occasion for a mass strike that might be turned into a revolution. In furtherance of that goal, the Anarchists championed the demand of eight hours of work for ten hours of pay because it had less chance of being accepted by employers than the trade union demand of eight hours of work for eight hours of pay. When German furniture workers endorsed the more radical demand on April 10, the eight-hour movement in Chicago lost its unity, and the press began identifying the entire movement with anarchism.

By the end of the month, the formation of anti-union employers associations in the furniture, metal trades, and boot and shoe industries made it evident that employer resistance was stiffening. But the events of May 4, 1886, at Haymarket Square utterly demoralized the movement. Police under Bonfield confronted an Anarchist-convened meeting in Haymarket Square protesting the shooting of strikers the day before and ordered it to disperse. In almost the same instant, some unknown person threw a dynamite bomb into the ranks of the police. The exploding bomb killed at least four policemen, while the indiscriminate shooting by the remaining police killed at least another sixty people, including three fellow officers.

Called a "riot" by the press, the Haymarket Affair set off a widespread panic, kindling the nation's first major Red Scare. The press fed the public fear that a revolutionary conspiracy existed among foreign-born radicals to overthrow the Republic and called for the sternest actions to vindicate law and order. Under pressure from leading businessmen, Mayor Harrison banned public meetings and processions, and the police ruthlessly suppressed existing strike activities and arrested over two hundred Anarchist leaders and suspects. Eventually, eight leaders stood trial for murder and conspiracy, and four were hanged, even though the identity of the bomb thrower was never ascertained.

The Haymarket Affair gravely split the movement. Powderly condemned the Anarchists in terms indistinguishable from that of mainstream public opinion, while Samuel Gompers, newly elected president of the American Federation of Labor, condemned the violation of workers' civil liberties by the police and supported clemency for the Anarchists. Within the Knights of Labor, many criticized Powderly's one-sided attempt to disassociate the order from anarchism. All at once, it seemed, a major opposition movement had coalesced against Powderly, which would have important public repercussions on the order's ability to maintain the confidence of its members.

Even under the best of circumstances, however, it would have been difficult to prosecute strikes in the face of a public hysteria that conflated labor organizations with dangerous foreign radicalism. The Chicago garment leader Abraham Bisno wrote in his

KNIGHTS OF LABOR REPUDIATE AND DENOUNCE HIM

DAVID B. HILL 1888

The Knights of Labor, founded in 1869, became the leading national workers organization in the late nineteenth century. In the following document, the Elmira Local Assembly 1965 unanimously denounces the governor for his opposition to laws that would permit "a poor man" to compete for political office.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted by Elmira Local Assembly 1965, K. of L., Oct. 2, 1888:

Whereas, On December 10, 1887, at a regular meeting of 1965 K. of L., a committee was appointed to draft resolutions for the purpose of petitioning the Legislature to amend the election laws by making it a criminal offense for any person to use money at any National, State, or Municipal election, in buying votes, knowing full well that in the purity of the ballot, free from the influence of money, depends the future welfare of our free institutions and the safety of our country; and

Whereas, On March 19, 1888, such a bill was introduced in the Senate by Senator J. Sloat Fassett, known as the "Anti-Bribery Bill," which passed the Senate and Assembly; this same bill having been earnestly supported by D.A. 15, K. of L.; therefore be it

Resolved, That we censure Governor D.B. Hill for not signing this bill, and for treating with such contempt the well known wishes of the K. of L., and a vast majority of law-abiding citizens.

Resolved, We, the K. of L., do also denounce and condemn Governor Hill for his action on the "Electoral Bill," known as the "Saxton Bill," a bill framed solely in the interests of the poor man; a bill which would enable a poor man to compete for an office with a man of wealth.

Resolved, That in withholding his assent to those two great measures, Governor Hill proves himself an enemy to the deserving poor man, and an ally of corruptionists.

Resolved, That we, the K. of L., will do our utmost to defeat Governor Hill for re-election to the office of Governor, and call on all labor organizations and law-abiding citizens to aid us in our endeavors to preserve a pure ballot.

Resolved, That we send a copy to each D.A. in the State, under the seal of the order, and that they be given to the press for publication.

Unanimously adopted.

Source: Library of Congress, *An American Time Capsule: Three Centuries of Broadsides and Other Printed Ephemera.* Printed Ephemera Collection, portfolio 129, Folder 40b.

autobiography (1967): "[P]icketing became absolutely impossible. The police arrested all pickets, even two or three. The attitude on the part of the police was practically the same as though the city was under martial law." Samuel Gompers observed, "[T]hat bomb not only killed the policemen, but it killed our eight-hour movement."

On the national level, the employer reaction occurred virtually at the same point in time. The Knights called a strike against Jay Gould's southwest system of railways on March 6, 1886, after a Knights member was discharged. Heretofore, public opinion and the support of public officials had aided the Knights. But in this affair the public was little interested, and the railroad refused arbitration. After a violent confrontation killed nine in East St. Louis, National Guard troops entered the fray. The order's public reputation suffered, and an unhappy Powderly gave the back-to-work order on May 4, the same day as the Haymarket bombing. In retrospect that date emerges as "the tipping point" of the Great Upheaval, the time at which mobilization turned into demobilization.

From that point onward, the Knights were beset with employer intransigence and state repression, compounding the difficulties created by internal dissension aired in public. The most notable case was the loss of the packinghouse workers strike in Chicago in fall 1886. The order, which had earlier been viewed as the savior of poor workingmen, suddenly appeared impotent. Meanwhile, well-placed trade unionists were able to win disputes with the aid of their national unions' strike funds. Local unions demanding "trade autonomy" left the order in droves for national unions of their trade. When the Knights responded by chartering more Trade District Assemblies (the equivalent of national unions), they triggered jurisdictional disputes with the national unions affiliated with the AFL. By 1888, the once mighty Chicago Knights of Labor had declined from 18,000 members in 1886 to about 3,000. Nationally during the same period, the Knights lost over two-thirds from their membership peak of 702,000.

The united front of the courts, public officials, and employers against the boycotts and strikes of labor

organizations beginning in March led activists to turn to independent labor parties. A comprehensive study of labor parties in 1886–1887 detected their existence in at least 189 American cities—including every large industrial center—in thirty-four out of thirty-eight states. In New York City a coalition of trade union and Knights leaders, Socialists, and Single Taxers nominated Henry George for mayor. In 1886, George finished second in a three-man race, winning 31 percent of the vote. In Chicago, a less distinguished candidate representing the same coalition won a like percentage of the mayoral vote in April 1887. In these and other cities a host of state legislators, city councilmen, and judges won office on the labor ticket.

Nonetheless, the impressive vote totals concealed two salient facts. The parties represented political protests against the use of the courts and the repressive apparatus of the state against the Great Upheaval. When the Great Upheaval dissipated and the repression let up, so did the protests. The new parties, moreover, were quite ambivalent about the long-term uses of the state to right the injustices in society.

Second, the major parties were willing to selectively endorse—thus coopting—many of the goals championed by the labor parties and thereby stealing their thunder. For example, in Chicago, the Republican mayor suspended Bonfield from the police force in 1889. Later that year, the newly elected Democratic mayor outdid the old Harrison regime by adopting important elements of the labor party's program, granting expanded patronage to union leaders, and reviving and extending the hands-off police policy during strikes. In short, the willingness of the democratic polity to partially meet the demands and concerns of the Great Upheaval and the moderating of the state's severe repression of 1886 kept workers from embracing either Anarchist insurrection or an independent labor party strategy.

Legacy of the Knights of Labor

Social movements are usually driven by grand ambitions. Not just the Anarchists, but the Knights of Labor, demanded an end to the wage system and the inclusion of all working people, whatever their skill level, nationality, race, or sex in the ranks of organized labor. Because circumstances frustrated these ambitions, and the Knights were succeeded by a more enduring but less inclusive and more pragmatic organization—the AFL and its affiliated national unions—historians have tended to paint the post–Great Upheaval period in broad-brush terms as one of defeat, disillusionment, and decline.

Recent social movement theory, however, provides us with a broader array of concepts and terms to assess outcomes. In between the extremes of outright defeat and victory, one popular typology offers the policy alternatives of preemption and cooptation. Another theorist stresses as an outcome the diffusion of new values and the politics of agenda setting; still others point to the creation of enduring networks of activists—a kind of "social capital" movement. In this latter category of enduring developments internal to the movement, we have the possibility of innovations in frames, repertoires (routine forms of collective action), and organizations. It is here that we note most obviously the long-term impact of the Knights of Labor and the Great Upheaval of which it was a vehicle.

Historians of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era often speak of that era as being characterized by an "organizational revolution." Large-scale, centralized organizations in the hands of professional managers using technical knowledge afforded Americans the capacity to bring order and purpose to chaotic and dysfunctional markets. Although the corporation most often comes to mind in this regard, workers too sought order, purpose, and control of markets through their own functional organizations. In this context, the Knights of Labor stands out as a series of related organizational hypotheses tested in the experience of the Great Upheaval. Notably, certain elements were found wanting. Activists found that geographically organized associations like the district assembly were relatively ineffective in focusing the energies of organized workers. In place of these community-based associations, labor activists, even within the Knights of Labor, turned to functionally organized and centrally controlled national unions. Other aspects of the Knights organization, however, survived and prospered, though within the confines of the national unions and the AFL.

The new master frame of the eight-hour day, which originated during the Great Upheaval, has already been mentioned as an innovation that dated to this period. The Knights also initiated industrial councils of related crafts—for example, in the metal, printing, building, and railway trades—which proliferated in the 1890s and the first decade of the twentieth century. Moreover, in the tradition of the solidarity manifested in the Knights, the AFL allowed the paramount craft in various industries to organize the entire industry under its wing. By 1890, the Knights' national district assembly of miners became the AFL's most influential industrial union, the United Mine Workers. The mixed local assembly combining

workers of different trades also survived the Knights in the form of the "federal labor unions" directly affiliated with the AFL (rather than national unions).

Even more significant for the future of the labor movement was the spread of new repertoires in the form of the boycott and the secondary boycott or sympathy strike. One form it took was the union label boycott. By the end of the 1880s, nine national unions had adopted the union label; eight of these nine unions began using it during the Great Upheaval. By the turn of the century, thirty-one different unions used the boycott. The sympathy strike also survived the Knights and reached its peak in the early 1890s, notably the Pullman strike and boycott. So effective and so widely used had the boycott become by the turn of the century that it sparked an Open Shop counterattack and the widespread use of the labor injunction. Notably, the 1880s Knights leaders had originated and popularized this new repertoire as an alternative to striking.

In sum, by taking the focus off the Knights of Labor as an organization with a discrete emergence, decline, and fall, and instead viewing the order from the perspective of a social movement, we find that the experience of the Knights in the era of the mid-1880s Great Upheaval had an enduring impact on the American labor movement's direction, methods, and organizational culture.

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Miners' Movement in the West

West of the Mississippi River, class war between militant miners and corporations produced an early and genuine working-class culture attended by an indigenous radical unionism. Corporate intrusion into "people's" mining ground is a well-documented historical process in the United States—readily apparent not only in Western hard-rock mining but earlier, in the upper Mississippi Valley lead mines of the early 1800s and in the coal-mining communities of Pennsylvania beginning in the 1840s. In the lead mines, independent miners profitably worked publicly owned mines until driven out by a fledgling capitalist class that claimed the ground as private property—abetted by the relentlessly expansionist senator, Thomas Hart Benton. Physical violence against working miners and coercive legal practices figured prominently in this deliberate ouster of one class by another. More familiar are narratives of coal-mining wars in Pennsylvania that pitted encroaching coal and railroad companies against independent contract miners who set their own conditions of work and perceived contracts with companies as agreements between equals. In the heat of the Civil War, coal bosses disabused contract miners of these leveling ideas by meeting strikes with federal troops supplied by a government firmly committed to economic growth on the capitalist plan. Juxtaposed with class war in the lead and coal mines are the fundamentally egalitarian "southern mines" of Georgia during the gold rush of 1829. Although the violent displacement of native peoples to make way for mining cannot be ignored or downplayed here, thousands of miners, in the absence of a strong central government and powerful corporations, constructed in the Georgia mines their version of a "moral economy." Moral economies aim for an equitable division of resources intended to promote genuine participatory democracy. Workers in this period tended to perceive embryonic capitalist practices as amoral for granting privileged individuals complete freedom in their quest for profit—a freedom that undermined both community welfare and principles of democracy.

Working-Class Culture and the California Experience

Thousands of "Argonauts," or Forty-niners, streamed into the Sierra Nevada range of California with the discovery of gold in 1848. They clearly articulated the idea of the gold fields as the "people's mines," meaning they envisioned a vast economic region where workers themselves maintained control of production. Among the Argonauts we find Mississippi Valley lead miners, Pennsylvania coal miners, and veterans of the rush to the Georgia mines, many imbued with a strong sense of class consciousness and a strong distrust of concentrated power in any form. Immigrant miners with experience of industrial warfare abroad often shared this thinking and contributed their own home-grown class strategies. Many novice miners quickly assimilated this sense of worker militancy and upheld ideas of the dignity of independent manual labor within an egalitarian social structure.

Argonauts' journals and diaries reveal perceptions of California as an escape from the contradictions and inequities of the new capitalist order. Throughout the gold fields, ordinary miners organized regular mandatory meetings where they hammered out democratic codes of law that worked to both ensure participatory democracy and to obstruct capitalist practices. Mining laws both reflected the California experience and drew heavily from earlier Spanish and European practices dictating small claims intended to spread wealth and requiring claimants to work the ground regularly or give it up. In California, such laws discouraged holding claims for speculation and forbade the amassing of claims by individuals and small groups, thus upholding the dignity of man-

ual work. Argonauts policed themselves effectively through miners' courts. California's well-attended public hangings are most often construed as barbarism in action. Yet when compared with increasingly "hidden" executions in the East (behind prison walls), a case can be made that California represents a survival of older "republican crowd" actions with their affirmation of a people's right to fully participate in and draw moral instruction from all aspects of public life. As Argonauts followed subsequent gold and silver rushes into the interior, they put into service a repertoire of crowd actions as a means of asserting labor power. Vigilante actions in the West are often linked, especially in the popular media, to unruly mobs of miners, quick to implement summary justice. In truth, during later industrial wars, mining bosses and some elements of the middle classes far more often inflicted extralegal violence and terror on miners.

Producer (working-class) ideology and practices nurtured in California and imported to gold and silver rushes farther inland therefore embrace a moral economy, a propensity for radical participatory democracy, the use of various crowd actions, a discourse favoring independent "producerism," and the elevation of manual labor. Additional elements of an emerging working-class culture in California include a studied generosity in times of trouble, a thriving saloon and gambling culture, a grudging acceptance of women in the public sphere, and an assessment of wage work as fundamentally demeaning and degrading. Producerism certainly filtered into the constitutions of miners' unions later in the century, including documents taking a decidedly Socialist/Syndicalist turn. Striking miners also engaged in time-honored crowd tactics such as food riots, public humiliation of owners and managers, and protest marches carrying the tools of their trade—the pick and shovel. Union members gave generously to support striking miners and their families elsewhere. And in the absence of union halls, early organizing and union meetings often took place in saloons, which also served as hiring halls and temporary boarding houses. Miners' unions also established women's auxiliaries and women's unions, which played an important role in the economic and social life of many camps. Indeed, women sometimes took the places of their husbands, sons, and brothers during strikes, knowing that troops would be more reluctant to brutalize them. First nurtured in California, these beliefs and practices served miners and their families well as they built the most radical union movement in the nation, culminating in the Syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World.

The 1872 Mining Law: Privatization and Proletarianization

As a successful economic system, capitalism requires not only the commodification of goods and services, but more important, the commodification of human labor, so that work is transformed from the pursuit of subsistence and individual fulfillment into a product to be traded for profit in the marketplace. This process played out quickly in the mining camps of the West. The Mining Law of 1872, still essentially in effect today, helped ensure that corporations, not working miners, would control the nation's most valuable mining properties. The 1872 law overturned the federal government's original vision for public mineral lands as demonstrated in the Mississippi lead mines—a project of leasing mines to independent producers who would turn over a portion of their income to the government in the form of royalties.

The 1872 law was a direct attack on local common-law mining codes grounded in the California experience, which prevented rich ground from falling into the hands of speculators and capitalists. California laws that strictly limited claim size also required that mining ground be regularly worked or forfeited. That is, miners owned their ground only as long as they worked it. The 1872 law nullified all local mining common law, giving hegemony over mineral law to the legislatures of individual states and territories—government entities that, from the beginning, used the law and the court system to sanction, encourage, and smooth the path of capitalist state formation. In this vein, the 1872 law included the claim-patent system, which grants secure or free title (unrestricted permanent ownership) to claim holders. Secure ownership also gives possessors, whether individuals or corporations, the right to bring suit. When small claim holders refused to sell out, corporations simply engaged them in crippling lawsuits over a variety of issues. Expensive, lengthy litigation nearly always forced a sale, since judges suspended independents from active mining during these prolonged show trials.

The mines on Nevada's Comstock lode were notorious for generating costly litigation between mining barons, who in turn were famous for using shady legal tactics against the independent miners who first located the silver. The example of Immanuel Penrod, one of the original locators of the district, demonstrates capitalist state formation in action. California capitalists descended on the district following the discovery of high-grade silver in 1859 and made a prac-

tice of taking into partnership independent claim owners, such as Penrod, who refused to sell and insisted on a partnership. Penrod's new partners made use of the "freeze-out" strategy, assessing his personal funds to build an expensive new mill, at a cost well beyond his means. Penrod sold his interest for $5,500, a trifle considering the millions his claim yielded later. In 1863, Comstock capitalists used their influence with lawmakers to pass a measure legitimizing the freeze-out.

The claim-patent system also worked to effectively privatize the nation's Western mines, in converting them from public to private ownership. Until the 1872 law went into effect, the federal government understood mining on public lands in the West as legal trespass, though it seldom acted to evict—mainly because local police and militia tended also to be local miners who fought back. Working miners in turn regarded mining ground as a sort of mineral commons, open to those who intended to work the ground (with the notable exclusion from the commons of native peoples and other excluded groups, especially Hispanics and Chinese in the West). The claim-patent system, in allowing permanent ownership to those who spent $500 on claim "improvements," thus privatized the ground—the people's mines—for $500 and a nominal fee. Royalties are also basically dispensed with, so that the 1872 law stands as a massive giveaway of public lands to a privileged class. After 1872, with secure title guaranteed, capitalists, domestic and foreign, poured money into Western mines.

The Comstock Unions

Not surprisingly, as corporations consolidated in Nevada, some of the most militant and long-lived miners' unions emerged on the Comstock, the nerve center of early industrial mining in the West. For independent miners forced from their claims and for most newcomers to the district, despised wagework presented the only option. Most historians assign the later stimulus and style of unionism in the West to the Comstock model. From the beginning, miners fought mine owners, an understandable development, considering the aversion of the miners to take on highly dangerous and unhealthy underground work for the substandard wages offered by the mine owners. An initial labor shortage obliged big companies to offer $4 a day, barely adequate pay in light of the astronomical cost of living in Virginia City. In 1863, rumors of a pay cut led the miners to organize a protective association intended to preserve the $4 day, aid members in need, and end wildcat speculation in mining stocks, which often led to the closing of mines. Frequent shutdowns in mines throughout the West cut sharply into wages that some historians construe as unusually generous.

Although the protective association did not comprise a formal union, it represented a fundamental and venerable component of working-class formation under capitalism. In a town less than five years old, the materialization of such an organization signals both rapid capitalist state formation and a perceived need of workers to protect themselves as a class. The following year, in response to losses incurred by expensive lawsuits, runaway speculation, and mismanagement, Comstock companies attempted to economize by dropping wages to $3.50 a day. Absentee owners of the Uncle Sam mine acted first, with orders to foreman John Trembath to announce the cut. On March 19, 1864, an assembly of miners answered the challenge by affixing Trembath to the main hoist with ropes, attaching the label "dump this pile of waste from Cornwall," and requesting the hoist engineer to raise and lower the foreman a few times along the length of the main shaft. Trembath, greatly subdued, insisted that he acted on company orders. The company, lacking strong military or police backing, rescinded the order but bided its time. Lack of police and military power reflected the miners' policy of appointing and electing their own as enforcers of the law, militia members, and firefighters. Early on, unions recognized the power of such arrangements and used the vote and volunteerism to obtain them. As long as power struggles remained local, this tactic succeeded admirably.

In response to worker mobilization, Virginia City mining companies met secretly to propose and carry out antilabor policies, such as the blacklisting of leaders and the drafting of secret agreements with a number of anti-union miners to work below the living wage. The outcome was a disappointment, however. When owners announced an across-the-board wage cut to $3.50 in July 1864, the miners engaged in a two-day disciplined crowd action to show their collective strength. On the first day, they marched behind the Gold Hill Brass Band in a parade of solidarity and listened to a speech by Frank Tilford, a friendly judge, who announced that reducing wages meant driving the miners to "despair and death." The charge was not unfounded, considering how coal companies in the East utilized wage cuts, expanded hours of work, juridical attacks, and seasonal work—cumulatively, owners intended these measures to drive miners and

their families to the edge of starvation and into submission. On the second day, the miners spoke for themselves. Carrying the picks, sledges, and shovels of their trade, they marched on each Comstock mine and mill, giving notice to managers that the $4 wage would stand. Every foreman promised compliance, perhaps mindful of both Trembath's experience and Judge Tilford's speech the day before, likening mining companies to ancient Roman traitors who were punished by tossing them from the Tarpeian rock adorned with girdles of burning faggots.

Most significantly, on August 6, the miners proclaimed the birth of a new union, the Miners' League of Storey County, dedicated to the preservation of the $4 day for all underground workers—signifying a bona fide industrial union. The league encompassed unions in Virginia City, Gold Hill, and Silver City, towns built around the mines. New members pledged to work for no less than $4, to discover men who worked for less and expose them to public humiliation, and to accept wages paid only in silver or gold (rather than scrip). Predictably, members swore to march on offending companies and convince them, by force of numbers, to rethink inequitable policies. A sustained class struggle followed, with the unions, supportive townspeople, and newspapers on one side, arrayed against the big companies and some elements of the small middle class. Owners could not profitably fire united union men en masse and so resorted to the weak expedient of dismissing leaders by concocting dubious charges unrelated to unionism. Companies also continued secret hirings below the standard wage.

In September, to counter continuing corporate tactics, the Miners' League debated the establishment of a union camp on the Comstock. Termed a "closed shop" by anti-union propagandists, a union camp or union "shop" requires all prospective workers to join a union before applying for work. In using the expression "closed shop" to denote an arbitrary and coercive forcing of workers into unions, mine owners ignored the function of unions to protect and further the interests and rights of all workers. Within a few decades, some mining towns, such as Butte, Montana, stood as genuine union camps, with virtually every occupation unionized, including those dominated by women. The possibility of a union camp led Governor James Nye, a mine owner, to summon two companies of calvary, armed to the teeth, to Virginia City in a bid to dissuade the league from its purpose. To avert a bloodbath, the Miners' League wisely postponed the union camp decision but temporarily weakened the organizing impulse, allowing owners to hire increasing numbers of miners for $3.50. Mine owners got up their own "league," the Citizens' Protective Association, to disseminate a public discourse representing capitalists as guardians of democracy, intent on upholding the rights of individual miners to "choose" union membership. Companies avoided carrying this discourse to its logical conclusion—that miners would freely elect to descend underground and risk their lives and health for less than $4 a day.

A second mining boom on the Comstock in 1866 worked to the miners' advantage by producing a new labor shortage. This time the miners, beaten down once by management, restructured the union and committed themselves to a union camp. The original preamble to their constitution described the "tyrannical oppressive power of Capital" (a response, perhaps, to Nye's troops) and the enormous capability of workers to redress the imbalance. A contingent of conciliatory union men persuaded their more radical brothers to moderate the militant tone for public consumption, but members continued to use the original preamble at meetings and induction ceremonies. This time the union prevailed, safeguarding the $4 day and establishing an eight-hour shift until the bonanza ore played out in the 1880s. Mine bosses had no choice but to comply; attacks on these rights meant a general strike and the shutdown of production. In the deep mines of the Comstock, a strike of all workers also posed the danger of pump operators walking off the job and the consequent flooding of the mines. The miners' victory rested on solidarity—a general consensus for both a union camp and an industrial brand of unionism that extended the living wage and reduced hours to all miners regardless of skill or job status. Comstock unions also built up social weight by using dues to provide critical social services for miners and their families, including sick benefits and money for funeral expenses. Other union contributions to Virginia City and its suburbs included the camp's only public library and an excellent private hospital.

Collective action on the Comstock marked the emergence of a genuine working-class culture in the mines of the West and the appearance of class consciousness among workers in the context of capitalist state formation. Thousands of Comstock miners carried a discourse of self-help and mutualism to industrializing camps throughout the West and inspired armies of Western miners to press for industrial unionism and the union shop. Toward the turn of the century, many miners would go a step further and

Striking miners stand at the site of their tent colony, destroyed by the state militia in Forbes, Colorado. Capital–labor violence—with the government often intervening on behalf of management—was endemic in the West in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. *(Denver Public Library)*

adopt clear Socialist ideals and objectives. Through it all, miners' militancy and the determination of mining companies to dictate all conditions of work guaranteed endemic class war. As new camps took shape, miners articulated and put into practice a mission to preserve the dignity of labor, to ensure workplace democracy, and to force adequate compensation for dangerous and difficult work. Not all miners, of course, shared this sense of militancy; nor should we minimize policies of racism and exclusion directed against targeted groups. Still, as miners' unions grew more radical, they tended to grow more inclusive of marginalized groups.

Capital–Labor Wars in the Coeur d'Alenes

In the rich silver mines of Idaho, workers' struggles against absentee corporations played an important role in founding the radical Western Federation of Miners (WFM), which in turn influenced the organizing of the Syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World. Idaho miners responded to the ongoing corporate deskilling and degrading of labor by forging a district federation of local unions. Local Idaho unions adopted the Virginia City model and federated almost as quickly as corporate interests took over the mines. In 1887, Simon Reed, owner of the newly incorporated Bunker Hill and Sullivan Mining Company (BH&S), based at Wardner, announced a cut in the customary wage for all underground workers from the Butte scale of $3.50 a day (won by Butte miners in 1878) to $3.00 for skilled miners and $2.50 for unskilled men. Reed, in using wages to distinguish skill levels, intended the cut to erode worker solidarity. To compound the insult, he introduced deadly Burleigh machine drills in place of skilled hand-drilling meth-

ods. Although Burleigh drills, called "widow makers" by the miners, sped up production and increased profits, they also spewed fatal clouds of silica dust into the still underground air. Razor-sharp particles of dust, still a health hazard in mines today, lodge in the lungs and trace a network of scars that eventually asphyxiate the victim. Silicosis, also called "miners' con" (consumption) or "black lung" by coal miners, is responsible historically for the deaths of thousands of American miners. This danger, coupled with the possibility of death or permanent injury underground, makes militancy in response to owners' pronouncements no surprise.

Historian Richard Lingenfelter's graphic description of underground dangers in *The Hardrock Miners* (1974) aids greatly in understanding the brand of radicalism that characterized the Idaho miners:

> He could be blown to bits in an explosion, drowned in a sump, suffocated and incinerated in a fire, scalded by hot water, crushed by falling rocks or cave-ins, wound up in the machinery, ground under the wheels of an ore car, have his head split open with an ax or pick, his neck broken by being run up into the hoist frame, or his whole body smashed out of shape and reduced to a pulp, or ripped apart and scattered in shreds by falling down a shaft. Moreover [with the introduction of new technologies] new accidents were constantly happening, the likes of which were never before heard of.

In the year of its incorporation, Bunker Hill and Sullivan policies led to the secret organization of unions in the scattered silver camps. These unions soon announced their presence by winning minor concessions from smaller companies in the district, then by coming together and federating early in 1891, as the Miners' Union of the Coeur d'Alenes. By summer, the federation employed a series of strikes to restore the $3.50 day at all but the BH&S mines. The empowered union then resolved to go after BH&S, now controlled by powerful San Francisco and Eastern capitalists, including the Guggenheim family and Cyrus McCormick. Besides the wage issue, BH&S miners strongly resented the "check-off" in which the company deducted $1 a month from each man's paycheck to subsidize a substandard health care system and retained the balance as profit. Union members determined to recover the check-off money and build a first-class hospital with a competent staff.

To enforce their demands for an end to the check-off and an across-the-board living wage of $3.50, miners walked off the job late in the summer of 1891. Company president John Jays Hammond telegraphed superintendent Victor Clement to avoid at all costs giving into these demands. Clement floundered at first. Sheriff Cunningham of Wardner owed his election to the miners and refused to send deputies to the mine to break up the strike. Nonminers in the camps repudiated offers from the company to scab. In the absence of district support and in the face of plummeting profits, the company agreed to both demands in late summer, determined to renege in due time.

A newly organized Mine Owners' Protective Association (MOPA) appeared in the district in October, bent on beating down the $3.50 day and crushing the union. On the advice of lawyers, the MOPA hired industrial spies (Pinkertons and Thiel detectives) to infiltrate local unions. As the livelihood of spies rested on detecting "sedition" among the miners, they predictably found "anarchists" lurking in every underground tunnel. Then, without warning, in January 1892, the MOPA shut down nearly every mine in the district, except the smallest, throwing 2,000 men, many with families, out of work in the dead of winter. Yet the ploy backfired. Local farmers supplied the strikers with wagon-loads of food, and the federation made use of its own well-stocked commissary. In desperation, again on the advice of company lawyers, the MOPA turned to the importation of scab labor. Obliging railroad companies rushed trainloads of scabs into the district, and high court judges barred miners from interfering in any way with the process. By June, the mines resumed full production with scab labor. Still the miners persevered, recruiting perhaps one-half of the scab workers to their side. Thousands of dollars continued to pour in regularly from outside unions in support of the workers. The membership of the large Butte Miners' Union, for example, assessed each man $5 per month for their Idaho comrades until the strike ended.

As the summer wore on, tension heightened among miners, mine guards, and scabs as BH&S anticipated the outbreak of violence. On July 10, the company rejoiced when a gun battle broke out between Gem and Frisco mine guards and striking miners. Three miners and three guards died in a rain of bullets. Miners proceeded to capture both mines and take 150 scab prisoners, whom they loaded in boxcars and dispatched from the district. Throughout the district, miners engaged in similar actions, clearing the Coeur d'Alenes of scab labor and occupying the mines. These events not only gratified mine owners, who could now call in troops, but alarmed the camps'

prosperous middle classes to the extent that some withdrew support from the workers. Military and vigilante action became the order of the day as Governor Wiley declared martial law and called on President Benjamin Harrison for aid. State and federal troops converged on the district on July 14, and despite meeting no resistance, rounded up hundreds of miners (sources report up to 1,000 men), and confined them for two months in filthy stockades called "bull pens," in which three men eventually died. Local residents who supported the companies used the opportunity not only to aid in the roundup, but to engage in a witch hunt against personal enemies and business competitors by accusing them of supporting the miners. Enforcers of martial law ordered union commissaries closed, officials elected by union vote removed from office, and the closing of mines whose owners bargained with the unions. Until March 1893, when a U.S. Supreme Court decision cleared every miner of criminal charges, the charged men experienced grave violations of their civil rights that tended to further radicalize them rather than render them docile. Indeed, veterans of the Coeur d'Alenes bull pens figure prominently as original members of the Westchester Federation of Miners (WFM).

The frustrating experiences of Idaho miners and similar occurrences in industrializing camps elsewhere in the West led to the organization in 1893, in Butte, of the WFM, which successfully brought together smaller district federations throughout the mining West. The Butte Miners' Union ranked as the nation's largest local industrial union in this "Gibraltar of Unionism," while Butte itself stood as the second-fastest-growing city in the country. Extraordinarily rich in copper and other metals, Butte boasted a crazy-quilt of bustling ethnic neighborhoods, a rich cultural life, and a remarkable degree of worker solidarity. In the spring of 1893, the recent specter of the Idaho bull pens produced a sense of crisis that led representatives of seventeen local unions throughout the West to converge on the city to organize a miners' federation that would match the national power of corporations. The 1893 WFM constitution welcomed all workers involved in mining and processing ore, including coal miners. This founding document is a mixture of bread-and-butter issues and incipient socialism; the latter appeared in full force in subsequent constitutions. The 1893 founders called for economic justice, major improvements in mine safety and independent inspectors to enforce them, payment of wages in lawful money rather than company scrip, the abolition of company stores and housing, a ban on employment of boys under sixteen in the mines, and the interdiction of industrial spies, private mine guards, contract labor, and all conspiracy laws that trampled the rights of miners as citizens.

As the turn of the century approached and then passed, industrial warfare in the mines of the West intensified. WFM leaders along with many rank-and-file members veered decidedly left. Hasty industrialization of the mines by a capitalist class determined to maximize profit in the shortest time played a crucial role in the process. Corporate mining requires heavy capitalization, and investors are disinclined to wait long for dividends; paying a living wage, providing basic benefits, and attending to mine safety cut into anticipated profits. By 1901, we find delegates to WFM conventions demanding the "emancipation of the toiler" and "a complete revolution of present social and economic conditions . . . that justice be meted out to all people of the earth."

Sentiments such as these attracted the attention of labor leader Eugene Debs. He perceived the bare-knuckles nature of capital–labor wars in the West as proof of his conviction that workplace struggles involving direct action produced the most meaningful and lasting social and economic change. More conservative Socialists of the period (better termed "progressives") favored the ballot box and working through established political parties over shop-floor agitation as the means to a more egalitarian order. In June 1905, as mine bosses showed no sign of negotiating fairly with workers and every inclination of persevering in their crusade to destroy WFM locals, the federation dispatched leaders and delegates to a meeting in Chicago. There, 186 delegates representing 40,000 workers organized the Syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World, commonly called the "Wobblies." WFM delegates represented some 27,000 miners, comprising by far the largest occupational group. Labor luminaries included Debs; president Charles Moyer of the WFM; labor activist Mary Harris "Mother" Jones; Lucy Parsons, wife of Haymarket martyr Albert Parsons; Socialist Labor Party president Daniel DeLeon; and "Big Bill" Haywood, veteran of the Idaho bull pens and WFM leader. Haywood and Moyer sat on the executive board at the pleasure of the rank and file, which held the right of recall. The IWW recruited workers in all occupations, regardless of skill, gender, or race, standing in sharp contrast to the larger AFL, which recruited skilled, white, male workers. The Wobblies also promoted a Socialist agenda of the most radical tone. According to the original preamble:

> The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life. Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political, as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.

A later version of the preamble pulled no punches and called for outright abolition of the wage system.

WFM president Moyer abruptly withdrew the federation from the IWW in 1907, perhaps in reaction to his narrow escape with Big Bill Haywood from a 1905 murder frame-up. Clarence Darrow would defend the pair in a trial that absorbed the nation's attention for months. Moyer's disassociation of the federation from the IWW did little to dampen the enthusiasm of ordinary miners for the Wobbly project. Many retained membership in both the WFM and (often secretly) in the IWW until relentless persecution by an alliance of big business, the state, and the middle classes during World War I stopped Wobbly Syndicalism dead in its tracks. In 1916, WFM leaders, growing ever more conservative, rechristened the organization the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers and focused increasingly on bread-and-butter issues. Debs, too, broke with the IWW in 1908 over the Wobblies' espousal of implementing workplace sabotage when necessary in waging class war. Haywood, however, remained with the Wobblies until the patriotic hysteria of World War I opened the way for his conviction under the Espionage Act for opposition to the war. He escaped to Russia, where he died in 1928.

Precisely defined, "radical" denotes going to the root of a thing, as in radical change or reform. Just as American revolutionaries sought radical reform in declaring war on England in 1776, Western miners perceived themselves as very much in the mainstream of this American tradition of righteous resistance. In the West, miners took the democracy project seriously and fought to vest social, political, and economic control in the hands of the people, rather than giving it over to a self-interested few. Miners and their families also constructed a genuine working-class culture in the camps. They not only resisted capitalist culture, but contested it with a coherent alternative vision of America that appealed to many. Finally, the failure of miners and their supporters to shape a more egalitarian society in the decades around the turn of the twentieth century can be traced more to the implementation of various forms of physical and legal coercion by corporations and the state than to any disunity among miners or to a weak or flawed producers' rationale.

Jeanette Rodda

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Anarchism and the Labor Movement

The historian Paul Avrich notes in *Anarchist Portraits* (1988), "Of all the major movements of social reform, anarchism has been subject to the grossest distortions of its nature and objectives." Indeed, no political philosophy has been as demonized and misrepresented as Anarchism. Anarchism in its most basic formulation simply means the absence of government, not the absence of organizational structures. Specifically, Anarchism is the political belief that society should have no government, laws, police, or other authority, but should be a free association of all its members. Portrayed as the refuge of scoundrels and deviants, Anarchism actually played an influential role in the development and growth of the labor movement in Europe and the Americas.

Anarchism was present in the United States prior to the arrival of European activists. However, North American Anarchism lacked the activist orientation of European Anarchism because it tended to be more individualistic and disdained attempts to organize cohesive federations. At this time, it was essentially a philosophical and pacifist movement. In the United States, the most significant figure in the Anarchist movement was Benjamin Tucker. In his journal *Liberty*, he published the work of European Anarchists, including Peter Kropotkin, Mikhail Bakunin, and Leo Tolstoy.

Avrich notes in *The Haymarket Tragedy* (1984): "Representatives from twenty-six cities met in Pittsburgh to form the revolutionary socialist and anarchist groups into one body, the International Working Peoples Association. The formative period of its history was marked by three important events: the London Social Revolutionary Congress of July 1881, the Chicago Social Revolutionary Congress of October 1881, and the arrival of Johann Most in America in 1882."

The Influence of European Émigrés

Radical Anarchism arrived in the United States through European émigrés fleeing political repression (e.g., the anti-Socialist laws passed in Germany in 1878–1879, the pogroms in the Russian Pale, etc.) or seeking economic opportunity. Despite its international pretensions, Anarchism developed in European ethnic communities—Russian, Italian, Jewish, and so on. An exemplar of this is Johann Most, a committed Socialist and early member of the International Working Men's Association (the First International). In 1874, he was elected to the German Reichstag, but after passage of anti-Socialist laws he was forced to flee the country.

When Most was released from prison in 1882 (he had called for the assassination of Tsar Alexander II), he immigrated to the United States and settled in Chicago. Most published the newspaper *Die Freiheit* and soon became the best-known Anarchist in America. His views were incredibly influential among German and Yiddish-speaking Anarchists in the United States. He argued that the state should be ruled by a collective group of citizens. He believed that before this could happen people would have to use violence to overthrow the government. He even compiled a text explicating the construction and use of explosive devices, *The Science of Revolutionary Warfare* (1885).

In addition to the outspoken Most, many other German Anarchists were active in the movement. Perhaps the most well known are the Haymarket defendants Albert Parsons, August Spies, Adolph Fischer, George Engel, Michael Schwar, Samuel Fielden, Oscar Neebe, and Louis Lingg. Although they had their share of differences, Parsons, Spies, Schwab, and the other Haymarket defendants were exemplars of the Chicago Idea, named after the convention of social revolutionary groups assembled in Chicago in Octo-

ber 1881. They were advocates of union organization, direct action, and avoidance of electoral politics. All were active in the struggle for the eight-hour day and were also committed to armed self-defense.

The Haymarket Affair

In 1886, a series of strikes swept in and around Chicago. At the McCormick Reaper Works, August Spies was addressing a crowd of workers when the scabs left the factory. An intense battle erupted. The police were called in, and when pelted with stones they opened fire on the crowd, shooting indiscriminately at the men, women, and children. The police killed six and wounded more.

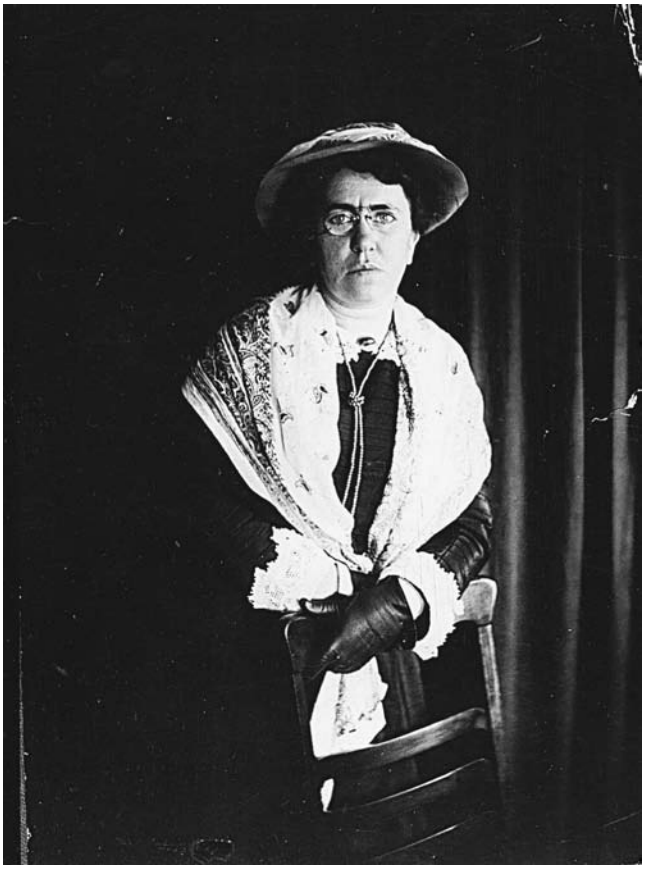
The following evening, May 4, a mass meeting was called at the Haymarket. About 2,000 workers attended the meeting, far short of the 20,000 Spies originally expected. The mayor observed the activities, and when he was satisfied that they posed no danger, left the scene. However, Chicago police captain Bonfield sent over 170 policemen to the scene to break up the small crowd that remained. Captain Ward, the officer in charge at the scene, demanded that the meeting disperse. As Samuel Fielden began to explain to the officers that the meeting was peaceful, a bomb was thrown into the group of policemen. The police reacted by emptying their pistols into the crowd, once again shooting men, women, and children. Although the bomb killed one to two policemen at most, more were killed due to friendly fire. The numbers of injured workers remain unknown because many were afraid to go to the hospital in the belief that they would be turned in to the authorities and persecuted.

The press was quick to blame the Anarchists in headlines such as "Chicago Anarchists Throw Bomb in Midst of Police" and "Anarchy's Red Hand," and called for severe reprisals. Anarchism was linked to immigrants and was said to be an "alien doctrine" of the "scum and offal" of the Old World. Even labor joined the hue and cry. Typographical Union No. 16, notwithstanding Parsons's membership, adopted a resolution denouncing "the heinous acts of the mob at the Haymarket" and offered a reward of $100 for the capture of the bomb thrower. The Knights of Labor also ignored Parsons's longtime association with the organization, while the Grand Master Workman of the order, Terrence W. Powderly, made frantic efforts to dissociate his organization from the Anarchists. Although the authorities were unable to identify the bomb thrower, Parsons, Spies, Fischer, Lingg, and Engel—organizers of the Haymarket meeting—were sentenced to death for "conspiracy to murder."

Jewish Influence in the Anarchist Movement

The Haymarket trial precipitated the formation of the first Jewish Anarchist group in the United States, the Pioneers of Liberty (*Pionire der Frayhayt*), who affiliated themselves with the International Working People's Association. They were also greatly influenced by Most. Their inauguration occurred on October 9, 1886, the day that the sentences were handed down. Their initial task was to prevent the execution of the Haymarket defendants. To this end, they held meetings, sponsored rallies, and gathered funds for judicial appeals. Their first paper, *Varhayt* (Truth) (1889), was short-lived (five months, twenty issues). However their subsequent effort, *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* (Free Voice of Labor) (1890) lasted eighty-seven years.

The *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* claimed to represent



Anarchist, feminist, and passionate advocate of personal liberation, "Red Emma" Goldman spoke widely on behalf of workers and the poor. *(Brown Brothers)*

EMMA GOLDMAN (1869–1940)

Emma Goldman was born to Abraham and Taube Goldman in a middle-class Jewish family in Kovno, Russia (now part of Lithuania) on June 27, 1869. Influenced by radical politics as a young teenager, she began working in garment factories in St. Petersburg. She later went to America to join an older sister in Rochester, New York, where she worked as a seamstress and was briefly married. Outraged by the execution of the Haymarket Square Anarchists, Goldman moved to New York City at age twenty to become a radical activist.

Goldman became a popular speaker, making several cross-country lecture tours and numerous visits to Europe. A fervent Anarchist, she advocated for free speech, labor rights, birth control, and women's equality. A proponent of free love, she critiqued traditional marriage and supported the rights of prostitutes. She combined class, gender, and sexual politics, declining to join groups focused exclusively on women's issues. Goldman wrote widely and published the radical magazine *Mother Earth;* among her most well-known works are *The Traffic in Women and Other Essays on Feminism* (1971) and her autobiography *Living My Life* (1931).

Goldman was committed to personal freedom, believing that anarchism "stands for the liberation of the human mind from the dominion of religion; the liberation of the human body from the dominion of property . . . an order that will guarantee to every human being free access to the earth and full enjoyment of the necessities of life, according to individual desires, tastes, and inclinations." Her belief in personal liberty is exemplified by a story in her autobiography in which a fellow activist told her that her dancing did not behoove a political agitator. She wrote, "I did not believe that a cause which stood for a beautiful ideal, for anarchism, for release and freedom from conventions and prejudice, should demand the denial of life and joy. . . . If it meant that, I did not want it." From this was derived the most famous quote attributed to Goldman—"If I can't dance, I don't want to be part of your revolution"—which she never actually said.

In her early years, Goldman supported "propaganda by deed," although her later experiences led her to reject terrorism. In 1892, she and Alexander Berkman planned to assassinate Henry Clay Frick, who suppressed the Homestead strike in Pittsburgh; Berkman injured but did not kill Frick and was sentenced to prison. Goldman's lectures were routinely disrupted by authorities, and she was imprisoned on various occasions for incitement to riot, distributing birth control information, and organizing against World War I and the draft. Some of her works were suppressed under the Comstock anti-obscenity laws. As the country's most well-known proponent of anarchism, Goldman was hounded after Anarchist Leon Czolgosz assassinated President William McKinley in 1901. In 1919, she and Berkman were deported to Russia.

Although she had supported the Russian Revolution while in America, "Red Emma" became increasingly disillusioned with the Bolsheviks after witnessing increased bureaucratization, political persecution, and Leon Trotsky's violent suppression of the Kronstadt rebellion. In 1921, she left Russia for England. In 1936, she went to Spain to support the Anarchists fighting Generalissimo Franco's fascists in the Spanish Civil War. Goldman died in Toronto in 1940 and is buried in Chicago near the Haymarket Anarchists.

Liz Highleyman

thirty-two Jewish workers' associations and in Avrich's words, "combined the functions of a labor paper, a journal of radical opinion, a literary magazine, and a people's university." Its most well-known editors were David Edelstadt, the Yiddish labor poet, and Saul Yanovsky, who steered the paper away from "propaganda of the deed" as advocated by Most and toward more mainstream and reformist efforts like union organizing.

During the four years from 1886 to 1890, Anarchism emerged as probably the largest and certainly the most dynamic movement among Jewish radicals in the United States. The Jewish Anarchists, predominantly workers, took part in the first strikes against sweatshop labor and helped organize some of the first Jewish trade unions, such as those of the New York cloakmakers and kneepants workers.

Another key event of the period was the attempt by Alexander Berkman (a Pioneers of Liberty member) on the life of Henry Clay Frick, manager of the Carnegie steelworks near Pittsburgh. Berkman's act was in retaliation for the violence meted against workers during the Homestead Steel Strike of 1892. Touring the country raising money for Berkman's defense catapulted Emma Goldman into the political limelight. A fiery orator and talented editor of *Mother Earth*, she was active in a number of labor causes, including decrying the Triangle Shirtwaist Fire and publishing articles defending Tom Mooney and Warren Billings.

In the early 1900s, emphasis in the Jewish Anarchist community began to shift away from individual acts of violence toward the organization of unions in all trades in which Jewish workers were employed—from bookbinding and cigarmaking to tailoring and housepainting. They were especially active in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) and in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA), participating in strikes, rooting out corruption, and fighting against bureaucracy and indifference.

They were also active in the *Arbeiter Ring*, or Workmen's Circle, a Socialist fraternal order in North America that provided life insurance, sickness and accident benefits, burial plots, and educational and cultural programs. Between 1910 and 1918, at least ten Jewish Anarchist groups existed in New York alone. By the 1920s, Anarchist branches were established in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Los Angeles. The Jewish Anarchists were also engaged in a variety of cooperative endeavors in New York and developed by the ILGWU and ACWA.

Besides the Jewish Anarchists, Russian workers also organized themselves. At the peak of its membership, the Union of Russian Workers in the United States and Canada numbered nearly 10,000 members. Italian Anarchists also played a role in the unions but disdained leadership positions owing to the anti-organization influence of their leader Luigi Galleani. Nonetheless, they were active in demonstrations and

Emma Goldman addresses a meeting of the National Federation of Labor in London, England, on January 20, 1937. Goldman had spoken out against imperialism, fascism, and oppression. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

strikes in Lawrence, Massachusetts (1912), Paterson, New Jersey (1913), and Plymouth, Massachusetts (1916).

International Forces

Anarcho-syndicalism, the amalgamation of Anarchist ideology with the structure of a trade union, never caught on in the United States. This does not discount the fact that anarcho-syndicalists were active in the United States. However, they never formed anarcho-syndicalist unions. Nonetheless, the revolutionary Syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World (or Wobblies) placed an emphasis on direct action and self-organization of the working-class. In contrast to the slogan of Samuel Gompers's American Federation of Labor, "Honest pay for an honest day's work," the Wobblies called for "Abolition of the wage system," which they termed wage slavery. As a result, the press and government derided them as Communists, Anarchists, and criminals. When the Wobblies and Anarchists took an antimilitarist position during World War I, they were thrown in jail and in some cases deported.

During the Red Scare in 1919, a large number of Anarchists, including Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, were deported from the United States. Some historians have argued that Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, two Italian immigrants found guilty of murder, were both executed in 1927 for their Anarchist beliefs. Unlike its stance in the Haymarket affair, labor rallied to the case of Sacco and Vanzetti but to no avail.

In the early part of the twentieth century, the lure of the Bolshevik Revolution, the Red Scare, the Palmer Raids, and deportations had a disastrous impact on the Anarchist movement in the United States—one from which it would never recover. With its leadership in prison or deported and crippled by infighting, the movement continued to atrophy, experiencing a brief revival during the Spanish Revolution and Civil War (1936–1937) when the anarcho-syndicalist Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo (CNT) collectivized industries in Catalonia and agriculture in Andalusia.

Evan Daniel

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LABOR MOVEMENT 1877–1919

The history of the American working people's collective attempts to resist dependence and inequality remains largely unknown and misunderstood in popular culture, perhaps, as one historian speculated, because it does not accord well with the nation's dominant narrative of individual struggle and success. Because of state intervention and employers' use of technology and new production processes to increase labor competition, working-class movements between 1877 and 1920 were, on the whole, unsuccessful in realizing both their broader visions of a just industrial society and many of their less ambitious demands in regard to wages and working conditions for the majority of working people. Those failures had the effect of narrowing and tempering the aspirations of the dominant sector of the labor movement. Historians who favored this development interpreted what *was*—that is, the conservative approach of the country's most powerful unions—as what had always been, and the labor movement's more complex, radical past receded from popular memory.

AMERICAN WORKERS IN THE INDUSTRIAL ERA 1877–1920

The period 1877 to 1920 saw rapid, wrenching changes in American society and culture. An agrarian country in 1877, by the end of World War I the United States was an urban nation in which most adult inhabitants labored under employers and 40 percent of the workforce was involved in manufacturing. Modern cities, such as New York City, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Brooklyn (until it was incorporated into New York City), attracted most of the nation's industries, and their neighborhoods reflected the great divides in wealth, between the rich, the new urban middle class, and the poor, that emerged with the growth of industrial capitalism. These same developments, though on a smaller scale and at a slower rate, occurred in Southern cities, such as New Orleans, Louisiana, Birmingham, Alabama, and Chattanooga, Tennessee, where blacks and whites entered the tobacco, iron, steel, and shipping industries as waged laborers. Outside the South, city populations swelled with immigrants, over 26 million of whom arrived in the United States between 1871 and 1920. For much of the nineteenth century, immigrants typically hailed from northern and western Europe. Between 1890 and 1920, this pattern shifted. "New immigrants" from central, eastern, and southern Europe and from Mexico flooded into the nation, and, in contrast to the mainly Protestant "old immigrants," they included large numbers of Catholics, Jews, and Greek and Russian Orthodox.

The impact of these changes was tremendous. The wave of immigrants to the United States remade the American working class, which by the end of this period was more ethnically diverse than the workforces of Canada, Australia, and Great Britain. It was also racially and ethnically stratified. White, Protestant, native-born men, and the sons of northwestern European immigrants dominated skilled work, while "new immigrants" filled the ranks of the unskilled and semiskilled. African Americans, Mexican and Chinese immigrants, and, in the Northeast and Midwest, the Irish typically worked in the most irregular and poorly paid menial jobs.

Employers were tempted to play upon racial and ethnic divisions when labor competition was high, and they met with some success in doing so. This was especially the case in the South, where blacks, owing to disenfranchisement campaigns and debt peonage, lacked both political and economic power by 1900. However, an employer who experimented with black labor in the South risked a boycott by white customers or a race strike by white employees. North and South, "white" jobs were almost always cleaner, safer, and better paid than "black" ones. Few whites challenged a system that benefited them.

The rise of the factory further segmented the American workforce, as the proportion of women engaged in factory work more than quadrupled, from 4 percent in 1870 to 17 percent in 1900. In the Northeast, female industrial workers were typically foreign-born or the daughters of foreign-born parents. They worked mainly in the garment industry but also labored in canneries, box-making factories, book binderies, and commercial laundries. Women almost always held "women's jobs." As with men, racial hierarchies shaped in crucial ways the division of work among women. In Southern tobacco-processing plants, for example, white women operated the machines, while black women were relegated to the harder and dirtier job of stripping the tobacco leaves by hand. All female workers, white and black, shared an exclusion from skilled work, which was reserved for men. "Women's work" was invariably poorly paid, unskilled, and competitive. Obstacles to skilled labor positions included not only the hostility of male craft workers but also the hesitancy of employers to train women workers whom, they believed, sought only temporary employment.

Industrialization demanded a discipline and rhythm of work that was new to many workers who had arrived at the factory gates from either rural areas of America and Europe or from employment in small factories and shops in which custom rather than the clock governed the speed, quality, and nature of work. These workers carried with them into the factories notions of a flexible relationship between work and living. Thus, immigrant Jews and Slavs, for example, mystified native-born employers by missing work in order to honor religious holidays or to participate in festivals. Skilled coopers, also to the amazement of manufacturers, worked steadily Tuesday through Friday but then insisted upon their traditional long weekend. Even the job-hungry unskilled risked taking periodic breaks or attempted to set their own speed of work according to customary understandings of a "fair day's work" rather than conform to the industrialists' dictum that "Time is money."

Skilled workers were more able to resist the harsh industrial discipline sought by business owners and managers. In his book, the *Fall of the House of Labor*: *The Workplace, the State, and American Labor Activism, 1865–1925* (1987), historian David Montgomery described the control exerted by Ohio iron workers during the 1870s and 1880s as a result of their highly sought skills: "The workers . . . decided collectively, among themselves, what portion of [the] rate should go to each of them . . . how work should be allocated among them; how many rounds on the rolls should be undertaken each day. . . . To put it another way, all the boss did was to buy the equipment and raw materials and sell the finished product."

Yet, during this period, mechanization took a huge toll on many skilled workers, including brass workers, puddlers, dressmakers, coopers, and shoemakers. Men who had enjoyed some leverage at work because of their skill confronted new processes in which each worker repeated a small, separate task that required little skill or training. One unionist fumed, "The men are looked upon as nothing more than parts of the machinery that they work."

Manufacturers' introduction of machinery proved an effective tool in reducing many skilled workers to the level of the semiskilled or unskilled. Still, the tension between pre-industrial and industrial work habits remained frequent between 1877 and 1920, because, as historian Herbert Gutman pointed out in his classic study, *Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America: Essays in American Working-Class and Social History* (1976), "The American working class was continually altered in its composition by infusions, from within and without the nation, of peasants, farmers, skilled artisans, and casual day laborers who brought into industrial society ways of work and other habits and values not associated with industrial necessities and the industrial ethos."

Industrialization entailed other hardships for workers. Although highly skilled workers received a large share of the era's prosperity, and wages in the United States were far higher than in industrializing Europe, testimonies before investigative committees and the reports of state and federal agencies suggest that the average American worker had to struggle in order to subsist under industrialism. Immigrant families and families supported by women workers in particular fell below the minimum required earnings for a healthy, decent life. The main reason for this is that although working men and women benefited from economic booms, the busts that followed booms brought unemployment or underemployment to thousands, even millions, without regard to talent or productivity. Five serious economic depressions cut into working people's earnings and opportunities between 1877 and 1914. For most working people, poverty was an inevitable condition that they faced at some point in their lives. Government at this time did not provide any sort of safety net for the unemployed, and during economic crises the needs of the poor far outstripped the resources of private charities. The

poor were left to ride out bad times as best they could on their own.

One way in which working people supplemented family income was to send their children to work in factories, mines, and mills. By 1900, about 1.7 million children were engaged in industry. Child labor was especially common in the mines and in the silk mills of the anthracite region because miners so often lost their lives or were disabled at work, leaving their families destitute. In addition, miners' low wages necessitated that children supplement the family income.

In addition to these problems, long hours and intensive rates of work resulted in a larger number of industrial accidents in the United States relative to other industrializing nations. The mines, railroads, and steel mills were particularly dangerous. Two thousand fatalities occurred each year between 1905 and 1920 in the coal mines, and in 1901 one in eleven operating trainmen suffered injury, often the loss or mangling of a limb or limbs. Every year between 1907 and 1920, one in four immigrant workers at the Carnegie South Works was injured or killed.

Unhealthy, demoralizing working conditions also plagued workers. Immigrant women labored in the hot, noisy, steam-filled rooms of commercial laundries and breweries, and in attics and basements they were "packed like sardines in a box." In mining camps and towns, "breaker" boys, mostly ten to fourteen years old, breathed in thick clouds of coal dust as they separated debris from loads of coal. Italian immigrant track workers in the North American West made makeshift homes out of railway boxcars that provided little relief from the elements. Their company-supplied food was, in the words of one laborer, "not even fit for dogs."

The 1877 Railway Strike

Although strikes were frequent in the decade following the Civil War, labor activists during that time drew largely upon free-labor ideology to emphasize cooperation between capital and labor. This ideology originated in antebellum days, when most "workingmen" labored under an employer who was onsite and reliant upon his employees' skills in producing a product. Looking back to this era of relative autonomy, postbellum labor leaders tended to avoid the image of class conflict in their analysis of "the labor question" and sought instead to restore the independence that skill had brought antebellum industrial workers. Some hoped that projects such as worker-owned cooperatives would help laborers to amass capital and thus escape wage labor. Others agitated for legislation to limit the working day so that workers might reclaim the time usurped by manufacturers and spend it instead participating in the nation's political and social life. On the railroads, skilled trainmen stuck to a conservative course, paying dues to brotherhoods that sought to focus their energies on protecting members and their families from financial loss in case of injury or death.

The Panic of 1873 caused many labor activists to reconsider the relationship between laborers and their employers. The 1873 crisis stemmed from the overexpansion of the railroad industry, much of which speculative credit had financed. This produced a rash of defaults on bonds by railroad companies and their takeover by receivers. Railroads, in turn, attempted to minimize costs by cutting train crews to dangerously low numbers, neglecting equipment and track, and repeatedly slashing railroaders' wages. These measures increased the frustrations of railroad men, who throughout the 1870s had endured numerous exploitative work rules and conditions, including inhumanly long hours at jobs that required dexterity and alertness to ensure the safety of passengers and coworkers. Railroaders also worked "double-headers" in which they operated trains twice the usual length without the help of extra hands. Furthermore, these wage cuts came in a context in which as many as three million people were without work and more than four-fifths of those with a job were underemployed.

On July 16, 1877, railroad workers struck en masse. By July 22, nearly one million had walked off their job. Within a week, the strike had spread from Martinsburg, West Virginia, to Pittsburgh, Reading, Columbus, Chicago, Terre Haute, Kansas City, and San Francisco. In Baltimore, St. Louis, Philadelphia, and other cities and towns, discontented nonrailroaders joined strikers and in some areas destroyed railroad property and attacked militia units sent to crush the strike. According to contemporary estimates, more than 80,000 railroad workers, perhaps one-third of them Irish, and about a half million sympathetic nonrailroaders were involved in the unrest at its height. In St. Louis, a relatively peaceful general strike closed about sixty factories, while in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Chicago, and elsewhere riots and bloody confrontations broke out between strikers and militia.

The 1877 strike produced an important shift in the mainstream press's understanding of labor issues. Prior to the conflict, leading editorialists and commentators had mainly associated mob action with immigrant groups and Communists, not native-born, skilled workingmen. In his 1994 article "Chaining the

Soldiers of the Sixth Maryland Regiment fire on workers of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in July 1877. A turning point in the nation's history, the national railroad strike ushered in a long era of bloody conflict between labor and capital. *(Brown Brothers)*

Tiger: The Mob Stigma and the Working Class, 1863–1984," historian Eugene Leach argued that the strike "confounded the crucial distinction between riotous workers and law-abiding ones" that had dominated previous views of crowd action. "The riots seemed to spill across divisions of occupation, ethnicity, geography, and even gender, expressing resentments widely shared in the working class," Leach observed. It was therefore difficult for mainstream critics to explain away labor unrest and violence as the work of immigrants, agitators, and lawless elements.

The discipline that characterized the parades of thousands of strikers and their sympathizers through the streets of St. Louis and Philadelphia in 1877 caused elite and middle-class onlookers to fear the coming of a class-based revolution. Influential analysts laid responsibility for the unrest at the feet of strikers themselves. The press urged railroads to refuse to make concessions of any kind and bitterly attacked those companies that capitulated to workers' demands. As a result of the 1877 strike, then, dominant opinion solidified against independent working-class organization and against strikes in particular.

Gilded Age Labor Movements

In the years following the 1877 railway strike, various labor leaders debated the causes of labor violence. In 1883, John Swinton, the publisher of a popular working-class newspaper, warned Americans that the unbearable conditions that had precipitated labor violence in 1877 must radically improve: "Don't let us have a tiger among us that needs to be chained; let us have neither tiger nor chains; away with the Wrongs by which he is generated." In contrast to Swinton's solution to the "labor question," which entailed a radical restructuring of society, trade unionist Samuel Gompers emphasized the need for organization among skilled workers. The future leader of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) viewed workers' lack of organization as the chief cause of strike and of labor unrest in general. Without the discipline of a trade union, he argued, workers tended to act "upon ill-considered plans, hastily adopted," and "upon passion." Trade unions would act as "conservators of the public peace" and "check the more radical elements in society."

Trade unions did gain new life in the decade following the 1877 strike. Although blacklists and dismissals in the immediate aftermath of the riots almost destroyed the railroad brotherhoods, these craft associations and others, particularly the cigar makers and construction unions, steadily rebuilt their membership. By 1886, about 350,000 craft workers belonged to a national body, the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States, and in Cincinnati, Boston, Chicago, Denver, New Orleans, and San Francisco, craft unions had formed powerful citywide organizations.

The labor organization that made the greatest strides during the late 1870s and early 1880s was not limited to craft workers but was instead industrial in character. Called the Knights of Labor, the organization had its start in a number of secret societies formed among Philadelphia artisans following the Civil War. Despite the hostile climate toward unions, a growing number joined the Knights after 1878, when the order rejected secrecy and began to organize openly on a national scale. Rather than limit membership to skilled white male workers, as labor unions had done in the past, the Knights admitted and actively recruited a far broader range of people: blacks and whites, native-born and immigrant, Catholic and Protestant, the skilled and unskilled, sympathetic

shopkeepers and business-owners, and beginning in 1881, women. Although it excluded the Chinese and played a leading role in anti-Chinese violence in California, Wyoming, and Oregon, by the mid-1880s the order was in other respects the first mass organization of its kind.

Led by machinist Terence Vincent Powderly, the Knights gave voice to the widespread concern that industrialists' power posed a danger to the Republic. If, as the founders contended, the liberty of citizens turned on their independence, then, the Knights reasoned, the nation's industrial path had undermined liberty by introducing machines and processes that degraded skilled labor and vastly enlarged the nation's permanent underclass of the dispossessed. In sum, industrialism had created the widespread economic dependence of working people on employers. It left workers little time or energy to exercise the rights of citizenship, and it threatened social anarchy. These developments, the Knights charged, represented the harbingers of tyranny.

Trade unionists and industrial unionists cooperated on a number of fronts. In 1885, New York City's massive citywide labor organization, the Central Labor Union, represented over 200 unions of both skilled and unskilled workers, in San Francisco skilled cigar makers found widespread support for their boycott of Chinese-made cigars among the city's white working poor, and unskilled and semiskilled Poles joined German American craft workers in Milwaukee's Knights of Labor union halls. Across the country, working-class communities proved enthusiastic supporters of the eight-hour-day campaign. In 1886, the year that labor historians term "The Great Upheaval," about 400,000 workers struck in support of this demand, with the Knights often in the lead.

On the western railways, the industrial credo of the Knights brought impressive gains. As railroad companies slashed wages and implemented other cost-saving measures in order to remain competitive, the railroad brotherhoods, which since the debacle of 1877 had eschewed labor conflict and emphasized the shared interests of capital and labor, came under increasing pressure from members to combine with shop workers, brakemen, switchmen, and track laborers in an effort to gain a more powerful voice for labor on the railroads. Engineers and firemen respected shop worker-led strikes on the Union Pacific in 1884 and on Jay Gould's sprawling Southwest system of roads in 1885, both of which won promises from management to rescind wage cuts. These victories, along with a much-celebrated agreement negotiated between Terence Powderly and Jay Gould in September 1885, swelled the Knights' membership rolls to between 700,000 and one million.

The Knights' language of antimonopoly appealed to residents of towns and cities across the United States that in many ways remained "island communities" during the nineteenth century. In *The Search for Order, 1877–1920* (1967) historian Robert H. Wiebe wrote, "The heart of American democracy was local autonomy. . . . American institutions were still oriented toward a community life where family and church, education and press, professions and government, all largely found their meaning by the way they fit one with another inside a town or a detached portion of a city." Local citizens saw their communities thrown into chaos by economic forces that were national in scope and often indifferent or hostile to their interests as well as the interests of their working-class neighbors.

The relationship between local communities and railroads is a case in point. Striking railroaders in the Southwest found widespread sympathy for their plight among farmers and small merchants who resented the discriminatory rates charged by railroad companies. City officials angered by the Missouri Pacific's negligence in paying local taxes also identified with strikers. In *A Generation of Boomers*: *The Pattern of Railroad Labor Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America* (1987), Shelton Stromquist pointed out that local support for railroad labor struggles was not by any means universal. In market cities such as Burlington, Illinois, the reduced railroad rates that manufacturers enjoyed often led them to side with railroads, and "social solidarity" among large and diverse working-class populations was "more fragile and fragmented." Still, in numerous smaller railroad towns, where railroaders' economic well-being was tied to that of retailers and where dependence on railroads "bred a fierce independence," citizens of varied backgrounds and means cast the railroaders' fight against impoverishing wage cuts as a struggle for local rights and concerns against the impositions of an alien power.

By the turn of the century, however, the industrial unionists such as the Knights numbered in the thousands rather than the hundreds of thousands. Many labor activists had rejected or put aside the order's radical republican vision. In the Knights' place stood the AFL. In contrast to the Knights, its leadership accepted industrial capitalism and aimed to secure gains in wages and working conditions for its members, craft workers, in return for labor peace. Rather than seek government's help in restoring the

SAMUEL GOMPERS (1850–1924)

Born to Jewish working-class parents in London on January 27, 1850, Gompers migrated to the United States with his parents in 1863 and became a naturalized citizen in 1872. He followed his father into the trade of cigar making and in 1864 joined the local union, serving as its president from 1874 to 1881. Influenced by British trade union principles and by the Marxist emphasis on the primacy of the economic organization of workers, Gompers worked to create strong, centralized trade union institutions that would help grow and direct local unions. He and Adolph Strasser founded the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions in 1881 along these principles, as well as its successor as the American Federation of Labor (AFL) in 1886. Gompers was the AFL's first president and remained president, except for the year 1895, until his death.

Like many Marxists, Gompers believed that trade unions would develop awareness of a broad class interest among workers, and that political activity and reform did little for the workers unless organized workers in the factories and craft shops enforced change. Yet, despite his Marxist beliefs, as a labor leader, Gompers gained a reputation for conservatism. Even in the lowest paying jobs, the influx of immigrants to the American workforce was deeply resented because their presence kept wages low. Gompers, a self-described champion of the working man, shared this resentment. He directed the successful battle with the all-inclusive Knights of Labor for supremacy over organized labor. But even after the downfall of the Knights of Labor by the end of the 1800s, by 1904, the AFL accounted for around 10 percent of all nonagricultural workers. Its emphasis on recruiting skilled craft workers excluded the less skilled at a time when these workers were growing in numbers and contributed to the drop in membership over the next decade. Gompers distrusted the influence of intellectual reformers, fearing any activity that would divert labor's energy from economic goals. To that end, he kept the union out of politics in the early days and refused cooperative business plans, socialistic ideas, and radical programs, maintaining that more wages, shorter hours, and greater freedom were the just aims of labor. To differentiate the AFL from more radical elements in the labor movement and to make the organization appear more respectable, he encouraged binding, written trade agreements.

Gompers came to be recognized as the leading spokesman for the labor movement, and his pronouncements carried much weight. As government regulation of industrial relations increased, Gompers led the AFL into political alliances and even actively supported Woodrow Wilson's presidential candidacy in 1912. During Wilson's two terms, Gompers helped push the Clayton Anti-Trust Act of 1914 and the Seamen's Act of 1915 through Congress. With the outbreak of World War I, Gompers organized and headed the War Committee on Labor. As a member of the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, he helped to hold organized labor loyal to the government program. As a result, during the war, union membership more than doubled to nearly 4 million from its earlier peak of 1.7 million members in 1904. After the war, however, several failed strikes left the union weakened. It slumped further in the pro-business atmosphere of the 1920s. Gompers died in San Antonio, Texas on December 13, 1924. His autobiography, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor* (1925), was published after his death.

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Republic to industrial America, the AFL embraced "volunteerism"—an antistatist outlook that opposed the extension of government's role in industrial relations, specifically, the hostile intervention of the courts in labor conflicts.

A number of factors led to the Knights' demise. First, Knights on the Southwest system lost an 1886 strike that involved almost 9,000 workers. Many participants had to move elsewhere in search of work; others landed in jail for allegedly violating court injunctions against interference with railroad property or for assault or intimidation of strikebreakers. At about the same time, on May 4, 1886, a bomb killed a policeman at Haymarket Square in Chicago, where Socialists and Anarchists led a meeting of about 300 workers to protest the deaths of two unarmed workers involved in a strike at the McCormick Reaper Works. An antiradical, anti-immigrant hysteria followed in which the meetings' Anarchist leaders were convicted and hanged for their politics rather than any involvement in the bombing. Although Powderly distanced the order from the accused, the Knights' fortunes suffered in the wake of the Haymarket Affair. The frenzy encouraged employers to vigorously fight and defeat a number of major Knights of Labor strikes in 1886, and further widened the divide that had

MARY HARRIS "MOTHER JONES" JONES (1830–1930)

Born in Cork, Ireland, on May 1, 1830, Mary Harris was brought to America some time after 1835 by her father, who had preceded the rest of the family in emigrating. In 1867, Jones lost her husband and four children to yellow fever, and then all of her personal belongings in the great Chicago fire four years later. Attracted by the Knights of Labor campaign for improved working conditions, she turned to them for assistance, and became involved in the American labor movement. She won fame as an effective speaker and by 1880 was a prominent figure in the movement.

An active proponent of legislation to prohibit child labor, Jones also organized miners, garment workers, and streetcar workers. One of the founders of the Social Democratic Party (1898) and the Industrial Workers of the World (1905), she was a lecturer for the Socialist Party of America. She traveled across the country, both organizing for the United Mine Workers and speaking on her own, supporting strikes, and galvanizing public support for labor with her slogan, "Join the union, boys."

In 1913, her organizing activities were blamed for violence in the West Virginia coal mines, and she was convicted of conspiracy to commit murder. Her ordeal ended when the governor released her. The U.S. Senate ordered a committee to investigate conditions in the West Virginia coalfields. In 1914, her graphic description of the massacre of twenty people by machine-gun fire during a Ludlow, Colorado, miners' strike convinced President Woodrow Wilson to try to mediate the dispute. A long-time champion of laws to end child labor, she continued as a union organizer and agitator into her nineties. She wrote *Autobiography of Mother Jones* in 1925, which contains some factual inaccuracies. She died in Silver Spring, Maryland, on November 30, 1930, and is buried in the Union Miners Cemetery at Mount Olive, Illinois.

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emerged between trade unionists and industrial unionists, as trade unionists sought to disassociate their organizations from radicalism.

Differences in philosophy and strategy between trade unionists and industrial unionists rose to the surface in the mid-1880s. In order to protect the favorable contract gained in the 1885 strike, most engineers and firemen obeyed their brotherhoods' order to continue work during the 1886 Southwest railway strike, vastly complicating Gould system Knights' efforts to win company recognition of employees' executive committee. In May 1886, Samuel Gompers, then head of the Cigar Makers International Union, called a meeting of national unions to discuss the relationship of trade unionists and the Knights after Socialist cigar makers, supported by the Knights, threatened his conservative leadership. The meeting rejected the tradition of dual unionism, which had allowed skilled workers to belong both to their craft unions and the Knights, and formed the AFL. The efforts of Gompers and other AFL leaders to avert a general strike in Chicago in support of the 1894 Pullman boycott illustrates the union's continued commitment to an independent, more conservative path.

Nonetheless, although the AFL's approach differed considerably from that of the Knights, the line between trade unionists and reformers was a porous one in the Gilded Age. Historian William Forbath, in his book *Law and the Shaping of the American Labor Movement* (1991), contended that the typical AFL activist "shared the Knights' radical ambitions and their faith in lawmaking and the ballot as ways of ending the 'tyranny of capital.' " AFL leaders joined the Knights in lobbying state governments and Washington on behalf of legislation that mandated an eight-hour day and a ban on tenement manufacturing and payment in scrip, and members of the AFL and Knights alike exhibited strong support for independent and third-party candidates. These political efforts faced huge obstacles, including ethnic and racial divisions, single-member constituencies, the cost of running candidates at the federal level, and party loyalties shaped by the Civil War and Reconstruction. Despite such serious impediments, during the 1870s and 1880s many labor activists tried and some succeeded in winning office on the state and local level. Labor-supported candidate Henry George lost the New York mayoral race but succeeded in polling one-third of votes cast, and labor parties won in municipal races across the nation.

Forbath argued that it was only after labor activists suffered a series of defeats in the courts during the 1880s and 1890s that "trade unionists' views of what was possible and desirable in politics and industry" changed, from an emphasis on "broad, positive reforms" to a focus on winning "bread and butter" gains for its members through collective bargaining. Judicial hostility to the boycott, the sympathy

strike, reformist legislation, and even the right to strike itself "shaped labor's strategic calculus" so that by the turn of the century radicals in the AFL were a distinct minority.

Although strikes remained legal throughout the nineteenth century, boycotts and sympathy strikes came increasingly under judicial attack. These attacks began in response to railway labor disputes, as judges tended to see railway strikes, especially nationwide actions, as a threat to the public interest, and unionists' attempts to control shop-floor rules as a threat to the rule of property and contract. The courts laid the basis for state intervention when they ordered federal troops to intervene in the 1877 strike in order to restore commerce and social order when state and local officials sympathetic to the railroaders refused to deputize volunteers or call in state militia. In 1886, injunctions issued against those engaged in work stoppages on roads under receivership (bankrupt roads under public management) doomed the Knights' strike on the Southwest system. The courts expanded the scope of the labor injunction to workers who boycotted handling of struck company cars in the 1888 Burlington strike, even though the railroad brotherhoods had long used the secondary strike to win collective bargaining agreements for its members. By the time the industrial American Railway Union (ARU) waged a strike in 1894 to restore the wages of employees of the Pullman Palace Car Company, the legal groundwork for the injunctions that ultimately doomed the Pullman strike were in place. Federal and state troops enforced a court decree against the ARU boycott of Pullman cars, crushing a strike that had involved at its height almost 260,000 railroad workers from Chicago to the Pacific.

The federal courts were reluctant to intervene in nonrailroad labor disputes for much of the nineteenth century, but the rise of the citywide boycott, which enlisted the sympathy of broad segments of working-class populations with boycotts of "unfair" goods and shops, changed this. Beginning in the late 1880s, courts redefined property to include the ownership not only of objects but also anything that had "exchangeable value." The redefinition later allowed courts to cast the boycott as a "combination" under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act and the picket line as intimidation and thus a violation of workers' property right to pursue their vocations. Judicial hostility to strikes for work-rule changes and closed shops pushed state and local authorities to intervene on their own. In 1892, the governor of Pennsylvania dealt the strike against Andrew Carnegie's Homestead steel works a severe blow when he ordered the state militia to restore law and order after strikers drove back company-hired and armed Pinkerton agents brought in to protect strikebreakers. The loss decimated the unions of skilled iron and steelworkers.

The indefatigable Mary Harris "Mother" Jones traveled widely to organize workers, mobilize strikers, and fight for better labor conditions. She remained active well into her nineties. *(Brown Brothers)*

Gilded Age labor activists, including AFL leaders, sought redress in the political arena with little success. Federal judges were mostly from the ranks of elite Republicans unsympathetic to labor, and professional associations governed the process of selecting candidates for state judgeships, diminishing labor's influence from the outset. The courts determined the fate of reformist legislation, usually in the employers' favor. In 1885, a federal court overturned an AFL-supported New York statute outlawing the manufacture of cigars in tenements on the grounds that sweatshop workers were free laborers entitled to

make their own decisions about employment. On similar grounds, the Illinois Supreme Court struck down a hard-fought Illinois law restricting the hours worked by women and children. When AFL members debated whether to pursue state involvement in labor disputes in the 1890s, "volunteerists" cited invalidated labor laws as evidence that the federation should reject state intervention in favor of the economic power of craft unions.

Although the Knights' numbers had diminished significantly by the 1890s, the order's producer ideology remained a potent force among a number of industrial workers, as the extensive support among railroad workers for the Pullman boycott illustrates. The United Mine Workers of America preserved the Knights' inclusive organizing strategy, organizing white and black, skilled and unskilled alike. The alliance formed between industrial workers, farmers, and sharecroppers in the mid-1890s in support of Populist Party candidates revived for a brief time working-class support for independent parties. Many of the Southern black tenants, miners, day laborers, and domestic workers who had joined the Knights in the late 1880s and early 1890s likely lent their support to the Colored Farmers' Alliance and to Populist candidates in 1894 and 1896, as a sizable number of industrial workers did in their search for relief from the economic depression that began in 1893.

The Populist coalition collapsed, however, owing in part to regional differences but mostly to key material conflicts between agricultural and industrial populations. Farmers wanted cheap money, inflation, an end to the protective tariff, and free silver, while industrial workers favored cheap food, hard money, high wages, and protection from foreign competition. The Republican victory in the 1896 presidential election was largely a result of these divisions. The producer ideology that had moved thousands to cross lines of race, skill, gender, ethnicity, and religion to challenge industrialists' values in the 1880s had by the end of the century entered a period of decline from which it never fully recovered. In its wake, the exclusive, antistatist strategy of the AFL dominated. Although the broader vision of an industrial Republic remained unfulfilled in 1900, over the succeeding two decades middle-class Progressives and their working-class allies drew upon elements of this vision to launch a series of reforms that reshaped and reinvigorated American labor movements.

Progressivism and Labor

Following five years of depression, the American economy expanded after 1897, and with it the AFL grew. Shortages of skilled workers in numerous industries, including railroading, construction, and coal mining, inspired union-organizing drives that brought AFL membership to 1.7 million by 1904. The AFL's growth was in large part due to the success of its strategy of "business unionism," which won for many AFL members improved wages and working conditions. "Business unionism" refers to the approach best summed up by Gompers, who viewed unions as "business organizations of wage-earners." Accordingly, the AFL made material objectives its central concern and pursued these objectives by resorting to the strike as an economic weapon only after a careful calculation of risk, securing labor contracts that codified rules and procedures negotiated by a professional class of labor bureaucrats, and, in order to reduce labor competition, seeking immigration restrictions and resisting the inclusion of immigrants, women, and nonwhites. There were costs associated with this strategy. Bureaucracy, and the alliance of some member unions with corrupt urban political machines, eroded the organization's democratic traditions and its idealism. Still, AFL unions, especially the United Mine Workers and the International Typographical Union, railroad brotherhoods, and building trades, won significant victories during this period.

The vast majority of working people stood outside of trade unions and thus received few of the rewards brought by "business unionism." The AFL leadership and many of its members saw black labor as a threat to white labor; the organization issued only about 82,000, or 3 percent, of its union cards to black workers, and most of its member unions excluded blacks entirely. In these policies, the AFL mirrored larger developments in American race relations: Northern acquiescence to the solidification of segregation in the South, the dramatic increase in lynching, and, in the wake of the Populists' defeat, the passage of numerous laws that effectively disenfranchised Southern black men.

In spite of these obstacles, some African Americans found a place in the AFL. In Alabama, for example, black industrial workers joined all-black and integrated unions and occupied leadership positions in the state federation. In Birmingham-area mines, blacks comprised 60 percent of the miners' biracial union by 1915. Biracial unions did not necessarily pro-

vide a haven of racial equality and brotherhood. The Knights of Labor's biracial approach, after all, had involved the acceptance of segregated locals in the South and a racial hierarchy in employment, the relegation of blacks to secondary leadership positions, and white paternalism toward black members. The same traditions of white supremacy shaped relationships between Alabama's black and white miners. Nonetheless, their commitment to an integrated, industrial union represented a sharp departure from the approach taken to race relations by other social organizations in the South and the nation's most powerful labor organization.

Women did not find a place in the AFL, mostly because employers banned their entrance into the skilled trades but also because of the AFL's view of female industrial workers as intruders in the labor market and, more to the point, as saboteurs of male privilege. The proper role of the father and the husband was, in most AFL members' eyes, the family breadwinner, while women and children were properly the dependents of men. The AFL therefore sought special protections for women in industry and a family wage, by which the AFL meant higher male wages, in order to render female paid labor unnecessary and restore male power in the household. In viewing female workers as unnatural, the AFL did not differ much from most Knights of Labor, but Gilded Age labor activists, male and female, tended to support the family wage as a means to benefit the whole family.

By 1920, women were working for wages in record numbers. In 1910, virtually all of the two million Americans engaged in domestic service were women, many of them Irish-born or African American, and women dominated unskilled and semiskilled work in the garment industry. Some worked to supplement a male family member's wages, others to support their own household, and still others to gain some independence and security for themselves. Although most female workers stood outside of organized labor, like male workers they sought, in various ways, to exert control over their working conditions. In New York City, for example, native-born women joined working girls' clubs that offered opportunities for recreation but also a forum for expressing workplace grievances, sympathy for labor organizations, and a desire for cooperation. Black domestic workers in the South challenged employers who demanded long hours and low wages by quitting and seeking employment elsewhere and sharing information about employers with other domestics in mutual aid societies and neighborhood associations.

The growth of the AFL at first drew a cautious but accommodative response from a number of major industrialists who joined the National Civic Federation (NCF), an organization which, in the hope of promoting labor peace, endorsed employer cooperation with conservative unionists. However, many small business owners, who could less afford the welfare capitalism proposed by industrialists of the NCF, waged a full frontal assault upon the closed shop. Appealing to the ideals of individualism and liberty, and meeting with much success, organizations such as the National Association of Manufacturers defended employees' right to refuse to join unions, disseminated anti-union pamphlets, and used private armed guards, strikebreakers, and the blacklist to defeat workers who struck in protest. Moreover, employers turned to mechanization and scientific management techniques that reduced the power and prestige of skilled workers in numerous industries.

At the same time that AFL unions went on the defensive, garment workers unions underwent a period of explosive growth. About 400,000 mostly unskilled and semiskilled Italian and east European immigrant women joined unions in the space of four years (1909–1913). Their success was probably partly due to the highly competitive and unstable nature of the industry, which encouraged large employers to see unionization as one way to rationalize their trade. Progressive reformers also proved helpful, as their support for industrial harmony through arbitration played a role in convincing employers to negotiate with the garment workers when they struck the industry. But the main impetus for reform came from below, in 1909 and 1910—first among shirtwaist workers, whose general strike drew 20,000 participants, and then among 100,000 male and female clothing industry workers.

The upheaval in the garment industry coincided with, and was in part influenced by, the rise of the Socialist Party and the International Workers of the World (IWW). Led by Eugene V. Debs, who had embraced socialism while serving jail time for his role in leading the Pullman strike as president of the ARU, the Socialist Party found supporters among many unskilled workers, such as those in the garment, textile, and shoe industries, some skilled workers and middle-class women, farmers threatened by tenancy in the Southwest, and "new" immigrants. At the national level, the party garnered a substantial number of votes in 1904 and 1908, and numerous Socialists won elections at the state and city level. In contrast to the Socialist Party cohorts, who were by and large

After destroying a strikers' tent camp in Ludlow, Colorado, on the night of Easter Sunday in 1914, members of the Colorado National Guard pose with their rifles. Soldiers killed fourteen people—including eleven children—making the "Ludlow Massacre" one of the bloodiest state-sanctioned attacks on workers during the Progressive Era. *(Denver Public Library)*

gradualists willing to pursue an electoral strategy, IWW members, or "Wobblies," renounced politics and sought the immediate emancipation of workers through spontaneous, direct action. An estimated two to three million Americans were "Wobblies" between 1909 and 1919.

Although no stable union emerged from the Wobblies' efforts, and the Socialist Party's electoral strength was eventually sapped by the Democratic Party's concessions to labor under President Wilson, both were important because they offered organization to unskilled workers, particularly immigrants, when the AFL did not. IWW influence can be seen especially in the textile strikes in Lawrence, Massachusetts, in 1912 and in Paterson, New Jersey, the following year. These strikes involved mostly immigrant men, women, and children, working people spurned by the AFL.

In Paterson, strikers met defeat after English-speaking skilled workers, who had joined with Italian and Jewish workers, returned to work. Garment workers did not obtain recognition for their union, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and the spread of industrial unrest to other immigrant laborers faltered after Paterson. But in Lawrence, where police attacks on women and children raised public ire against mill owners, and in the garment industry, strikers were able to wring concessions from owners, including reduced hours, pay raises, improved conditions, and overtime pay. Moreover, their well-publicized struggles, along with the violent repression of miners at Ludlow, Colorado, in 1914, convinced a significant segment of the middle class that only progressive, rational reform efforts could reestablish order and democracy in industrial America.

Middle-class and working-class Progressive-Era reformers pushed for and won a slew of labor legislation aimed at correcting industrialism's ills. As president, Theodore Roosevelt brought the federal government for the first time into an industrial dispute on the side of labor when he pressured mine operators to negotiate a strike by United Mine Workers in Pennsylvania in 1902. The AFL, female unionists, and social feminists allied to win protective legislation for women workers, measures that the Supreme Court upheld in principle in 1908. Encouraged,

"Breaker boys" as young as nine years old worked up to fourteen hours a day separating coal from waste products. More than 300,000 children worked in the nation's mines, factories, and mills in the early 1900s. *(Brown Brothers)*

thirty-eight states put child labor laws on the books in 1912, and twenty-eight states limited women's hours of labor. States also passed workers' compensation laws and codes regarding safety and sanitation. To reward the AFL for its support of his election in 1912, Woodrow Wilson appointed labor leaders to federal office, established the Department of Labor, and helped to push through Congress the Clayton Act, which laid out a "bill of rights" for labor unions and sought to end the courts' use of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act against labor "combinations." The Adamson Act and the Seamen's Act, respectively, limited railroad workers' hours and mitigated the abusive authority of ship captains over sailors.

Progressive reforms signaled a dramatic transformation in many Americans' ideas about the relationship between people and the government. The acceptance of government intervention on behalf of workers to protect them from the excesses of industrialism was widespread, whereas in the 1870s middle-class and elite thinkers routinely denounced as Communism the idea that a worker should, for in-

NO REST FOR THE WEARY: CHILDREN IN THE COAL MINES
BY JOHN SPARGO

John Spargo, labor advocate and organizer, was a leading critic of the early twentieth-century labor system that relied on child labor working under dangerous conditions. In this excerpt from his book, Spargo exposes the dangerous conditions in the American coal mining industry that depended so much on children for its labor needs.

Work in the coal breakers is exceedingly hard and dangerous. Crouched over the chutes, the boys sit hour after hour, picking out the pieces of slate and other refuse from the coal as it rushes past to the washers. From the cramped position they have to assume, most of them become more or less deformed and bent-backed like old men. When a boy has been working for some time and begins to get round-shouldered, his fellows say that "He's got his boy to carry round wherever he goes."

The coal is hard, and accidents to the hands, such as cut, broken, or crushed fingers, are common among the boys. Sometimes there is a worse accident: a terrified shriek is heard, and a boy is mangled and torn in the machinery, or disappears in the chute to be picked out later smothered and dead. Clouds of dust fill the breakers and are inhaled by the boys, laying the foundations for asthma and miners' consumption.

I once stood in a breaker for half an hour and tried to do the work a twelve-year-old boy was doing day after day, for ten hours at a stretch, for sixty cents a day. The gloom of the breaker appalled me. Outside the sun shone brightly, the air was pellucid [clear], and the birds sang in chorus with the trees and the rivers. Within the breaker there was blackness, clouds of deadly dust enfolded everything, the harsh, grinding roar of the machinery and the ceaseless rushing of coal through the chutes filled the ears. I tried to pick out the pieces of slate from the hurrying stream of coal, often missing them; my hands were bruised and cut in a few minutes; I was covered from head to foot with coal dust, and for many hours afterwards I was expectorating some of the small particles of anthracite I had swallowed.

I could not do that work and live, but there were boys of ten and twelve years of age doing it for fifty and sixty cents a day. Some of them had never been inside of a school; few of them could read a child's primer. True, some of them attended the night schools, but after working ten hours in the breaker the educational results from attending school were practically nil.

. . . From the breakers the boys graduate to the mine depths, where they become door tenders, switch boys, or mule drivers. Here, far below the surface, work is still more dangerous. At fourteen or fifteen the boys assume the same risks as the men, and are surrounded by the same perils. Nor is it in Pennsylvania only that these conditions exist. In the bituminous mines of West Virginia, boys of nine or ten are frequently employed. I met one little fellow ten years old in Mt. Carbon, W. Va., last year, who was employed as a "trap boy." Think of what it means to be a trap boy at ten years of age. It means to sit alone in a dark mine passage hour after hour, with no human soul near; to see no living creature except the mules as they pass with their loads, or a rat or two seeking to share one's meal; to stand in water or mud that covers the ankles, chilled to the marrow by the cold draughts that rush in when you open the trap door for the mules to pass through; to work for fourteen hours—waiting—opening and shutting a door—then waiting again for sixty cents; to reach the surface when all is wrapped in the mantle of night, and to fall to the earth exhausted and have to be carried away to the nearest "shack" to be revived before it is possible to walk to the farther shack called "home."

Boys twelve years of age may be *legally* employed in the mines of West Virginia, by day or by night, and for as many hours as the employers care to make them toil or their bodies will stand the strain. Where the disregard of child life is such that this may be done openly and with legal sanction, it is easy to believe what miners have again and again told me—that there are hundreds of little boys of nine and ten years of age employed in the coal mines of this state.

Source: John Spargo, *The Bitter Cry of Children* (New York: Macmillan, 1906).

stance, have the right to be paid a living wage. Later, in the 1930s, working Americans built upon that transformation to promote both labor peace and labor justice.

This accomplishment was a long-term one. In the short term, the results were much more mixed. Progressive reforms, the end products of compromise between groups with very different interests and belief

systems, tended to favor skilled workers and those engaged in factory work in which inspectors were an effective presence. These reforms did not touch the working lives of many other workers—unskilled laborers, domestic servants, and the rural poor. Key pieces of legislation, namely, the Clayton Act and the 1916 federal law banning child labor, were rendered meaningless by the courts, which narrowly interpreted the Clayton Act and rejected the 1916 law as unconstitutional. Indeed, the Progressive impulse to provide labor with a voice in industry did not find much appeal among judges. The courts either struck down or read out of existence virtually all of the fifty anti-injunction laws won by labor between 1900 and 1920.

World War I and Beyond 1914–1919

Labor activists confronted a new set of circumstances in the years before the United States entered World War I. Employers faced labor shortages because the war in Europe stemmed the tide of immigrants arriving on American shores. At the same time, American industry and agriculture strained to fulfill the Allied Powers' demands for food, raw materials, and manufactured goods. Working people used their power in the tightened labor market to secure improved wages and working conditions. Strikes that annually involved more than a million workers, representing a wide spectrum of employees, rocked U.S. industry between 1916 and 1920. Increased pay was a particularly important issue for most, since wartime inflation doubled consumer prices by 1920, eroding much of the gains that workers had made in wages. As the demand for goods expanded, employers attempted to increase production by introducing scientific management techniques and pushing employees to speed up their work.

Six months after the United States officially joined the Allied Powers' war effort, a colossal series of strikes in shipbuilding, coal mining, and metal industries led the federal government to institute labor commissions to adjudicate labor disputes during the war. Although some labor agency officials believed that unionization would calm labor relations, and certainly the AFL's pro-war stance helped to persuade them of this position, rather than union rights the government more consistently supported shop councils elected by employees to deal with worker grievances. When employers proved intractable, Washington pressured them to concede to their workers' demands, inducing millions to join the ranks of organized labor, which grew to five million by 1920.

The wartime demand for labor also brought hundreds of thousands of Southern rural working people into Northern and Midwestern cities—about a half million white Southerners and an equal number of black Southerners, and, into the Southwest, 185,000 Mexicans. For black migrants, the war represented a turning point. Previously barred from most skilled jobs, blacks eagerly left the Jim Crow order of the South (and the boll weevil and floods that decimated cotton crops in 1916) for the North's higher wages, voting booths, integrated busses, and superior schools. The jobs offered blacks were largely those that white people did not want, and racial tensions often simmered below the surface as blacks and whites competed for work and housing. Such tensions turned to violent conflict in East St. Louis in 1917, where white mobs murdered forty blacks in a bloody riot. Despite these obstacles and terrors, the relative freedom enjoyed by African-American migrants to the North encouraged many to commit to a fight for equal rights.

Women, too, experienced a new sense of self-purpose during the war, as industry recruited them to fill the places of men fighting in Europe and to keep up with the demand for goods. Women worked as streetcar conductors, as metalworkers and munitions workers, and an increasing number as clerical workers, among other jobs. The entrance of women into nontraditional occupations, and the hostility they often encountered from male coworkers and unionists, led many women to support women's suffrage. Without the vote, these women argued, how could they hope to change or ameliorate their working and living conditions? Women's suffrage gained force in the states and, after a hard-fought battle, became law under the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1920.

The wartime gains in industry made by women, African Americans, and labor were quickly reversed when soldiers returned home in 1919. The prewar economy in which blacks were fired to make room for whites—both foreign and native born—was back. Women left nontraditional jobs or were driven out. Labor leaders had possessed no small amount of faith in the unions' ability to maintain and even expand their membership base and the apparatus set up during the war to resolve labor disputes, but business leaders had viewed labor's wartime role as purely temporary. Unionists responded to attempted rollbacks with large-scale protests in 1919: a general strike in Seattle, strikes of 50,000 male clothing workers in New York, 120,000 textile workers in New England

and New Jersey, 400,000 soft coal miners, and 300,000 steelworkers. White workers also expressed their anxieties over labor competition and race in the riots that swept the nation during the summer of 1919. In Washington, D.C., Chicago, Omaha, rural Arkansas, and other towns and cities, white mobs attacked black neighborhoods, but in contrast to past riots, blacks in Chicago fought back.

In combating strikes, employers built upon the antiradical politics that had developed during the war. Steel companies painted its mainly immigrant striking workforce as revolutionary, exploiting divisions between foreign-born and native-born. Fearful of the spread of radicalism in Germany, Russia, and Hungary, state militias, city police, and the federal courts backed business leaders' equation of radicalism with labor activism. The "Red Scare" primarily targeted the foreign-born, Communists, and Anarchists, but it also shaped the public's view of labor and legitimated federal or state intervention in strikes. The confidence and optimism of wartime labor quickly turned to disillusionment. Not until the 1930s would American labor movements experience rebirth and renewal.

Conclusion

John R. Commons was a Progressive-Era historian and reformer whose multivolume *History of Labour in the United States* (1946) contested the reigning assumption of Gilded Age economists that labor's collective action jeopardized the free market and thus liberty itself. Commons saw trade unions as central to the cause of industrial peace and democracy. He viewed the AFL's narrow, exclusive strategy and focus on economic gains as not only practical but desirable, as a reflection of Americans' acceptance of the basic values of industrial capitalism.

In his historical work, Commons took an institutional approach that limited the study of labor history to trade unions and collective bargaining. Since the 1960s, however, historians have uncovered a far richer story involving a clash between the values of industrialism and those of large segments of the working population. During the Gilded Age, this clash spawned labor movements that shared a republican vision of industrial relations. The differences in their approaches to this vision became more pronounced and significant in the 1880s and 1890s as the courts and employers gradually imposed an expanded definition of property that effectively outlawed many of the weapons that were key to a broad-based, reformist labor movement, namely, strikes and mutual aid aimed at changing the terms and nature of work. On this constricted ground, the Knights declined, and the AFL abandoned radicalism and moved to an exclusive, accommodative strategy for winning a respected place within the capitalist order.

The AFL met with considerable success in improving material standards for many of its members during the Progressive and World War I eras. The majority of working Americans did not enjoy these gains, however, and the inclusive, radical visions of Gilded Age labor movements found new life. Among craft workers confronting mechanization and open shop campaigns, and among immigrant workers in the garment industry especially, deteriorating conditions pushed many to engage in massive strikes that fundamentally altered government's role in industrial disputes but did little to effect immediate and tangible change in the working lives of most Americans. The courts undermined much of the labor legislation passed during the Gilded Age and the much-celebrated Age of Reform, the Progressive Era. Although labor experienced resurgence during World War I, its achievements were largely temporary. Antiradicalism, labor competition, and racial warfare left U.S, labor movements in disarray after the war. Although women and African Americans exhibited new resolve concerning civil and political rights after the war, the hope of many working-class Americans, whatever their skill, background, or philosophy, that they might gain a voice in the workplace would not again be revived until the 1930s.

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Eight-Hour Day Movement

The American labor movement has fought a long struggle to establish eight hours as a standard workday. As industrialization overtook the nation and skilled crafts became unskilled due to the increased use of machinery, the amount of time workers spent on the job went as high as fourteen hours a day for little pay. The fight to establish eight hours as the standard workday would go through legislatures, courts, the streets, and cost much in time and lives.

With the growth of industrialism in America also came a dramatic change of life. From what was once an economic system based on agriculture was rapidly overcome by early machinery and its forms of power sources. From textiles to shoemaking and beyond, the ability to produce more goods at a faster and cheaper cost spread rapidly. Those who once were skilled in cherished valued crafts, like shoemaking and carpentry, rapidly saw their art reduced to simply pulling a lever or cutting a predetermined pattern. Although competition within the marketplace was always present, increased industrialization meant producing even more goods at an accelerated pace. With competition between producers growing even fiercer, new ways would have to be found to minimize cost and maximize profit. The first place to cut expenses was the workforce. Having employees work longer hours at even lower pay rates would help achieve the goal of producing more goods faster and cheaper.

The comparable growth in international trade especially influenced this increased competition. As Western countries began to open up markets, whether by negotiation or force, in places such as Asia and Africa, a scramble to establish economic superiority emerged and expanded. Furthermore, these areas also provided a rich supply of natural resources that was needed by these growing industries.

Long before industrialism took the country completely by storm, there was concern over how hard to work employees. Even the earliest American guilds and unions argued for shorter working hours, first pressing for ten hours as the standard day. But the increased use of machines, the opening of international trade routes, and finding new ways to exploit natural resources would take precedence over the number of hours someone would have to stand behind a machine.

With the Civil War came a need for increased production. When the war ended, and industry resumed on a peacetime basis, the labor movement, in comparison to industrialism, also grew at an accelerated rate. Workers began to organize more into trade unions, and one of their chief concerns was the number of hours in which employees were required to work. Hours expanded while wages shrank. Increased European immigration did not help at all, for while American workers might refuse a job with low wages and long hours, those from foreign countries, looking for a better life, had nothing to lose. Regardless of workers' feelings, employers set the number of hours, and workers either agreed or did not have a job.

In 1866, the move to establish the eight-hour day gained momentum. This movement stretched across racial, ethnic, and even gender lines. The National Labor Union was organized in Baltimore in 1866. At the forefront was Ira Steward, a machinist from Boston. Steward saw the eight-hour day movement as not just a labor but an economic concern. To Steward, working people at incredibly long hours and paying them low wages were harmful practices for both worker and employer. If people worked a shorter day for better pay, they would have time on their hands and more money in their pockets. Thus, people could purchase and enjoy more, and industry would have a steady market. Although some did not share Steward's idea of consumption, by this time the use of machines was irrefutable, even by those whose crafts were threatened, if not overtaken, by industrialism.

Several states made attempts to establish eight

hours as the legal workday. Illinois, Wisconsin, Missouri, and New York were the forerunners by passing eight-hour laws in 1886. Passing such legislation always met with fierce opposition from employers who wished to maintain a ten-hour day, with no additional pay for overtime. To many employers, the current economic situation reflected the abilities of those who could rise above. Monetary success was proof that one was capable in rising above the crowd. If one did not wish to work the shift, there would be plenty of others right behind willing to take the job.

Those states that did pass eight-hour laws found problems in enforcement. For example, Illinois law did not provide penalties for noncompliance, a point at which employers took note. Despite strikes and demonstrations, no help in enforcement came forth, only animosity toward the movement. Relief did seem to come in 1868 when Congress created an eight-hour day for laborers and mechanics working for the federal government, but this law would not have much influence on the state level.

In 1884, the movement for an eight-hour day truly took flight, although the initial declaration originally went unnoticed. The Federation of Organized Trade and Labor Unions called for the eight-hour day to start as of May 1, 1886. Although this might have been somewhat ignored at first, in 1886 demonstrations did in fact break out in many major cities. Thousands of workers in places such as Pittsburgh, Baltimore, and St. Louis went on strike or demonstrated in an effort to advance this cause.

The eight-hour issue culminated in Chicago in May of 1886. Chicago was considered to be the center of the eight-hour day movement, and with relations between workers and employers already at a feverish pitch, violence became virtually inevitable. Demonstrations at the McCormick Reaper Works in early May ended in violence between striking workers and police, resulting in several deaths. A group of Anarchists, led by August Spies and Albert Parsons, called for a demonstration on May 4 to protest the police brutality. Although Chicago mayor Carter Harrison found the assembly to be peaceful, and having warned the police not to interfere, the police did in fact raid the meeting just after Harrison left. An unknown person threw a dynamite bomb, killing several policemen. Remaining police opened fire on the crowd, killing other members of the crowd. Spies and Parsons were among the four men who would eventually be convicted and executed for the bombing and conspiracy, although there was no evidence linking them to the act.

As the labor movement became more organized in associations such as the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor (AFL), so did the call for eight-hour day legislation, even though many labor leaders such as the AFL's Samuel Gompers did not always believe legislation would help much. Laws could be easily repealed by a future legislature or declared unconstitutional by the courts. Local labor organizations especially led the drive for legislation. But, again, enforcement was difficult. In the states where laws were passed and upheld by the courts, compliance was easily evaded. One reason was a loophole in many of these laws. Employers could contract with their workers for a longer day. Of course, the employee would either comply in the "request" for longer hours or not have a job. Furthermore, state enforcement might fall under any number of departments, or, just be ignored altogether. What also added to the situation was that farmers had little, if any, sympathy for the eight-hour day. Many farmers considered the urban factory workers to be whiners, especially since agricultural production could run as long as sixteen hours a day.

A landmark case involving the limitation of work hours came in 1908 with the U.S. Supreme Court case of *Muller v. Oregon*. In 1903, the state of Oregon passed a law limiting the number of hours females could work to ten. The law was, of course, challenged. The case reached the Supreme Court, which upheld the act. Arguing in favor of the law was the future Supreme Court justice Louis Brandeis, who did not rely upon legal precedent but instead presented a variety of arguments based on sociological, medical, and historical evidence. Opponents to the law argued that the act violated the freedom of contract as protected by both the Constitution and the Fourteenth Amendment. The Supreme Court, however, saw that the law protected the health and well-being of women.

Regardless of any shortcomings, the eight-hour day movement continued to gain momentum in the early twentieth century. At the AFL convention in 1913, there was a push to institute the eight-hour day along with stringent enforcement provisions. One issue surrounding this drive was who should be included, such as specific trades, women, and minority groups. Many argued that any laws should cover all workers, regardless of trade, race, or gender. The AFL would often back away from the eight-hour issue, and the issues of enforcement and inclusion would continue to divide the labor movement for years.

The federal government passed eight-hour laws on an irregular basis. During the presidential admin-

EIGHT HOURS
Music by Jesse Henry Jones

ca. 1866

"Eight Hours," written sometime around 1866, was a popular song among trade unionists and labor activists in the nineteenth-century struggle to improve working conditions in the workplace through reducing the workday.

We mean to make things over, we are tired of toil for naught,
With but bare enough to live upon, and never an hour for thought;
We want to feel the sunshine, and we want to smell the flowers,
We are sure that God has will'd it, and we mean to have eight hours.
We're summoning our forces from the shipyard, shop, and mill:
Eight hours for work, eight hours for rest, eight hours for what we will!
Eight hours for work, eight hours for rest, eight hours for what we will!

The beasts that graze the hillside, and the birds that wander free,
In the life that God has meted have a better lot than we.
Oh! hands and hearts are weary, and homes are heavy with dole;
If our life's to be filled with drudgery, what need of a human soul!
Shout, shout the lusty rally from shipyard, shop, and mill:
Eight hours for work, eight hours for rest, eight hours for what we will!
Eight hours for work, eight hours for rest, eight hours for what we will!

The voice of God within us is calling us to stand
Erect, as is becoming to the work of his right hand.
Should he, to whom the maker his glorious image gave,
The meanest of his creatures crouch, a bread and butter slave?
Let the shout ring down the valleys and echo from ev'ry hill:
Eight hours for work, eight hours for rest, eight hours for what we will!
Eight hours for work, eight hours for rest, eight hours for what we will!

Ye deem they're feeble voices that are raised in labor's cause?
But bethink ye of the torrent, and the wild tornado's laws!
We say not toil's uprising in terror's shape will come,
Yet the world were wise to listen to the monitory hum,
Soon, soon the deep-toned rally shall all the nations thrill:
Eight hours for work, eight hours for rest, eight hours for what we will!
Eight hours for work, eight hours for rest, eight hours for what we will!

From factories and workshops, in long and weary lines,
From all the sweltering forges, and from out the sunless mines,
Wherever toil is wasting the force of life to live,
There the bent and battered armies come to claim what God doth give,
And the blazon on their banner doth with hope the nations fill:
Eight hours for work, eight hours for rest, eight hours for what we will!
Eight hours for work, eight hours for rest, eight hours for what we will!

Hurrah, hurrah for labor! for it shall arise in might;
It has filled the world with plenty, it shall fill the world with light;
Hurrah, hurrah for labor! it is mustering all its powers,
And shall march along to victory with the banner of Eight Hours!
Shout, shout the echoing rally till all the welkin thrill:
Eight hours for work, eight hours for rest, eight hours for what we will!
Eight hours for work, eight hours for rest, eight hours for what we will!

Source: Philip S. Foner, *American Labor Songs of the Nineteenth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975).

istration of Woodrow Wilson, Congress passed an eight-hour law for railroad workers, which was met with fierce opposition by railroad employers. The law was set to take effect on January 1, 1917. With America's growing involvement in World War I, a compromise was needed and was ultimately reached.

Upon the conclusion of World War I, strikes for the eight-hour day swept through many segments of the labor movement, beginning with textiles and moving on from there. However, with the Great Depression and subsequent New Deal, the eight-hour day took a back seat to more pressing matters at first. Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal was more interested in jump-starting the economy and putting people back to work than worrying about hours. Although people were certainly interested in not having to work incredibly long hours, having a job at all was more important. Then, in 1936, came the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act. This law concerned government contractors, with one of the provisions limiting the number of work hours a day to eight, with time-and-a-half pay for overtime worked within a twenty-four-hour period.

Later in the New Deal came the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) of 1938. Although this Act included exemptions for people engaged in fields such as ag-

riculture and domestic service, businesses involved in or affecting interstate commerce were required to have a forty-hour work week. Other provisions were made regarding wages and overtime pay.

The eight-hour workday is still considered to be ideal. Although there might be legislation, local or national, establishing the number of hours in which one might work, contracting the number of hours in a work week is still between the employer and employee. Many companies today utilize "flex time," whereby employees can select their daily starting and finishing times, as long as they work the minimum required weekly hours. In many positions overtime is not paid but is merely considered to be part of the job. For those working under union contracts, the standard work week is laid out, along with provisions for overtime compensation. Although the eight-hour day, with forty hours per week, is thought to be the standard, the actual work week varies from profession to profession. Some companies do not even require forty hours, with work weeks from thirty-five to thirty-seven and a half hours.

The fight for the eight-hour day was long and hard-fought. Many people died for the cause, and the issue even divided the labor movement at times. Regardless, the drive to establish eight hours as a standard workday would leave long-lasting marks on those who must work for a living.

Mitchell Newton-Matza

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Syndicalism and the Industrial Workers of the World

Many scholars consider Syndicalism as one of the influential "left" ideologies of the twentieth century, within the increasingly problematic definition of a left-right political spectrum. However, consensus seems to end there, and the history of Syndicalism and its role in the United States has proven to be one of the oldest scholarly battlegrounds, perhaps rightly reflecting the colorful and often violent memories associated with this term. Controversies emerge as soon as the term is used, along with a plethora of meanings and experiences associated with Syndicalism. Is Syndicalism the same thing as "revolutionary syndicalism," or perhaps "anarcho-syndicalism"? Are they significantly different versions of the same basic concepts, diverging in their paths through time? Or is it the same idea everywhere, but with different experiences? Is the United States "exceptional"? The list of questions can certainly get exhaustive.

Perhaps a good place to start would be to describe what Syndicalism *is not*. A common thread observable through all Syndicalist movements has been their sometimes incoherent efforts to distinguish themselves from Socialist (and later Communist) movements. Drawing exact lines between movements and people associated with labels such as "Syndicalist" or "Socialist" is often not a very meaningful task, for there is significant overlap and confusion in ideas and actions. However, distinctions and differences exist, and Syndicalist movements' insistence on rejecting most legal-political forms of action and deep skepticism of Socialist parliamentary tactics can be considered as major division lines among "left" labor movements. By far the most spectacular and observable Syndicalist tactics to achieve social change as well as short-term gains include direct action, sabotage, and the general strike. Political participation and change through the formal political system are considered a waste of effort; the real power to change society goes through direct action, where workplace problems are solved without intermediaries, augmented by carefully aimed acts of industrial sabotage, all leading to the ultimate Syndicalist weapon, the general strike. The general strike, conceived as the point where workers' control and initiative of production is depicted and ultimately realized, brings about the end of capitalism by paralyzing its vital productive and commercial elements, while at the same time opening the way for a new society based on the control of all production through *syndicats*, or (in a historically specific context) "industrial unions."

Historically, Syndicalism can be traced back to nineteenth-century "left" political and workers' movements defining themselves as Socialist or Anarchist. Late-nineteenth-century continental Europe, especially France, is considered to have witnessed the creation of what would be called "anarcho-syndicalism," "Syndicalism," or an early version of "industrial unionism" around the world. Various elements of Socialist labor organization, such as the perception of the working class as the key agent of social change, as well as elements of Anarchism, observable in the lack of trust toward centralization and state authority, form the ideological foundation on which Syndicalism stands. The French experience is usually associated with the *Confédération Générale du Travail* (CGT), with an ongoing debate concerning its exact influence on the American experience. Syndicalism seems to be alive in the twenty-first century, with all the characteristic, eclectic togetherness of ideologies and images. One can see the black cat of sabotage on the walls, along with environmentalist slogans, black-and-red flags, and pro-labor pamphlets in the so-called antiglobalization" rallies. Tracing the story of Syndicalism in the United States requires an almost exclusive attention to the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), whose fate and influence very closely reflect the fortunes of the ideology and movement in its context.

The Industrial Workers of the World

The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) was founded at a 1905 convention in Chicago after a series of conferences and was immediately welcomed by the first speaker, "Big Bill" Haywood, as "the Continental Congress of the working class." It appears that the phrasing was somewhat exaggerated, for although the convention had brought together numerous unions and political organizations, the number of workers represented with voting rights was a mere 50,000 (overall, indirect representation was around 140,000)—a very small portion of organized labor at the time and a fraction of all workers in the United States. Although numbers would never prove to be a significant strength of the IWW through its history, its historical influence, either as exercised by the IWW as an active organization or as a myth, had little to do with numerical strength.

If the first convention in Chicago did not represent a numerical strength, it certainly succeeded in assembling an impressive variety of groups and ideas. From the populous Western Federation of Miners (WFM) represented by the influential Haywood to a variety of small American Federation of Labor (AFL) locals, the IWW represented a chaotic and eclectic amalgam of purposes, ideologies, and characters. Branding the organization at its creation as Syndicalist or Socialist would be an unsupported speculation, because what would later become the Syndicalist elements coexisted with Daniel De Leon's doctrinaire Socialist Labor Party (SLP; it was represented through the party's union wing, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance), Eugene V. Debs's Socialist Party of America

Founded in 1905, the Industrial Workers of the World sought to organize unskilled, factory, and migrant workers—groups often ignored by other unions. *(Brown Brothers)*

WILLIAM D. "Big Bill" HAYWOOD (1869–1928)

Born in Salt Lake City, Utah, on February 9, 1869, William Dudley Haywood began work as a miner at a young age to help support his family. In 1896, he joined the newly organized Western Federation of Miners (WFM), and in 1900 he became a member of the executive board and national secretary-treasurer of the organization. He traveled throughout the West as a union organizer. Because of increasing conflicts between miners and mine owners, Haywood often traveled secretly through embattled mining camps to avoid arrest. Haywood and the Western Federation of Miners campaigned for eight-hour working days for underground miners. Most mining camps required underground workers to labor ten hours on the job each day, not counting transportation time up and down the mine shafts, and to work thirteen out of fourteen days. Because of the WFM efforts, Utah became the first state in the nation to enact an eight-hour workday for miners.

A militant leader, Haywood was often accused of inciting violence, especially in the Colorado troubles culminating in the Cripple Creek strike of 1904. He was also accused of instigating the assassination of former governor Frank Steunenberg of Idaho in 1905, but was acquitted in a trial in which the high-profile trial attorney Clarence S. Darrow defended him. The trial attracted nationwide attention. Though eventually found not guilty, the ordeal led to fighting between Haywood and Charles Moyer, one of the other leaders of the WFM, about the direction of the organization. Haywood left it in 1908.

In 1905, Haywood helped organize the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). He joined the Socialist Party and became a member of its national executive board, but because of his advocacy of violence was forced out of the party. He led the famous Lawrence and Paterson textile workers' strikes in 1912 and 1913, respectively. Repudiating the crafts union ideal and the cooperation policy of the American Federation of Labor, he preached the IWW doctrines of class struggle, no compromise, and mass action. He became head of it in 1915 and forged an image of the IWW as a group that would use any means at its disposal to change a system it despised. At its peak, the group had more than three million members.

When the United States entered World War I, Haywood was arrested on a charge of sedition, and was tried, convicted, and sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment. While awaiting a new trial in 1921, he forfeited bail and escaped to the Soviet Union, where he lived for the rest of his life. He became a trusted adviser to the new Bolshevik government. He died on May 18, 1928. Half of his ashes were ceremoniously buried in a wall of honor at the Kremlin, next to the remains of American journalist and Communist sympathizer John Reed. The remainder were quietly returned to the United States and buried in Chicago, near a monument to American workers.

James G. Lewis

(SP), numerous labor organizers who for various reasons had been unable to achieve career ambitions with the AFL, and colorful individuals like "father" Thomas J. Hagerty—the author of the famous preamble to the IWW constitution, the 1905 manifesto, and the creator of an organizational chart of industrial unions, also known as "Father Hagerty's Wheel of Fortune," forming the "One Big Union."

Haywood's opening speech was supported and well received by the audience; his emphases on themes of solidarity, class struggle, and disdain for the "pure and simple" craft unionism of the AFL had reached a crowd very much in agreement with these sentiments. Controversial issues remained in place, however, and would prove to be dangerous fault lines that would endure throughout the history of the IWW.

The WFM, forming the core membership and financial source of the newly created IWW, had brought its experience of bitter struggles and a fiery, independent "Western" streak, as well as the conviction that a peaceful coexistence of employers (or "capitalists") and workers was unattainable. Experiences gained through hard-fought—and lost—strikes and struggles in Colorado had shown the WFM the futility of favorable court decisions when governors would refuse to enforce them. Losing strikes while locals were dismantled only served to enhance the idea that dependence on legal institutions for protection against employers was a recipe for disaster. This line, along with a distrust of political affiliations and the political processes in general, had a lot in common with what would be called American Syndicalism in a few years.

Among the purely political groups, both the SLP and the SP intended to steer the newly formed orga-

nization as a branch of the party apparatus. Homogeneity had never been one of the defining elements of socialist movements, however, and this situation was no different. To summarize, certain elements within the SLP as well as the SP advocated a position against the dominant "boring from within" attitude. As a tactic, "boring from within" meant that socialists would organize within existing trade unions, radicalize, or "educate" the workers who had "false consciousness" in these unions, and place them in line with party functions and ideals. The opposing groups saw in the IWW a potential to become a genuine class-conscious organization of industrial unions, making the trade unions and AFL craft unionism obsolescent by its very existence. Most Socialists still had high hopes for converting the AFL, but the IWW was at the center of many arguments nevertheless. What made many Socialists most uncomfortable with the IWW was the strong position of ideas that advocated success primarily at the workshop, not the ballot box.

The IWW and its Opponents

Problems within the IWW were to play a decisive role throughout its history, but the IWW fully expected opposition from a variety of outside sources as well and had no trouble finding it. The AFL, under Samuel Gompers, had grown from its small beginnings when the Knights of Labor dominated the scene briefly in the second half of the nineteenth century, into the largest federation of unions in the United States. Gompers had created an organization that thrived not on conflict but on agreements that brought small, immediate, incremental gains. Gompers's insistence on craft unionism and the significant number of skilled workers organized within the AFL meant that it mostly aimed to represent the interests of the skilled minority while a large majority of the working class in the United States was left out. Although the IWW represented a small number of workers, its radical rhetoric and aims led Gompers to believe that the IWW posed a threat, aiming to replace the AFL, although his agents within the IWW had informed him otherwise after observing the chaos and conflict of interests already evident in the infant organization. Consequently, Gompers told all members not to support IWW strikes and reminded them that strikebreaking was acceptable in such situations. WFM locals were purged from AFL-affiliated organizations, and aid to the WFM was halted.

As the AFL attack continued, suspicious SP members also voiced their opinions about the IWW. Although Debs and other prominent names of the SP endorsed the organization, there was widespread suspicion among Socialists concerning De Leon and the SLP. The IWW seemed to have united the SP and the SLP at least on a small common ground, but suspicion of another split led by De Leon never wavered. The "boring from within" attitude also continued to dominate the SP, and supporters of the tactic became increasingly aggressive as they perceived the IWW as not only a hopeless attempt, but also a weakening influence on their work within the AFL, since it attracted socialists and other radicals.

As the newly created IWW struggled with problems inside and outside, government authorities, backed by negative public sentiment, were about to start a long and torturous period of harassment at all levels. The first event exemplifying this attitude was triggered by the murder of a former governor of Idaho in Caldwell. As soon as the local authorities had a suspect, they started working on establishing connections to prominent figures of the WFM.

The fact that a connection had not been established and that the suspected conspirators were in Colorado did not deter the authorities. After an interstate abduction spree, Haywood, Charles Moyer (president of the WFM), and George A. Pettibone were brought to Idaho and imprisoned. Appeals by union attorneys ended in failure, and although the juries eventually found them to be not guilty, they did spend a critical time in prison. A critical time indeed, since the IWW was experiencing severe crises and the absence of experienced, charismatic leadership at such a time seriously hampered its survival efforts, let alone attempts to grow. During the absence of Haywood and Moyer, the IWW experienced an ossification of existing differences among its groups, as socialists struggled against De Leon's SLP, and the WFM was torn between factions favoring a "revolutionary" IWW and a "respectable" IWW. In the meantime, the first (and only) IWW president, Charles O. Sherman, and secretary-treasurer William E. Trautmann became involved in these factional struggles and were positioned against each other. It certainly appeared that a serious conflict was going to take place at the second convention, and there would be no surprises. The long-term result of the second convention became clearer as the years 1907–1908 would witness the first big schism in the history of the IWW, with major consequences.

Decline of the IWW and its Historical Legacy

Meanwhile, the factional struggles within the WFM gathered momentum, as Vincent St. John and his supporters who favored a revolutionary IWW slowly lost ground. After bitter struggling, efforts to keep the WFM in the IWW failed, and this most populous and resourceful element of the IWW withdrew, leaving what appeared to be a union on the brink of collapse. By the time Haywood and St. John were trying to save the IWW, De Leon's aims and tactics had attracted much suspicion and hostility. Through his attempts to stop SP influence in the IWW, De Leon had succeeded in implementing what was called a "political clause," where a party affiliation was not allowed, but political action was acceptable. However, the alliances he had established with direct action supporters two years before had crumbled, while his image as an intellectual alienated from the workers grew in strength. The year 1908 witnessed the second split, this time during the convention. De Leon and his followers, banished by the IWW, left and established a paper IWW in New Jersey, and then moved to Detroit. The paper IWW never had much influence, and after the death of its founder in 1914, it eventually died out.

By the time the damaging internal struggles in 1908 came to a climax, the IWW had lost a significant portion of its membership and resources with the loss of the WFM (in 1907), alienated remaining SP figures such as Debs, and thrown out De Leon and the SLP affiliates. Even during such a time of troubles, however, the IWW had organized and engaged in conflicts in a wide geographic area. From the textile workers in the East (Paterson, New Jersey, Providence, Rhode Island, Lawrence, Massachusetts, et al.) to Goldfield, Nevada, and timber workers of the Northwest, the IWW worked actively in organizing and striking, even if the strikes were not necessarily successes.

Although the IWW had organized some skilled and permanent workers, it also proved to be the only

Leaders of the Industrial Workers of the World pose in front of a dye factory. Among those featured are William "Big Bill" Haywood (seated, far right) and, beside him, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. *(Brown Brothers)*

union that actively attempted to organize unskilled immigrants (including Japanese workers, who were excluded by all other unions) and itinerant workers. The internal success of the "Syndicalist faction," combined with what critics labeled as "hobo unionism," created an image of the IWW as an alienated, weak union of anarchists and unemployed workers. Although badly shaken by lack of funds and organizational chaos, the IWW nevertheless survived and possessed the basis of what was to constitute the "Wobbly" myth for decades.

The ideological product of developments in the IWW during this period was a mixture of elements: they borrowed a significant amount from Marx, in terms of the understanding of history as class struggle and "laws" of social change, from Anarchists' and Syndicalists' notions such as direct action, sabotage, and the general strike, and mixed these with already-existing elements such as the spirit of frontier activism and initiative, among others. The result was hardly a coherent body forming a unique ideological framework; but it was certainly not a repetition of other movements and ideas, within or without the United States. A good example of the particular mixture of ideas the IWW created is the antipathy concerning political action. Although Anarchists and many Syndicalists had looked upon political action unfavorably, if not with hostility, the attitude of the IWW was as much a result of such external influences and previous experience of some of its members as it was the result of direct, new experience gained during the bitter battles involving Socialists and the SLP. Although the IWW never let go of its vision of revolution, socially ultimate ends were not necessarily of foremost importance on the agenda in the struggles that it pursued, trying to improve the immediate conditions of the workers it tried to organize.

In the aftermath of the 1907–1908 emigration, the IWW began a period of intensive struggles in both the West and the East. In the West, what would be known as "free speech fights" erupted, with significant results in locations such as Spokane, Washington (1909–1910) and Fresno, California (1910–1911). In Spokane, the IWW organized a number of migratory workers who had to work in primitive, brutal conditions. Their success did not go unnoticed, as the city council soon banned IWW soapboxers from the streets, employing an argument of nationalism and religion. The IWW refused to stop, and in less than a month, the Spokane jail was overfilled with Wobblies who had continued to give speeches. As workers started to leave Spokane for jobs, the IWW orators were released. As soon as the workers returned, a similar procession of events commenced; IWW orators started making speeches, and they were promptly put in jail. By the time the struggle ended, hundreds of Wobblies would be imprisoned. The conditions in the prisons were not only primitive, but also designed to weaken and break the spirits of the prisoners. Climatic extremes, lack of sanitary measures, and brutality in general left a majority of prisoners with permanent health problems.

As the fight became ever more costly for the authorities in Spokane, they wavered. The jails were full, but the IWW was still there, in numbers. The numerous tales of brutality and injustice against the IWW influenced even public opinion, resulting in more pressure on city authorities. Finally, in 1910, nonviolent resistance and determination prevailed, and the IWW achieved its goals. They could publish the *Industrial Worker* and freely organize indoor or outdoor meetings. Similar "free speech fights" with similar results took place in a variety of Western cities for a few more years, with exceptions such as San Diego, California, where success proved to be elusive in the face of determined opposition by local authorities and lack of intervention by higher authorities.

The IWW had gained a number of skilled organizers and a larger number of determined followers by the end of the "free speech fights," and it would need them all in the immediate future. Joseph Ettor, one of the highly skilled and experienced organizers of the IWW, arrived in Lawrence, Massachusetts, in early 1912, invited by a local Italian IWW.

Low wages and long hours in the textile mills of Lawrence had culminated in widespread anger and dissatisfaction among the workers who were mostly immigrants. However, not all ethnicities supported the idea of a strike; from the start, the most enthusiastic support for a strike came from the less well-established groups, mostly from Southern and Eastern Europe. Haywood also marked his return to active organizing when he showed up in Lawrence and was warmly greeted by a great number of workers. Accompanying Ettor was Arturo Giovannitti, soon to become a well-known character in the history of the IWW. Strike committees and relief committees were immediately formed with the combined work of the local strikers and national IWW organizers. Limited demands were drawn up, and they were put forth again and again in regular parades, picket lines, and music. In a short time, the number of workers who stopped work grew so that the mills were crippled and the strike was well under way.

Although the IWW in Lawrence never supported

violence, perhaps inevitably, clashes among militia, the police, and the strikers occurred. By the time strikebreakers were introduced, the atmosphere was already full of tension. When a police officer was stabbed and a striker was shot and killed, a group of people including, unsurprisingly, Ettor and Giovannitti were identified as the conspirators by the police. As the leaders of the strike were put in jail, however, reinforcements from the IWW had come; Elizabeth Gurley Flynn (the "rebel girl") and William E. Trautmann had joined Haywood to replace them. The IWW proved to be extremely resourceful in organizing the strike, creating committees to alleviate the problems strikers faced, and even imported the tactic of sending strikers' children outside the strike zone so they could be taken care of by willing families. Every act contributed to greater publicity, and the local businesses and authorities contributed to the publicity by acts of brutality and stubbornness. In about two months, the mill owners capitulated, accepting the demands of the strike committee. Haywood and other Wobblies were ecstatic over the victory; things appeared to be changing for the IWW indeed. Ettor and Giovannitti were acquitted a few months following the strike.

Through the success of the Lawrence strike, the IWW had succeeded in signing up new members and had gained a lot of publicity. The successes did not follow, however, even in Lawrence, as mill owners (the American Woolen Company) playing one ethnicity against the other and using spies to infiltrate the union and the media influenced public opinion negatively toward the IWW. The following year would put all the strength and morale of the organization to the test, at Paterson, New Jersey.

Similar in some ways to Lawrence, Paterson was also an old industrial town, and labor was similarly divided into ethnic groups. The IWW did not really "lead" the strike here but served as organizing and advisory assistance. In addition to figures like Flynn and Haywood, Carlo Tresca, an anarchist with close ties to syndicalism—and to Flynn—made an appearance. Although similar tactics to those used in Lawrence were employed, Paterson proved to be a different testing ground. When material support for the strikers wavered and new drives for funding (John Reed's famous Pageant of the strike included) were unsuccessful, cracks along ethnic and ideological lines appeared fast. Things fell apart quickly, and the strike ended in defeat, with Socialists, the AFL, and the media all critiquing the IWW.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

(1890–1964)

Born on August 7, 1890, in Concord, New Hampshire, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was the daughter of working-class Socialists. She showed an early talent for public speaking on social issues. Thrown out of school in 1907 for her political activities, she became an organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). She took part in the IWW's "free speech" campaigns in western mining towns and was arrested dozens of times; she also helped organize strikes or raise relief and legal defense funds. In 1918, she helped establish the Workers' Liberty Defense Union, which was founded to protect immigrants from being deported and to give them financial and legal help. She served as secretary of the Workers' Liberty Defense Union until 1922. She also worked for women's suffrage, peace, birth control, and other progressive causes, and was one of the founders of the American Civil Liberties Union in 1920.

In the 1920s, Flynn was a key fundraiser in the Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti case. After that case ended in 1927, a heart ailment forced her out of action for several years. In 1936, she joined the Communist Party and became one of its outspoken leaders in the United States. Three years later she was removed from the national committee of the American Civil Liberties Union for her Communist Party membership. She was arrested along with twelve other Communist leaders in 1951, at the height of the McCarthy period, and was incarcerated in January 1951. She published *I Speak My Own Piece: Autobiography of "The Rebel Girl"* in 1955.

Flynn served as chair of the Communist Party of America from 1961 to 1964, the first woman to hold that post. In a suit that went to the U.S. Supreme Court, *Aptheker v. Secretary of State* (1964), she and Herbert Aptheker, the editor of the Party's journal *Political Affairs*, challenged the constitutionality of a provision of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 that denied the issuance of passports to Communists. When they won the suit in 1964, she promptly secured a passport in order to visit the Soviet Union. She died in Moscow on September 5, 1964, and was given a state funeral in Red Square.

James G. Lewis

Legacy of the IWW

If the IWW won limited gains and lost most of the time in actual industrial warfare, it certainly did not lack in mythology and influential discourse. IWW songs, slogans, caricatures, and language would prove to be enduring aspects of the IWW legacy. Martyrs also added to the charisma and culture of the Wobbly phenomenon. Joe Hill, a "Wobbly bard," was tried and sentenced to death for a murder charge in 1914; the resulting effort to defend him had international dimensions, but the uproar did not help him. In 1915, he was executed in Utah and after an elaborate funeral, buried near the Haymarket martyrs. Two years later, Frank Little, a well-known IWW organizer, would be added to the martyr mythology after being lynched by a Butte, Montana, vigilante mob for his "unpatriotic" antiwar speeches and agitation.

On the organizing front, the IWW experienced significant successes through most of World War I (when it was particularly under attack after 1917 for being "subversive and unpatriotic," with allegations that it received "Kaiser's gold"), especially during 1916 when it successfully organized the agricultural migratory workers of the Midwest under the Agricultural Workers Organization (AWO). Several short-lived successes followed in the Mesabi range (Minnesota) mining region, but once again, the IWW was unable to build a lasting organization after the gains it had helped achieve. Meanwhile, the IWW had returned to organize the lumber workers of the Northwest, and trouble was not far behind.

Trying to support the soapboxers who were jailed and then taken out in the middle of a forest and made to run back naked as they were beaten by the vigilantes (dubbed the "Everett Massacre"), the IWW planned to invade Everett, Washington, with hundreds of workers from Seattle. As the boats from Seattle arrived at Everett's docks, they were met by a group of vigilantes, led by local authorities. It is still not clear who fired the first shot, but the scene immediately degenerated into a bloody confrontation, and by the time the boats left the docks, several people on both sides were dead, with many wounded. The massacre increased publicity and sympathy for the IWW, however, and the brutality it did not fear to face made an impression on many workers.

The 1916 convention of the IWW came at a time when, for the first time in its history, the organization had some funds thanks to the successes of the AWO, lots of publicity, and morale boosting from recent events; Haywood tried to transform the IWW from an organization of agitators and soapboxers into one of more permanent labor organizers. The entry of the United States into World War I in 1917, however, along with the renewed hostility the IWW was about to face, changed the course of events in a way Haywood probably never wanted to witness. The immediate result of the United States' entry into the war was an increase in demand for labor, which seemed to be an opportunity for IWW organizers. They also recognized the danger in producing antiwar propaganda without addressing the patriotism of the workers. The turn toward patriotism by the working classes of Europe when the war started stood as a dark example before the IWW. One of the poems produced at the time reflects the IWW's position rather brightly:

I love my flag, I do, I do,
Which floats upon the breeze,
I also love my arms and legs,
And neck, and nose, and knees.
One little shell might spoil them all
Or give them such a twist,
They would be of no use to me;
I guess I won't enlist.

The indirect approach to the issue of conscription, however, proved to be insufficient to protect the IWW from aggression. Employers, realizing the opportunity to use the rhetoric of patriotism and treason, responded to the recent gains of the IWW with public opinion at their back. The industries IWW had organized most successfully—agriculture, lumber, mining, and transport—were also among the most critical for the ongoing U.S. war effort, a situation that certainly did not help the IWW in strikes. Opposed by the government at all levels, as well as the judicial system, employers, and vigilante mobs, the Wobblies faced perhaps the greatest crisis of survival in their history, which ultimately ended in disaster. Authorized or supported by every possible agency and authority, federal agents conducted massive raids at all locations where the IWW was organized. They took away documents, publishing material, office supplies, and publications, apparently in order to prove the IWW had indeed accepted German gold and that it was involved in treason. The actual aim was more general, however: the destruction of the IWW. A massive wave of arrests followed soon after, with all the leadership and many members placed under arrest, facing a variety of charges. During 1918–1919, as the massive IWW trials continued, the aftershocks of the Revolu-

tion in Russia were being felt. The hysteria that would aid the infamous "Red Scare" (or "Palmer Raids") of 1919–1921 was in the making. The trials, where the IWW still had some hope since it had won courtroom battles before, have been defined by many scholars as a circus, and the leadership was found guilty on all charges.

By 1919, the IWW was certainly in disarray, though not yet destroyed. A series of decisions taken at the 1919 convention of the IWW, however, resulted in the exclusion of all experienced leadership in the organization. At a time when massive waves of arrests followed by speedy trials (or no trials) and prompt deportations or imprisonment was about to begin, getting rid of the seasoned leadership did not help. The first instances of the Palmer Raids also coincided with an armed conflict and lynching where the IWW was involved, this time in Centralia, Washington. What followed, with the arrests, deportations, and laws in supporting these acts (the Criminal Syndicalism Law), was the dismantling of not only the IWW, but also most radical organizations housing immigrants in the United States.

The flight to Russia of Haywood, who had symbolized the IWW for such a long time, was a particularly traumatic event, and it probably signifies the end of the IWW's truly influential and significant years. He died in 1928 in Moscow, a lonely and disillusioned man. Some of his ashes were buried under the Kremlin wall, and the rest were placed in Chicago, near the burial place of the Haymarket Anarchists.

As the issue of Communism took a greater part of the debates within the dissolving IWW, the lack of experienced leadership, internal factional divisions, and chronic lack of funds pushed the organization into complete collapse by 1924. Unlike the 1906–1908 splits, however, there was no new energy, and the context had changed. Communism was going to be the central paradigm and topic of debate in the "left" for decades to come, and the battered remnants of the IWW could not hope to challenge a triumphant alliance of employers, courts, and governments as it had done so many times before.

Although the IWW did not cease to exist, after 1924 it was a mere shadow of what it had been, and as an organization it never regained the strength and momentum it had during the first two decades of the twentieth century. However, the influence the Wobblies exerted on labor and the "left" in general is certainly disproportionate to their organizational successes. Many Wobblies joined the Congress of Industrial Organizations in the 1930s, which successfully championed the cause of industrial unionism (although not really associated with Syndicalism anymore), used direct action tactics, and drew on the movement culture and mythology of the IWW. The influence was not limited to the United States either: the IWW existed in a large variety of contexts and geographical space, ranging from Australia to Norway, from South America to Canada. The lasting legacy of the Wobblies has been observed more in their songs, culture, language, and relentless determination and courage against impossible odds, and not the details of internal, organizational, or structural struggles. Characters such as Haywood, St. John, Ralph Chaplin, Joe Hill, Flynn, Ettor, and many others occupy a quasi-mythological space with the struggles, slogans, pamphlets, and caricatures of the IWW. The risk of romanticizing or underemphasizing the IWW has always existed, and the scholarship is full of examples of both, as well as examples of greater ambition, scope, and controlled historical perspective. The existing mythology might be the greatest injustice to the significance of the IWW today. One thing is certain: the legacy of the IWW, with all its different perceptions, interpretations, and analyses, is still very much with us.

Alex B. Corlu

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Railroad Workers Movement

Railroad unions in the United States generally are not regarded as social movements, nor typically are they considered "movement" unions. Indeed, the railroad industry's almost bewildering number of unions—organized primarily along craft lines—have earned reputations as looking primarily after their own "bread-and-butter" interests. Yet, while craft unionism ultimately triumphed, the railroad industry also gave rise to some of the most celebrated industrially organized unions possessing genuine visions of larger social change. The diverse, or bipolar, nature of railroad unionism resulted from the railroads' complex occupational and racial hierarchy as well as the industry's close relationship with the national state.

Over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as historian Gerald Friedman has written of the broader labor movement, railroad unions organized and evolved to take advantage of economic and political opportunities, becoming more radical when the railroad corporations and the state were friendly and retreating into conservative postures under employer counterattack and hostile governmental policies. Although these "cycles of contention" help explain the rise of the "Big Four" brotherhoods of engineers, conductors, firemen, and brakemen, as well as the rest of the "standard" railway unions representing shopcraft, clerical, and maintenance-of-way workers, railwaymen nevertheless persisted in the idea of a broad organization encompassing the various railroad trades. However, craft jealousies, racial attitudes, job segmentation, and employer and state hostility prevented the emergence of "one big union."

Still, railroad unions were involved in some of the most dramatic and important instances of labor conflict, and their persistence contributed to the development of some of the most important industrial relations and social welfare legislation in U.S. history. Moreover, those railroaders who faced the greatest struggle—African Americans—played an important role in the modern civil rights movement.

The earliest known railroad union developed among skilled workers in the running trades (or "operating crafts") following the first major wave of nineteenth-century railroad construction and consolidation in the 1850s. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (BLE), founded in 1863, had its origins in a union of engineers that existed briefly in the mid-1850s. Vigorously led by William D. Robinson, who had served as secretary of the earlier union, the BLE distinguished itself by its aggressive defense of wages on a national level, conducting a series of strikes in 1864. However, the force of the railroad corporations' response precipitated a debate within the BLE, resulting in the ousting of Robinson and his replacement by the careful Charles Wilson as Grand Chief Engineer later that year. With Wilson, the BLE backed away from direct confrontation with capital, choosing instead to emphasize benevolent work. In the process, it took on the conservative character that it and the brotherhoods of conductors, firemen, and brakemen would be known for.

The Order of Railway Conductors (ORC), the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen (BLF), and the Brotherhood of Railroad Brakemen (later renamed Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, BRT) followed the Locomotive Engineers' example, organizing themselves in 1868, 1873, and 1883, respectively. Together, these unions became known as the Big Four railroad brotherhoods. Sometimes the Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association (SMAA), which came into being in the late 1870s and was succeeded by the Switchmen's Union of North America (SUNA) after 1900, is included in this group.

The distinctive features of the Big Four railroad brotherhoods were their craft conservatism and fraternal character. Drawing upon Masonic fraternalism, early brotherhood leaders emphasized the principles

of mutual aid, ranging from the visiting of sick or injured members to the provision of death and disability insurance, and moral uplift, ranging from technical instruction to the inculcation of sober and industrious habits through speeches and prescriptive literature. The efforts at mutual aid met a very real material need among men who labored in a hazardous industry, while the attention to moral uplift emphasized the individual self-improvement and upward mobility of laboring men. Brotherhood leaders believed that the magic and drama of fraternal ritual, the promise of moral uplift, and the tangible benefits of fraternal insurance would make them attractive to skilled railwaymen. At the same time, they hoped the mainstream legitimacy of fraternalism, together with their own benefit work, moral uplift practice, stated reluctance to strike, and scrupulous observance of contracts, would make them acceptable to railway managers as trustworthy representatives of skilled railway labor. And, indeed, during the 1880s, the brotherhoods experienced something of a golden age as railroad expansion and a tight labor market enabled them to negotiate favorable agreements on a number of roads. Together with their craft orientation, this success encouraged the brotherhoods to chart a separate course from that of the larger labor movement, refusing protective alliances with other segments of organized railroad labor and declining affiliation with the American Federation of Labor (AFL).

The railroad brotherhoods were not the only unions to organize railwaymen in the United States, a fact demonstrated by the rise and fall of a number of more broadly based unions from the mid-1870s through the mid-1890s. During the depression and labor conflict of the 1870s, a number of railroad workers organized episodic proto-industrial unions, the most significant of which was the Brakemen's Brotherhood and Trainmen's Union, organized in 1873 and 1877, respectively. These unions either included multiple grades of railroad workers or acted to provide organizational support for broader industrial action, and in the case of the nationwide railroad strikes that played the central role in the "Great Uprising of 1877," they served to mobilize railwaymen against wage cuts. However, these unions did not survive the Great Uprising, with its massive employer and state response. Nevertheless, their members carried their experiences with them into the Knights of Labor (KoL).

The Knights of Labor not only stood as the most important, inclusively organized railway labor organization of the 1880s but the most important labor organization of the Gilded Age. Founded in Philadelphia in 1869, the Knights, like the brotherhoods, partook of the fraternal form, practicing secrecy and ritual, but distinguished themselves from other trade unionists by their belief in the creation of an organization that would bring together all workers, regardless of race, nationality, or occupation.

Guided by this broad moral vision, the KoL developed a genuine movement culture that at its broadest envisioned the abolition of the "wages system" and the wholesale transformation of American society. The organization grew explosively in the mid-1880s, propelled in part by the dramatic strike victory of KoL railwaymen, based mainly in the roundhouses and repair shops, against Jay Gould's Southwestern railroad system in 1885. However, a second strike in 1886 against the Gould system met with defeat and, together with the Haymarket Affair of 1886, contributed to the rapid decline of the organization. Nevertheless, the Knights remained a presence on a number of railroads and continued to provide an organizational framework linking men across trade lines and serving as "strikers' unions" when conditions on those roads became unfavorable. However, the railroad assemblies of the KoL suffered serious defeat in their strikes and by the early 1890s had all but been swept away.

The migratory streams generated by the breaking up of the Knights, as historian Shelton Stromquist has shown, led to the formation of the most important industrial railroad union of the nineteenth century, the American Railway Union (ARU), but not before the brotherhoods had encountered a series of reversals and had themselves experimented with a broader form of organization. By the late 1880s, the favorable conditions that had fostered the brotherhoods' "go it alone" attitude had changed as new railroad construction tapered off and railroad corporations adopted policies aimed at increasing the supply of skilled labor. In the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad strike of 1888, the "brotherhood" style of organization proved a bust as management easily replaced striking engineers and firemen.

For many of the men involved, the experience pointed to the need for some sort of federation among the brotherhoods; the result was the Supreme Council of the United Orders of Railway Employees. Formed in 1889, the outcome of negotiations among the firemen, brakemen, and switchmen, the Supreme Council was successful in its first year. (Conspicuously, the Engineers declined to participate, and remaining Knights assemblies were ignored.) However, jurisdictional conflict between the BRT and the SMAA, together with the reluctance of the brotherhood leaders to endorse sym-

EUGENE VICTOR DEBS (1855–1926)

Eugene Debs was a significant labor leader and the most important spokesman for the Socialist Party of America. He was born in his lifelong home of Terre Haute, Indiana. The son of French immigrants, he lived a comfortable childhood and completed a ninth-grade education. He left school to become a paint scraper on the Vandalia Railroad.

Shortly thereafter, Debs became a locomotive fireman and was an organizing member of the Terre Haute lodge of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. In his early days, Debs's approach to industrial capitalism was based on old-fashioned republican values. He believed deeply in industrial citizenship and thought that unions should build a positive and cooperative relationship with industrial capital.

In 1879, Debs tested the local political waters by serving two terms as city clerk and then a term in the Indiana state legislature. He remained an active member of the local union and saw himself as an independent citizen living in relative equality. In 1885, he married Katherine Metzel. The marriage was largely loveless, and they had no children.

Debs's concepts of harmony and cooperation were shattered by a difficult strike in 1888 against the Burlington Railroad. Burlington's unyielding position and the failure of the different railroad brotherhoods to work in unity convinced Debs that a radical departure from the present structure in terms of industrial capitalism and union structure was needed. He, therefore, turned to militant industrial unionism and a broader concept of class struggle.

Debs's first response was to develop an industrial union for all railroad workers. The American Railway Union (ARU) was established in 1893 and quickly won a strike against the Great Northern Railway. Fresh from victory, the ARU faced a much greater challenge when it took over a strike launched by workers against the Pullman Palace Car Company in 1894. When negotiations failed, Debs called for a national boycott against Pullman cars, which was resoundingly successful. But United States Attorney General Richard Olney convinced President Grover Cleveland to send federal troops to break the strike. The strike was in fact broken, and Debs was arrested and sentenced to prison for six months.

While in prison, Debs began to read Marxist literature and met with leading Socialist politicians like Victor Berger. Upon his release, Debs announced his conversion to socialism. In 1900, he became a Socialist candidate for president and then helped to organize the Socialist Party of America (SPA), formally launched in 1901. He wanted to develop a specially American-based Socialist movement that would appeal to rank-and-file workers. He avoided inner-party discussions and warfare. Instead, he traveled widely and spoke constantly to workers, always carrying the message of class struggle and empowerment. He used the four presidential campaigns from 1900 to 1912 to urge workers to support socialism, to educate, to support strikes and to help organize unions. Debs always saw the SPA as an organ to build solidarity. Though Socialist votes for president never reached more than 900,000, his speeches were enormously popular with Socialists and attracted workers, scores of local officials, and even congressmen. In 1905, he was also a founding member of the Industrial Workers of the World (known as the "Wobblies").

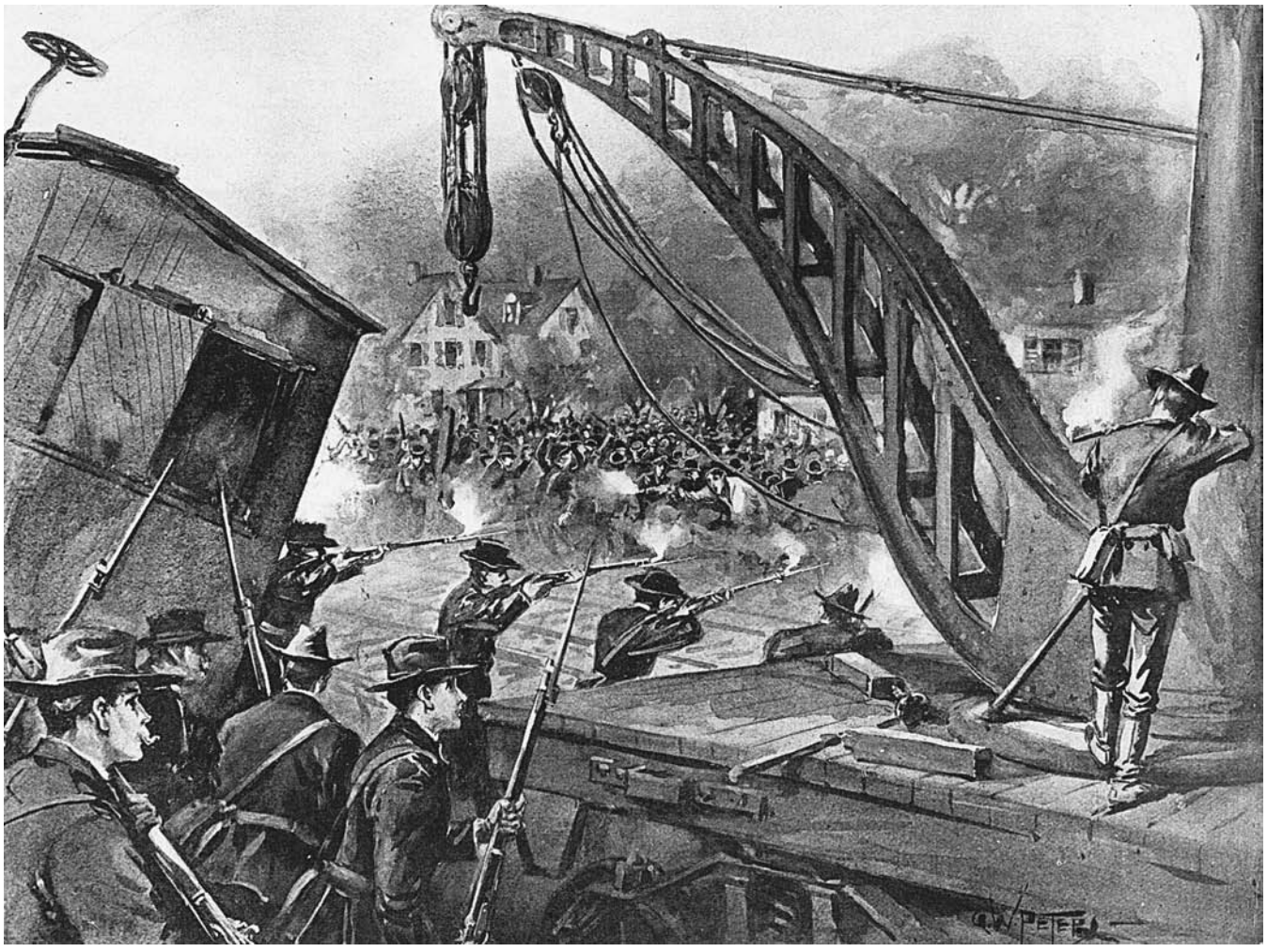
By 1916, the constant travels and massive physical effort left Debs tired and ill. Although he did not run for president in 1916, he spoke out against the war in Europe. And when the United States entered the war in 1918, Debs launched a tour of protest speeches. In Canton, Ohio, he was arrested for sedition, convicted, and sentenced to federal prison. While in prison, the SPA ran him for president in 1920 and attracted a large protest vote. Pardoned in 1921 by President Warren Harding, Debs was released from prison. Over the next five years, his health continued to deteriorate, though he never lost his dedication to working-class issues. On October 20, 1926, he died in an Illinois sanitarium.

R. David Myers

pathy strikes, led to its disillusion in its second year, rendering it dead by the summer of 1891.

THE PULLMAN STRIKE AND BOYCOTT

Even as the Supreme Council came off the rails, figures within the federation movement, most notably BLF secretary Eugene V. Debs, and the Knights, particularly District Assembly 82 representing men on the Union Pacific Railroad, began discussing the possibility of a general union of railwaymen. In early 1893, these men met to form the American Railway Union. As the first truly industrial railroad union, the ARU declared itself in favor of organizing all classes of railway employees (excepting black workers) and committed itself to thoroughgoing sympathetic action. With its vision of a strikeless era to come, the ARU



At the behest of railroad owners, President Grover Cleveland sent federal troops to break the Pullman Strike in 1894. In this violent scene, soldiers fire on a crowd of workers at the corner of Loomis and 49th streets in Chicago. *(Brown Brothers)*

caught on among railwaymen as no industrial union had before, especially among the less skilled and previously unorganized. It was this excitement and commitment to complete organization that led the young union in June 1894 to declare a boycott of Pullman cars in support of striking workers at the Pullman Palace Car Company in Chicago.

The action resulted in a near nationwide tie-up of the railroads and one of the most momentous episodes of labor conflict in U.S. history. However, railroad managers acting in concert discharged and blacklisted employees who refused to handle Pullman cars and persuaded the federal government to intervene with federal troops and a sweeping injunction effectively outlawing the boycott. By mid-July, the strike and boycott were over. In the bitter aftermath, Debs and other ARU leaders were convicted of civil contempt and sentenced to prison; many blacklisted strikers were unable to find railroad employment again.

The events surrounding the Pullman strike and boycott of 1894 spelled a crushing defeat for industrial unionism on North American railroads while ensuring that the brotherhoods' style of craft unionism would triumph. The Big Four not only studiously avoided the conflict, but they also expelled members who supported the boycott and assisted the railroad corporations in identifying and blacklisting strikers. In the aftermath of the conflagration, the federal government and the railroad corporations took favorable note of the brotherhoods' actions and set about including them in a state-sanctioned system of media-

tion and arbitration designed to prevent conflicts of the Pullman boycott variety and to ensure that the railroads remained free of "radical," industrial-style unionism. The Erdman Act of 1898 provided the framework for the nation's first real system of collective bargaining as well as the first, if de facto, recognition of the right of unions like the brotherhoods to exist.

War, Worsening Wages and Conditions

The Erdman Act provided the brotherhoods with a level of security and stability that enabled them to become quite powerful by the eve of the United States' entry into World War I. In the years after 1897, with the return of prosperity following the 1890s depression, running-trades workers found themselves working longer, more intensive hours as the railroads strained to meet the increased demand placed upon them by the rapidly expanding national economy. Combined with a steadily rising cost of living, deteriorating working conditions produced rank-and-file cries for higher wages and shorter hours. With pressure from below and an "opportunity structure" provided by the state from above, some brotherhood leaders recalled the lessons of their brief experiment with federation and the need for cooperation among themselves at some level.

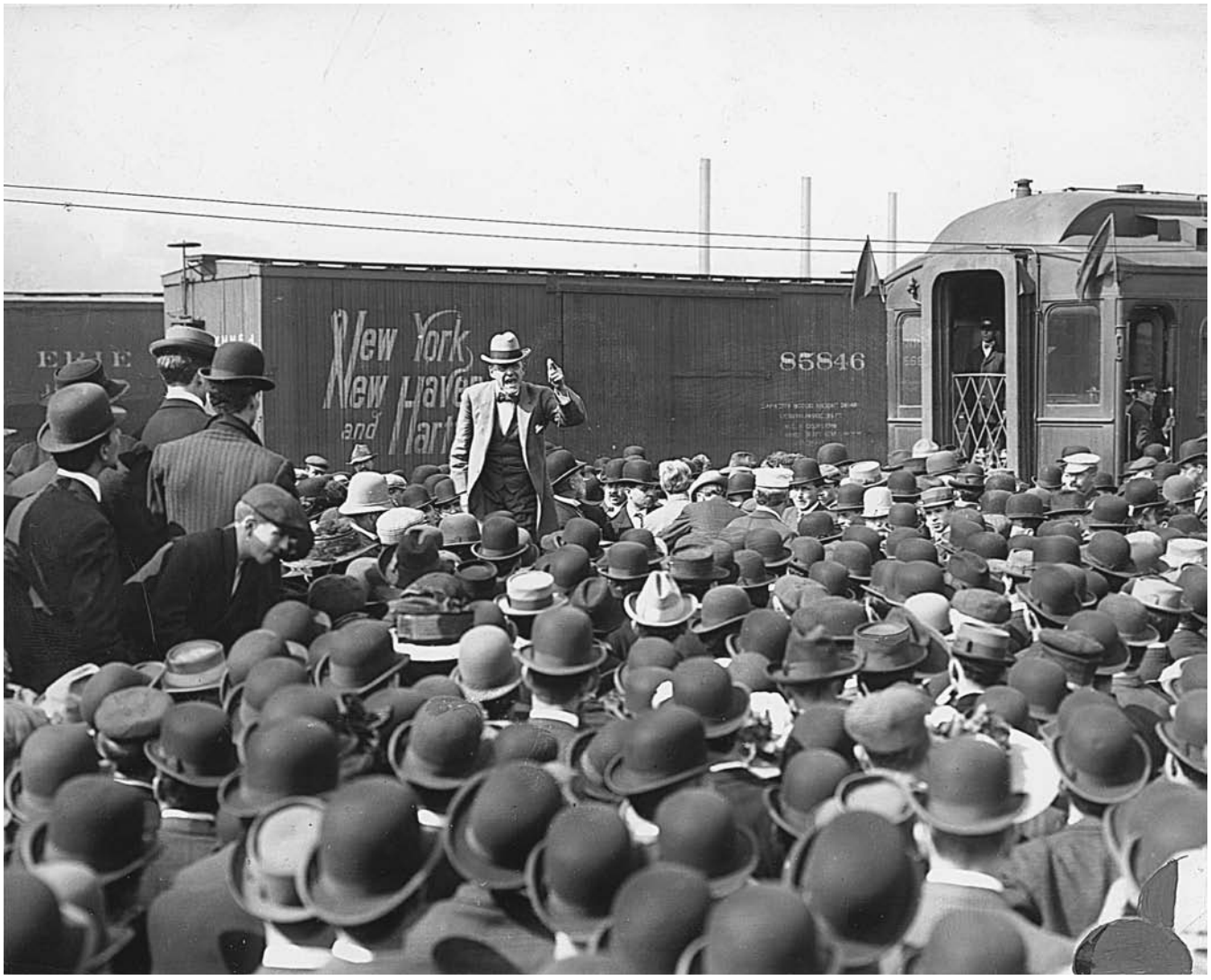
Leading the way in 1902, the Order of Railway Conductors and Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen formed an association to present coordinated wage demands to the railroad corporations. Followed by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen (which amended its name in 1907, a reflection of the long-standing jurisdictional friction between the two unions), the brotherhoods engaged in a pattern of ever-widening, and increasingly synchronized, industrial action, including successive rounds of "concerted movements," as the presenting of uniform demands was termed, and mediation and arbitration under federal auspices. Although the brotherhoods became adept at the courtlike proceedings, marshalling and presenting mountains of detailed evidence, and although they won important gains, they became increasingly disappointed with the arbitrators' awards, which tended to favor the railroads, and frustrated with the arbitration system itself.

The showdown between the brotherhoods and the railroads began in March 1916 when the Big Four jointly presented demands for an eight-hour day in the train service without a corresponding reduction in wages. The brotherhoods made clear that under no circumstances would they submit the matter to arbitration. A series of negotiations with management, union meetings, and strike ballots concluded with a national-strike deadline set for Labor Day, September 4, 1916.

By the end of the summer, after a publications relations campaign on the part of both labor and capital, the two sides were hunkering down for the deadline when President Woodrow Wilson, with the nation on the verge of entry into World War I and facing the most serious tie-up of the national transportation system since the 1890s, intervened. Going before Congress, he asked for and received legislation granting the eight-hour workday. Narrowly upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in early 1917, the Adamson Act provided the first nationally legislated eight-hour day for nongovernment workers and marked a historic shift in the federal government's ability to intervene in and regulate labor relations. It also marked the power and aggressiveness the brotherhoods had commanded and set the stage for the role these unions would play in labor politics during World War I and the 1920s.

As the United States mobilized for war during 1917, the railroads buckled under the strain of national transportation demands. The situation, which reached crisis proportions by the end of the year, had been in the making for at least a decade as the railroads, hampered by Interstate Commerce Commission caps on shipping rates and burdened by an increasing wage bill, failed to expand sufficiently. In December, the Wilson administration moved to nationalize the railroads, and for the duration of the war the federal government operated the national rail system through the United States Railroad Administration (USRA). The government's takeover, together with the wartime rhetoric of industrial democracy, had an enormous impact on railroad labor of all grades. Although the grievance and collective bargaining machinery utilized by the USRA enabled the Big Four to gain formal recognition and extend their membership, its impact on nonoperating employees was even greater.

Dating back to the late nineteenth century, a variety of unions had attempted to organize the wide range of nonoperating railroad workers. Skilled shopmen, particularly machinists, but also boilermakers, blacksmiths, and the other metal workers who built and maintained the locomotives, had organized, primarily through the Knights of Labor as early as the 1870s. With the disillusion of the KoL and the shat-



Labor leader and Socialist Eugene V. Debs ran for president five times. In 1920, he won more than 900,000 votes despite being imprisoned for violating the Espionage Act by publicly opposing World War I. *(Brown Brothers)*

tering of the ARU, however, the union that came to represent railroad machinists and that stood at the forefront of the shopcraft unions, was the International Association of Machinists (IAM). Other unions such as the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers represented the rest of the railroad metals trades.

The militancy and tendency of the shopcraft unions to engage in joint action and to form systemwide federations, a legacy of the Knights, prompted the American Federation of Labor to inaugurate a Railway Employees' Department (RED) in 1908. After the turn of the century, unions like the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway Telegraphers, and Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Workers came into being to represent nonoperating workers in the yards, stations, communications, and track maintenance. By the World War I period, reflecting the segmented nature of the railroad labor force, some sixteen different unions represented railroad workers. All but the Big Four would affiliate with the AFL. Diverse as their membership was, one thing the nonoperating unions had in common was the fact that the industrial relations machinery put in place by the Erdman Act did not extend to them. Consequently, in the years before World War I, these unions faced an uphill battle to organize and gain recognition from the rail-

road corporations. During the war, the USRA permitted these unions to significantly extend their membership, which had consistently lagged behind that of the Big Four, win important wage gains, and sign national agreements standardizing wages and working conditions.

Racial Inequality

The workers who arguably expected the most of, and were most bitterly disappointed by, the Railroad Administration were African Americans. Since the period of slavery, Southern railways had engaged the labor of black men in the construction, maintenance, and operation of their roads. After the Civil War and emancipation, many of these workers remained in railway service, establishing a tradition of black labor, notably, in the brakemen's and firemen's positions in the South. But when it came to unionization, these men faced dual obstacles: the obstruction of railroad management and the antipathy of the railroad brotherhoods, not to mention the racial climate of the New South. Management profited from black labor, which it paid at a lower rate than white and easily ignored or beat back black attempts at organization.

White unionists, particularly the Firemen and Brakemen, for their part, not only excluded black workers from their unions but did everything they could to drive them from railroad employment entirely. From the first decade of the twentieth century well into the 1920s and 1930s, the BLFE and BRT conducted a series of often violent "race strikes," political lobbying, and outright terrorism to eliminate black brakemen and firemen from the railways. Black workers, however, refused to voluntarily give up their jobs and persisted at unionization.

Over the course of the 1910s and 1920s, black firemen, brakemen, switchmen, and Pullman porters established numerous local and regional associations, including the Colored Trainmen of America (CTA), the Colored Association of Railroad Employees, and the well-known Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP), headed by Socialist journalist A. Philip Randolph. One group, the Railway Men's International Benevolent Industrial Association, led by Robert L. Mays, sought to transcend craft divisions and build a single federation of all black railroaders. During the war, these men leapt at the chance offered by the USRA to claim for themselves the rights enjoyed by their white counterparts. Because the USRA directly oversaw the nation's rail system, it provided blacks with a set of bureaucratic procedures they could follow in pursuit of their rights. But the Administration often moved slowly to make good on promised improvements and, in fact, acted against black workers when their frustration spilled over into strike action. Moreover, USRA labor relations machinery favored the established white unions, and the white unions themselves continued in their hostility to their black counterparts. Nevertheless, the World War I period and equity principles established by the USRA raised black aspirations and resulted in the persistence of black labor unions through the 1920s and 1930s, despite continued white hostility.

If the war experience was transformative for black railroaders, it also reoriented the white railroad unions toward social reform and taught them the virtues of government administration, developments that fed directly into their most ambitious political campaign: the Plumb Plan for government ownership of the national rail system. Proposed and elaborated by the brotherhoods' general counsel, Glenn E. Plumb, and progressives within the railroad unions—the Engineers' Warren S. Stone, the Machinists' William H. Johnston, and Bert Jewell of the AFL Railway Employees' Department—the Plumb Plan envisioned a tripartite rail administration drawn equally from labor, shippers, and bondholders. Coordinated by the Plumb Plan League, the campaign for the Plumb Plan reflected the rail unions' new social consciousness as well as the effect of wartime industrial democracy rhetoric, especially in the campaign's emphasis on the unions as defenders of the public interest and the Plan as a democratic way to administer the railroads.

The Railroad Labor Board and Political Action

In the context of postwar labor militancy, however, the Republican-controlled Congress was not only determined to return the railroads to private ownership, but it almost included in the bill returning the railroads to their owners a provision outlawing strikes. In the end, the Transportation Act of 1920 established the Railroad Labor Board (RLB), a quasi-judicial body itself empowered to decide labor disputes. Smacking of compulsory arbitration and inconsistent in its efforts to obtain compliance with its decisions, the RLB permitted the railroad corporations to roll back trade unionism among the nonoperating employees and introduce company unionism. The Board, then, became the target of labor antagonism. So deeply did labor's grievances run that on July 1, 1922, roughly 400,000 shopcraft and other nonoperating employees walked off the job. The first nationwide railroad strike since

1894, the Shopmen's Strike of 1922 met with employers determined to oust trade unions from their shops and a federal government with little compunction about using extraordinarily sweeping injunctions and the military to break the walkout.

Railway labor's defeats during these years spurred the railroad unions into political action. Although these organizations, especially the Big Four, had been politically active as early as the 1890s and encouraged members to vote for candidates friendly to labor, they had focused their efforts on monitoring and influencing legislation affecting railway labor. Early on, the brotherhoods had recognized that the terrain on which they operated was defined by government. Certainly, the injunctions issued against boycotts and strikes made this clear. But railwaymen also understood that in many instances it was only government that could meaningfully address crucial workplace issues. Accordingly, the brotherhoods maintained lobbyists in the state and national legislatures and, working with reform-minded activists outside the labor movement, won important safety, workmen's compensation, and hours legislation in the years before World War I. With the events of 1919–1922, the railroad unions decisively shifted into electoral politics.

Following passage of the Transportation Act in 1920, the railroad unions organized a nonpartisan campaign that defeated one of the Act's co-authors and other labor-unfriendly congressmen. In the fall of 1922, the unions founded the Conference for Progressive Political Action, an organization that quickly became the focal point for a wide range of reformers, farm leaders, and intellectuals and succeeded in electing to Congress a number of labor-friendly candidates in the off-year election. This Progressive bloc briefly flirted with the idea of a formal labor party, but the Big Four steered the movement toward independent action and in 1924 backed Wisconsin Senator Robert M. La Follette (R-WI) in his unsuccessful insurgent campaign for the presidency.

Although the rail unions failed in their goal of electing a Progressive labor-friendly candidate to the White House, their 1920s political activity set in motion events that would shape railroad labor relations in the 1930s and after. The Republicans who controlled the federal government during the decade remained in power, but they nevertheless took notice of labor's political power and dissatisfaction with the RLB. The result was the Railway Labor Act of 1926, which introduced a Board of Mediation and marked the first time Congress recognized the right of workers to join unions without employer interference.

The Act established the basic framework that would govern railroad industrial relations into the post–World War II era, with expanded provisions provided by the Amended Railway Labor Act of 1934. As the Depression of the 1930s deepened, the railroad unions used their political power to address the problem of unemployment in the industry. Thus, the unions supported full-crew, train-limit, and six-hour-day legislation. But the measure with the greatest significance was the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937, which established a separate system of social security for railroad employees. Together, these railway laws represented important New Deal industrial relations and social welfare legislation that paralleled the better-known Wagner and Social Security Acts. For the railroad unions themselves, this legislation enabled them to secure national agreements covering almost all operating and most nonoperating employees by the end of the decade.

The New Deal and World War II

The New Deal policies of the 1930s that proved favorable to organized labor on the railroads and elsewhere had a mixed effect on black railroad unions. The 1934 Railway Act rescued the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters from oblivion, but the same machinery that worked to BSCP's advantage provided the standard (white) unions with a virtual monopoly over their respective job categories, effectively depriving black workers in the operating crafts of their workplace and bargaining rights. (The Congress of Industrial Organizations encountered the same obstacle when it attempted to organize nonoperating workers during the 1930s and 1940s.)

Nevertheless, unions like the Association of Colored Railway Trainmen and Locomotive Firemen persisted. Following the path blazed by their World War I-era predecessors, they translated their exclusion from the larger labor movement into a tradition of independent unionism that fostered a fierce racial solidarity and pride among black craft workers. The World War II period and the return of prosperity prompted the railroad unions to recover the ground they had lost in terms of wages during the Depression. Despite a no-strike pledge, labor militancy actually increased during the war as a number of small, wildcat strikes, usually as a result of disputes over the application of national agreements or wartime wage stabilization policies, resulted in a number of temporary government seizures of railroads. But the real la-

bor conflict of the era emerged in the years immediately following the war as both the operating and nonoperating unions presented demands for increased wages, shorter hours, and work rules revisions. All but the Engineers and Trainmen, who had grown frustrated with the tedious process of working through the Railway Labor Act machinery, settled their issues. In early 1946, the two holdouts conducted strike votes and after a series of emergency conferences walked out on May 23, initiating the first major strike of operating employees since the Burlington Strike of 1888.

Under threat by President Harry Truman, who had seized the railroads, to draft striking employees into the military, the union chiefs called off the strike after only forty-eight hours. Successive rounds of demands and presidential seizures in 1948 and 1950 completed railroad labor's part in the broader strike wave of the post–World War II era.

Black railwaymen took advantage of the war's moral climate, as a war for democracy, to fight the pervasive discrimination they faced. The March on Washington Movement of 1941, conceived by A. Philip Randolph to force the Roosevelt administration to take action against racial discrimination in defense-related industries, resulted in the creation of the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC). The FEPC conducted hearings and investigations into the railroads and a number of other industries and ordered the elimination of discriminatory practices. However, it was another matter to enforce such calls. Thus, in addition to the FEPC, black railroaders turned to the courts and with civil rights lawyer Charles H. Houston won important decisions in the 1944 U.S. Supreme Court cases of *Steele v. Louisville & Nashville R.R. Co.* and *Tunstall v. Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen* requiring white unions to represent fairly black workers over whom they had jurisdiction. The *Steele* and *Tunstall* decisions stood alongside the other World War II-era Supreme Court decisions that laid the groundwork for the eventual ending of legal discrimination against African Americans. In this way, writes historian Eric Arnesen, the "civil rights unionism" of black railwaymen flowed into the larger African-American civil rights movement. Nevertheless, it would not be until the 1960s and its landmark civil rights legislation that black operating employees would be able to break down the rigid color bars that blocked their advancement.

Sadly, black railwaymen achieved their greatest victories just as the railroad industry entered a period of terminal decline, continuing a trend dating from the 1920s. Competition from interstate trucking, intercity bussing, the airlines, and the automobile severely cut into the railroads' passenger and freight traffic and revenues. By 1965, only a little over a third of the U.S. rail network provided passenger service, and it was only the creation of the quasi-public Amtrak by the Rail Passenger Service Act of 1970 that kept any service available. Railroad employment dropped correspondingly, declining 32 percent between 1950 and 1960 and total jobs decreasing from 909,000 to 683,000 between 1960 and 1968. Moreover, locomotive firemen faced technological extinction as the diesel locomotive replaced steam power. From the 1950s onward, the railroad unions fought largely defensive battles, attempting to preserve jobs and maintain wages and working conditions, and, by the 1980s and 1990s, resisting White House efforts to undo social welfare legislation such as the Federal Employers Liability Act.

For the railroad unions, white and black, these difficult times manifested themselves organizationally. The operating brotherhoods, with the exception of the BLE (which followed suit in 1988), reflected the strain when they petitioned and were admitted to the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) in the 1960s. The pressure of civil rights laws and AFL-CIO admission requirements forced the brotherhoods to drop their color bars, but this contributed to the decline of the independent black railway unions. After the BRT successfully challenged the Colored Trainmen of America (CTA) as the bargaining agent of brakemen and yardmen on the Missouri Pacific Railroad, the CTA met for the final time in 1969. Similarly, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters ceased to exist when financial and organizational difficulties forced it to merge with the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks in 1978, thus ending a history of independent black unionism. But, to a large extent, independent brotherhood unionism also ended when in 1969, the BRT, BLFE, ORC, and SUNA came together to form the United Transportation Union (UTU), bringing closer than ever before Eugene V. Debs's dream of "one big union" of railroad workers, but not exactly under the circumstances he had envisioned. In 1989, the UTU attempted an expensive, but unsuccessful, bid to take over the BLE in a representation election on the Norfolk Southern Railroad.

Railroad unionism continues in the twenty-first century but in rather attenuated form compared with its earlier history. Although the railroads continue to haul much of the nation's freight, with Amtrak re-

peatedly on the brink of bankruptcy and the challenges facing the larger labor movement, railroad unions face an uncertain future. Nevertheless, the industry's complex nature and its relationship to government will continue to influence the character of railroad unionism.

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Steelworkers Movement

In the approximately 125-year history of the American steel industry, steelworkers have had little success organizing lasting social movements. The most important reasons for this failure do not rest on the steelworkers themselves. External factors such as changing production technology, resistance from their employers, the nature of American labor law, and foreign competition for the firms they work in have thwarted repeated efforts by workers to bring lasting changes to this industry.

Early Steelworker Movements

Andrew Carnegie pioneered the mass production of steel in the United States during the mid-1870s. Before that time, iron fulfilled the requirements of most metal consumers. Because it took years to develop the skills needed to puddle iron (stir it in such a way as to remove impurities), iron workers exercised enormous control over the production process. This changed when Carnegie introduced the Bessemer process to America. Bessemer converters blew air through molten slag, thereby eliminating the need for hand puddling and making the mass production of steel possible. Faced with the emerging threat of technological obsolescence and the immediate threat of the Panic of 1873, local organizations of skilled puddlers organized the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers in 1876. The Amalgamated Association believed strongly in craft unionism, meaning it had little interest in the fate of less-skilled workers.

Despite having the word "steel" in its name, the Amalgamated Association was always strongest in the ironmaking sector of the iron and steel industry. But unfortunately for iron workers, steelmaking was the wave of the future. Since Bessemer steelmaking did not require highly skilled workers, steelmakers had lower wage bills than ironmakers. Moreover, the amount of output produced at a Bessemer steel plant dwarfed that of a typical iron mill. Steel and iron were almost interchangeable, and since steel was more useful in key markets like rail manufacture, many ironmaking firms shifted to steelmaking in the 1880s and early-1890s, eliminating their union in the process. At the same time, many new steelmakers began production union-free. In this way, the steel industry pulled the rug out from under the Amalgamated Association.

Andrew Carnegie and the Homestead Strike

This does not mean that the transition from iron to steel produced no labor difficulties. There were many local disputes in America's steelmaking region during this transition. However, management invariably won these battles. The most famous of these conflicts occurred at Andrew Carnegie's Homestead Works (located just outside of Pittsburgh) in 1892. In two famous essays written in 1886, Carnegie had endorsed the idea of labor unions. He did this because his superior production technology had allowed him to pay union wages and still undersell his competitors who had to face periodic strikes. By 1892, that advantage had disappeared because of a glut in the steel market and an increase in technologically sophisticated nonunion rival firms. Therefore, Carnegie and his on-site partner, Henry Clay Frick, were determined to eliminate the Amalgamated Association from their mill once and for all.

Homestead's Amalgamated local expected negotiations for their new contract to go smoothly in 1892. Instead, Frick made demands he knew the union could not accept. Then, when the contract expired, he erected a fence around the Homestead Works to facilitate locking the union workers out. On July 6, 1892, the company brought a boatload of Pinkerton guards up the Monongahela River. Tipped off that the Pinkertons were coming to protect permanent replacement workers, the strikers and other citizens of Homestead,

Pennsylvania, met them at the dock in order to prevent them from landing. Twelve people died in the ensuing firefight, and many more were wounded. After the Pinkertons surrendered, the strikers marched them around town to be kicked and beaten by the local population. This uprising convinced the governor of Pennsylvania to send in the National Guard, which protected the permanent replacement workers who restarted operations at the mill. The Amalgamated gave up later that year since many of their members had already returned to work on a nonunion basis.

Many historians credit the Homestead Lockout with destroying trade unionism in the steel industry for the next forty-five years. In fact, technological change had already made the survival of a strong union in this industry impossible. The Amalgamated Association temporarily maintained strength in a few small sectors in this industry, such as tin plate manufacture, because the production process for these types of steel still required skill. In order to prevent the Amalgamated Association from mounting a comeback, Carnegie Steel employed a series of questionable tactics such as maintaining a blacklist of union members that it would not hire and spying on their workmen in order to weed out organizers. The rest of the industry would come to use similar tactics in order to stay union-free.

Fighting the Union—Strikes and Union Busting

The Amalgamated had some hope of revival when most of the industry consolidated as the United States Steel Corporation in 1901. The union struck U.S. Steel almost immediately, hoping that the firm would be willing to negotiate so it could concentrate on establishing itself on a firm financial footing. In doing so, the Amalgamated Association underestimated the firm's tolerance for labor organization. U.S. Steel chairman Elbert Gary, like many other steel magnates, hated trade unions. To him, they not only cost employers money in higher wages, but they violated the spirit of individual achievement that American capitalism depended upon. Therefore, rather than negotiate, U.S. Steel took advantage of the 1901 strike to eliminate the Amalgamated Association from more mills than ever before. For the next eight years, the company waged war on the few unions that remained, all of which represented workers in the few sectors of the industry that still required a skilled workforce. Other firms in the industry followed suit. By the end of 1909, the Amalgamated Association was as good as dead, party only to a few contracts with independent specialty steelmakers in the Midwest.

Although management eliminated the union from the industry, labor conditions steadily deteriorated. Wages for the few skilled workers in the industry decreased dramatically. The twelve-hour day and the long turn (a twenty-four-hour shift every two weeks) became commonplace. Steel companies came to depend upon new Eastern and Southern European immigrants to fill their ranks because few native-born Americans would accept these circumstances. These new employees tended to live in crowded slums located near the steel mills where they worked because they did not make enough money to live in better neighborhoods. Steel companies dominated the governments of many steel towns and used that power to keep union organizers away from their workers. At the same time, U.S. Steel created elaborate welfare programs to win loyalty from their most skilled employees. It offered workers subsidies to buy company stock and gave them a pension plan if they served the company long enough. The vast majority of workers, however, got very little from their employer.

Despite the absence of an effective union, steelworkers continued to attempt to organize in order to improve their labor conditions. There were major local strikes at McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania, in 1909 and at Bethlehem Steel in eastern Pennsylvania in 1910. After economic mobilization for World War I began, steelworkers tried to take advantage of the demand for labor and the need for continued production by beginning a nationwide organizing campaign. John Fitzpatrick of the Chicago Federation of Labor and ex-Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) organizer William Z. Foster, fresh from organizing Chicago packinghouse workers, started the National Committee for Organizing Iron and Steel Workers in 1918. During wartime, the Committee had great success signing up steelworkers, particularly less skilled immigrant workers, because employers did not want to risk disruptions in production when business was booming.

When the war ended, Committee leaders called on U.S. Steel Chairman Elbert Gary to open negotiations for a formal contract. Gary refused to recognize or even meet with them. Once again, other steelmakers followed U.S. Steel's lead. The National Committee wanted more time to organize, but rank-and-file

This antilabor cartoon aimed to taint the nationwide steel strike of 1919 with the specter of communism. *(Brown Brothers)*

pressure forced it to call a nationwide steel strike on September 22, 1919. The Committee's primary goals were to win union recognition and bring about the end of the twelve-hour day. Approximately 250,000 employees, about half the workforce in the industry, answered the strike call.

Because of their ideological resistance to trade unionism, steel producers were determined to fight the strike by using any means necessary. When the strike began, many firms hired replacements for as many striking workers as possible. Since the Committee tended to attract unskilled workers, it proved relatively easy to replace them. Steelmakers also inflamed racial and ethnic tensions among their workers in order to combat the strike. For example, U.S. Steel distributed handbills in Chicago that charged Italians and Eastern Europeans with trying to take jobs away from Americans. Media revelations about William Z. Foster's IWW past did not help the Committee's cause. This allowed employers to paint all the leaders of the strike as dangerous radicals.

As the weeks dragged on, more and more steelworkers went back to work without union contracts. The single worst blow to the strike came from within labor's own ranks when the Amalgamated Association told its few skilled members to return to work in December. The National Committee formally ended the strike on January 8, 1920, although production had returned to normal levels weeks before. It disbanded shortly thereafter.

National Labor Legislation and Unionization Efforts

Steelworkers remained docile throughout the 1920s and even into the Great Depression as wage cuts and layoffs shook the industry. It took the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) in 1933 to bring about another union drive. The moribund Amalgamated Association remained the only union in the iron and steel industry at this time. Still wedded to craft unionism, its deeply conservative leadership felt no need to mount a new organizing campaign, even though Section 7(a) of the NIRA formally recognized the right of labor to organize for the first time. Unlike the United Mine Workers (UMW), which made much of the NIRA, the Amalgamated Association sent only a few organizers into the field after its passage.

Yet steelworkers did not require help from the Amalgamated Association in order to organize. In the months following passage of the NIRA, independent employee organizations sprang up on their own throughout the industry. The names of these locals (one was called the Franklin D. Roosevelt lodge; another the ARIN lodge—ARIN is NIRA spelled backwards) underscore the reason for their existence. As they had done before, steelmakers fought these organizations bitterly. Some firms created company unions (worker organizations started and dominated by management) in order to steal the thunder of reform from outside organizations; others simply refused to bargain with any union. Therefore, the majority of these new worker organizations proved short-lived.

The Steelworkers Organizing Committee

It took new legislation, the National Labor Relations Act of 1935, and a new organizing philosophy, to bring real change to the industry's labor relations. John L. Lewis of the UMW started the Committee for Industrial Organization (later the Congress of Industrial Organizations or CIO) in 1935. Although interested in organizing less-skilled workers in many mass production industries, the CIO was particularly interested in organizing steelworkers because many steel

companies controlled mines that supplied their mills. The CIO started the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC) in 1936. It began by concentrating its efforts on winning over workers involved in the company unions at U.S. Steel. By encouraging these organizations to defy management, SWOC hoped to convince the rank-and-file that only outside unions could truly represent their interests. The success of these efforts led to secret talks between John L. Lewis and U.S. Steel chairman Myron Taylor. These talks culminated in U.S. Steel's March 1937 decision to sign a contract with SWOC so as to avoid a costly strike and possible involvement by the federal government. Many other steel firms followed suit.

U.S. Steel's main competitors, such as Bethlehem Steel and Republic Steel, did not, however. These leading firms in the industry were known collectively as "Little Steel" because they were smaller than U.S. Steel Corporation, but they were all very large enterprises. Unlike U.S. Steel, which had new blood in its management ranks by the 1930s, the leaders of Little Steel continued to oppose the presence of any outside union in their plants. Therefore, when SWOC began to organize their workers in the spring of 1937, Little Steel chose to fight.

The most famous incident of the Little Steel Strike is known as the "Memorial Day Massacre." It occurred on May 30, Memorial Day, outside a Republic Steel plant in Chicago. Chicago policemen shot into a crowd of strikers, killing ten, seven of whom were shot in the back. SWOC did not get a single union contract from the Little Steel strike. However, pressure from the Roosevelt administration to keep production going during World War II led each Little Steel firm to recognize the union. By the end of the war, SWOC's successor organization, the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), represented the vast majority of workers in the industry.

Nevertheless, many steel firms only bargained with the USWA under duress. The government's National War Labor Board had forced them to do so to guarantee steel for the war effort. Because of this and other assistance from the Roosevelt administration, USWA membership grew rapidly during the war. After the war ended, the USWA had grown too large to destroy. Management attempts to roll back union power led to industrywide strikes in 1946, 1949, 1952, 1956, and 1959. The last of these strikes lasted 116 days and was the largest single strike in American history. In these disputes, the USWA invariably sought higher wages and more control over the production process. The union usually won the first issue and lost the second. By 1960, steelworkers were among the best-paid workers in all of American industry, but they were also vulnerable to technological unemployment and changing economic fortunes.

Global and Regional Competition and Steel Mill Closures

The downturn that has destroyed the potential for lasting social movements in the American steel industry began in the mid-1960s. Continuous labor tension, high wage bills, and the failure of American steelmakers to modernize their production methods led steel consumers to increasingly buy cheaper product from overseas. The USWA responded to the industry's economic crisis by promoting conciliation. For ten years, starting in 1973, it even forfeited the right to strike (in favor of mandatory arbitration) under a novel arrangement called the Experimental Negotiating Agreement.

As old mills stopped operations around Pittsburgh, Youngstown, Chicago, and elsewhere, some employees organized protests, but this did not change their fate. By the mid-1980s, the union broke pattern bargaining and fought austerity measures at surviving firms like U.S. Steel (by then known as USX Corporation because it had bought two oil companies and did not want to be primarily identified with a failing industry). Like its forerunner Carnegie Steel did in 1892, USX locked out the union in 1986. Although the USWA has survived in some mills (including those of USX), unionization rates in American steelmaking continue to decline with the industry's fortunes.

Since 1980, the only new steel mills built in the United States have been mini-mills, small-scale operations that recycle scrap steel rather than create new product from scratch. Since mini-mills require few skilled workers, they tend to operate on a nonunion basis. Furthermore, because of recent technological innovations, mini-mills have increasingly started competing with traditional unionized steel producers.

Foreign competition, nonunion mini-mills, and an unfavorable political climate for organized labor in general have all hurt the prospects for further unionization in the steel industry in recent years. After mergers with other unions, most notably the United Rubber Workers in 1995, the United Steelworkers of

America has increasingly devoted more of its attention to organizing and serving different kinds of workers. The acceleration of the American steel industry's decline during the late-1990s has only strengthened this tendency. As long as the steel industry stays on its knees, the possibility of new social movements among American steelworkers will remain remote.

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Garment Workers Movement

In the 1970s, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) pioneered the path of reintegrating labor with other social movements to bring about a more equitable society for all working people. Under new radical leadership, the ILGWU recognized that organizing women and the documented and undocumented immigrant workforce was a priority. This stance represented a marked detour from the majority view of organized labor, which argued that it was not possible to organize the undocumented. The new ILGWU leadership contended that labor–management accords represented a dead end for union building and instead, the rank-and-file had to be involved in building their own union. Through this involvement, workers would gain political understanding of the ongoing class struggle between labor and management and develop bold campaigns and labor–community coalitions. This new approach marked a radical departure from the past conservative ILGWU.

Background

Since its inception in 1900, the ILGWU had a history replete with internal political strife. On the one side were the more moderate to conservative groups, who sought industry stability and accords with management to promote the union. The opposition represented Communists, Socialists, and other radicals, who argued that the best way to build the union was through rank-and-file involvement in militant actions, such as strikes and labor–community coalitions. The moderate to conservative group held leadership well into the twentieth century. David Dubinsky, an Eastern European Jewish immigrant, who represented labor–management cooperation, was president from 1932 to his retirement in 1966. The union was organized by craft in that there were separate locals for each craft, but it also was industrial in that all branches of the industry were organized. For the majority of its history, with the exception of a brief affiliation with the more democratic and radical Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO) in 1937, the union was affiliated with the more conservative American Federation of Labor (AFL) since 1940.

Throughout its history, the ILGWU was challenged by an industry that was mainly decentralized and based on piecework. In addition, the industry was replete with small shops or sweatshops, owned by contractors who were able to offer low job bids by continually cutting labor costs. Coined in the late nineteenth century, "sweatshop" referred to a workplace where relatively unskilled workers, usually immigrants, labored or sweated for meager pay in unhealthy and unsafe conditions for many hours. Throughout the years, the industry practiced many unfair labor practices such as minimum wage and overtime violations, homework, and child labor.

In the late 1970s, faced with a declining industry, the reappearance of sweatshops, and a shrinking workforce due to the domestic effects of globalization, the ILGWU, under more radical leadership, pioneered creative and aggressive organizing campaigns, which targeted immigrant workers, including the undocumented. They were one of the first unions to recognize that the inclusion of undocumented workers was essential for the success of organizing campaigns. During this time, many organizers received their training within the ILGWU and went on to develop bold campaigns in other unions which involved undocumented workers, such as the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union and the Service Employees International Union.

In 1995, the ILGWU merged with the Textile Workers Union and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union to form the 300,000-member Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE) in an effort to strengthen its declining union. UNITE emerged as one of the most

ROSE (RACHEL) SCHNEIDERMAN
(1884–1972)

Born in Savin, Poland, on April 6, 1882, Rachel Schneiderman immigrated to the United States in 1890. She later changed her name to Rose. She went to work in her early teens sewing caps, and in 1903, she helped organize a New York City local of the Jewish Socialist United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union, taking the lead in getting women elected to the union. In 1904, she was elected to the union's executive board, the highest position yet held by a woman in any American labor organization. The following year she joined the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL), the national organization that led the fight to improve women's working conditions. She remained among the WTUL's most active leaders for forty-five years, serving as president from 1926 to 1950. She was also a national organizer for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU).

Schneiderman took a major role in several of the landmark events of the American labor struggle. In 1909, she called for the strike of women shirtwaistmakers. That same year, she took a role in organizing the garment workers, and she denounced all those who had contributed to the disastrous Triangle Shirtwaist Company fire in 1911. By the late 1910s, the WTUL was her major focus. As president of both the New York and national WTUL, she concentrated her efforts on lobbying for minimum wage and eight-hour-day legislation. In addition to her work with the WTUL, she worked for women's right to vote, serving as a key organizer for the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

In 1921, she helped organize the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers. In 1922, Eleanor Roosevelt joined the WTUL, and the two women began a lifelong friendship. Schneiderman tutored Roosevelt on the issues confronting women workers, the challenges facing the trade union movement, and the problems inherent in labor–management relations. The connection paid off later when President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed Schneiderman to the Labor Advisory Board of the National Recovery Administration in 1933, on which she served for two years, the only woman to do so. She then served as secretary of the New York State Department of Labor from 1937 to 1943. She lectured widely before diverse audiences and served on various boards. When she died on August 11, 1972, she was one of the most respected spokespersons and activists for improving the conditions of laboring people.

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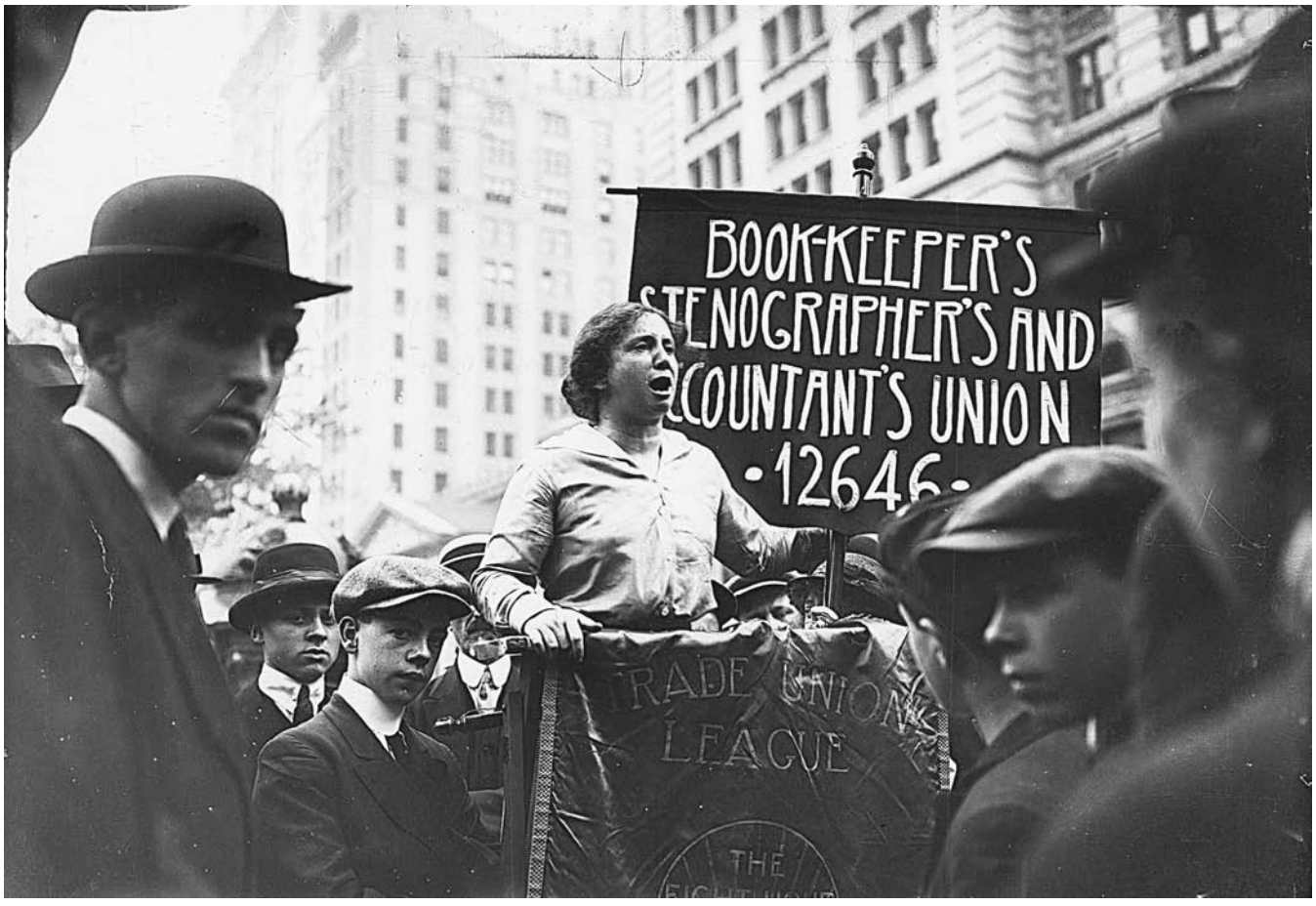
innovative and progressive unions in the nation. UNITE built labor–community coalitions, spearheaded efforts to establish and enforce federal guidelines against sweatshops, exposed slave labor conditions among Thai undocumented workers in Southern California, worked for amnesty for undocumented workers, publicized the past and present conditions in the garment industry in cooperation with a Smithsonian Institute traveling exhibit, and aggressively organized garment workers throughout the United States.

The Industry and the Union

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) was founded on June 3, 1900, by eleven male delegates representing 2,000 workers from four unions, although immigrant women were the predominant workforce. The first industrywide strike in 1909–1910, in New York City, was led by these immigrant women workers. Shirtwaist workers fought for better conditions and higher pay in the "Uprising of the 20,000," as it was called.

In the garment industry, a hierarchy existed with men at the top of the pay scale working as cutters and pressers and women at the bottom as helpers, finishers, and sewing machine operators. Pay scales were based on piecework, and the more skilled positions paid a higher rate. The industry consisted of large manufacturing concerns in which the entire manufacturing process took place and smaller shops were run by contractors, who bid on parts of the manufacturing process. Contractors fiercely competed for jobs by keeping labor costs low, in order to win bids for work. Because of the small capital investment required, a contractor could be a former worker, who operated out of a storefront or even his own home. These shops were often mobile, and some employed family members and friends, making organizing difficult. In the late twentieth century, the union recognized the potential alliance between contractors and workers against the large manufacturers and sought to neutralize them or win their support.

In the early twentieth century, Eastern European Jewish and Italian immigrants made up the workforce, whereas by the later twentieth century, Asian and Latino immigrants constituted the main workforce. In the latter era, the entrenched leaders had little awareness of the demographic changes that had occurred within the workforce, did not speak the workers' languages, and were not receptive to their needs. They maintained their mistaken views



Rose Schneiderman, longtime leader of the Women's Trade Union League, delivers an address at a rally in Madison Square Park in New York City, circa 1913. *(Brown Brothers)*

that neither women nor immigrants could be organized.

Conditions in the garment industry were miserable. New York City was the number one garment manufacturing site in the United States. Most factory laws required 250 cubic feet of air for each worker but did not say where it had to be located. In new loft buildings, the ceilings were quite high, so owners could crowd more workers into a given space. It was sweltering hot in summer and freezing in winter. Windows were nailed shut and doors were locked under the pretense of forestalling theft. Bathrooms were filthy or nonexistent. Safety conditions were deplorable, especially the constant threat of fire. Workers labored fifty-six to fifty-nine hours a week and were charged for needles, thread, use of electricity, the stools they sat on, and the water they drank; they were fined for mistakes, as well as for talking or singing.

The Uprising of 20,000

In 1909, New York City shirtwaist workers led by Clara Lemlich, a young Jewish immigrant, began to challenge these terrible conditions by organizing ILGWU Local 25, the shirtwaist local. At that time, shirtwaists were practically the uniform for working women, and hundreds of large and small shops competed by driving labor costs as low as possible. Many unions, believing women to be nonorganizable, were reluctant to recruit them, despite the militant history of women workers, such as the Lowell women textile workers in the early to mid-nineteenth century. As conditions worsened, the Local, numbering 100 workers, pushed the International leaders to sanction a strike and began walking out of the shops. Within days, 20,000 workers were out, and more joined, until the numbers swelled to 30,000, which represented 75 percent of the workforce. Although the women strik-

With signs and flags, this picture captures the spirit, diversity, and patriotism of immigrant workers employed in New York City's garment industry in the early 1900s. *(Brown Brothers)*

ers were brutally beaten by police and thugs and jailed repeatedly, they held firm to their cause. The strikers actually received more support and publicity from affluent women of the Women's Trade Union League than they did from their own International and the AFL.

By February 1910, the strike was settled with the majority of workers being rehired, hours reduced to fifty-two with a two-hour limit on night work, and wages increased 15 percent. But the settlement also included the Protocols of Peace, which were pacts to settle conflicts without strikes and supposed to serve as a model of labor–management cooperation. The Protocols were in sharp contrast to a more radical trade union philosophy, which viewed strikes as the workers' most effective weapon. The controversial no-strike provision later fueled disputes in the union.

A total of 345 firms signed contracts with the union, membership grew to 60,000, and Local 25's membership rose to 10,000. The significance of the 1909–1910 strike was that it was the first industry-wide strike and was led by immigrant women. Although the strike clearly disputed the male leadership's position that women and immigrants could not be organized or maintain a fierce strike, male

PAULINE NEWMAN (c. 1890–1986)

Pauline Newman was born in Lithuania around 1890 and came to the United States in 1901. Soon after her arrival in New York City, she went to work to help support her family working in a hairbrush factory and hand-rolling cigarettes. As a young teenager, she became employed at the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory trimming extra threads off of shirts. Working seven days a week, often for fourteen hours a day, she made a dollar and a half a week. She was no longer employed there by the time of the tragic fire in 1911.

Newman took to radical politics early and spent most of her career with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU), an organization dominated by Eastern European Jewish men. She balanced this loyalty with participation in the emerging arena of women-centered politics led by the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL). This coalition of wage-earning and middle-class women fought for the eight-hour day, decent wages, women's suffrage, and protective workplace laws. The tragic death of nearly 150 women in the 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire galvanized the ILGWU, which pushed harder for improved working conditions. New York's state legislature imposed tougher municipal building codes and more stringent factory inspections.

A leader in the ILGWU, Newman became the first full-time woman organizer. She had her initiation into the labor movement as a speaker in the 1909 Shirtwaist Makers Strike and went on to become an organizer in the Northeast and Midwest, playing a role in numerous major strikes. She founded the ILGWU's Health Center and was director of health education from 1918 to 1980. Newman's other positions over the years included adviser to the United States Department of Labor in the 1930s and 1940s, the Board of Directors for the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers, and the WTUL. She died in Manhattan on April 8, 1986.

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leaders still refused to relinquish their mistaken beliefs.

The Triangle Shirtwaist Company Fire

Although the Triangle Shirtwaist Company workers had been among the most militant and courageous leaders of the strike, the company was not one of the 345 firms that recognized the union. The Triangle Shirtwaist Company was located on the top three floors of a ten-year-old building, acclaimed to be fireproof. One of the key demands in the 1909–1910 garment strike had been for adequate fire protection, including fire escapes and sprinkler systems. The exterior was brick, but the interior was flammable wood. There were inadequate fire escapes and no sprinkler system. All doors opened inward, and all but one door to the staircases were kept locked, based on the employer's premise that this would prevent employee theft. Oil-soaked rags littered the floors; barrels of oil were lined up against the walls; piles of cloth, rags, and tissue were everywhere; and lint was heavy in the air.

On March 25, 1911, as 500 workers were preparing to leave at 4:30 P.M., a fire broke out on the eighth floor, and within minutes the "fireproof" building was engulfed in flames. Many were crushed trying to escape, and others jumped to their death 100 feet below. A total of 146 workers perished, all but 21 of whom were women. The owners were eventually acquitted of manslaughter charges, which incensed workers and their allies, who demanded an investigation. Based on the findings, fifty-six state labor laws were passed relating to safety and child labor. This hard-fought-for legislation served both as an example for other states to follow suit and as a model for the 1930s New Deal legislation.

Political Disputes Within the Union

In the following decades, the union leadership continued to play a conservative role by making industry stability a priority over workers' needs and involvement. The labor–management accord continued to characterize the union activities and philosophy into the late 1960s and early 1970s. The hierarchical structure of the industry was replicated within the union, as women were not groomed for union leadership, which remained steadfastly male. The New York headquarters continued to have bitter political disputes involving Communists and Socialists who opposed this approach. Political disputes in Los Angeles were similar to those in New York and other parts of the country, but in Los Angeles popular leftists won leadership of a number of locals.

ILGWU in Los Angeles

In Los Angeles, the industry followed similar patterns to those in New York City. After a militant strike in

Aftermath of the Triangle Shirtwaist Company fire of March 25, 1911, in which 146 workers died, many of them young women who, unable to escape, plunged to their deaths to the streets below. One of the worst industrial accidents in American history, the tragedy led to the passage of stringent fire safety laws. *(Brown Brothers)*

1919, ILGWU Local 52 made its presence felt within the burgeoning Los Angeles garment industry. By 1924, Los Angeles was the United States' fourth leading garment manufacturing center. One of the few women in ILGWU leadership, Vice President Molly Friedman, criticized the union for not actively recruiting the 3,000 mainly Jewish and Latina women workers. Friedman's organizing plan did not take effect until 1933 when Rose Pesotta, an ILGWU organizer, was allowed to undertake a major campaign in Los Angeles. Her 1933 successes enabled Pesotta to convince the International leadership to back an even more impressive organizing effort in 1941 against the formidable Mode of Day Company.

The Cold War Era

The Cold War era led to a fierce red-baiting campaign in many areas of U.S. society, including the trade union movement. Many union leaders were intent on ousting leftists and militants from key positions. The ILGWU was no exception. All officers within the trade unions were to sign a non-Communist disclaimer affidavit as part of the 1947 Taft-Hartley Law. Those who refused were to be removed from office in order for the union to receive certification from the National Labor Relations Board. The ILGWU leadership began a campaign to ensure that all officers sign the affidavit or resign. By 1950, the leadership had successfully removed all radical threats to its position throughout the union, including those in Los Angeles.

Globalization of Garment Production

The 1960s to the 1980s were marked by increasing globalization as companies moved offshore to escape unionization, higher wages, and better benefits. By the late 1980s and early 1990s, owing to political instability in many of these countries, the garment industry began to bring the Third World home by providing jobs for undocumented workers and recreating the sweatshops of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The most shocking and extreme situation occurred in 1995 in El Monte, California, when seventy-two Thai garment workers were discovered locked up in virtual slavery. These workers, defended by the Asian Pacific Legal Center and the union, later won millions of dollars in back wages. Large retailers such as Bloomingdale's, Nordstrom, Neiman-Marcus, and Disney were found to have sold clothes made by these workers.

By the early 1990s, 4,500 of Los Angeles's 5,000 garment shops were sweatshops; 2,000 of New York's 6,000 garment shops were sweatshops; and scores of others existed throughout the United States. These companies, contractors for the giant retailers and manufacturers, such as Guess, flagrantly violated labor laws involving minimum wage, overtime, and industrial homework, cheating workers out of hundreds of thousands of dollars. During the Clinton administration, Secretary of Labor Robert Reich found that violations of minimum wage and overtime laws were pervasive throughout the garment industry.

Since sweatshops were difficult to organize, and many garment industries had moved offshore, ILGWU membership declined from 457,517 to 125,000 by 1995. In 1995, the ILGWU joined with two other garment workers unions to form the Union of Needletrades Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE). The new union, considerably strengthened with 300,000 members and with a newly elected militant and progressive leadership, went on to become a leader in innovative and bold organizing efforts. UNITE spearheaded many campaigns to enlist federal legislation and enforcement against sweatshop and garment industry labor law violations.

In 1996, 128 of the nation's largest retailers and manufacturers signed an agreement to comply with existing labor laws and to permit federal monitoring of domestic and offshore factories. Investigations revealed that some of the biggest names in entertainment and fashion were involved in contracting out their products to domestic sweatshops employing undocumented workers, including children. In addition, these same personalities were indirectly involved in offshore sweatshop production. Some embarrassedly joined public efforts to eradicate global sweatshop labor, but others were recalcitrant in their refusal to acknowledge their culpability in endorsing such products. UNITE, working with young socially aware entertainers, such as Rage Against the Machine, publicized the injustices in the garment industry. The union set up a special Sweatshop Watch unit to publicize the conditions in the garment industry in order to help pass state and federal legislation that would force retailers and manufacturers to comply with existing labor laws and to outlaw sweatshops.

Common Threads

Reminiscent of the Women's Trade Union League, Common Threads was developed by professional women to publicize both sweatshop abuse and the relationship between garment workers and consumers. Working with UNITE, Common Threads developed successful campaigns against giants such as Guess, which led to a federal investigation and efforts to promote stricter guidelines regarding garment employment. Based on a grant from the California Council for the Humanities and UNITE, Common Threads installed nine storefront depictions of the history of the garment industry and union and offered tours and lectures of key moments in the union's history. The exhibit remained in place for one year, despite the strong opposition of the fashion and apparel industries.

The Smithsonian Institution Sweatshop Exhibit

In 1997, the Smithsonian Institution, in conjunction with a grant from UNITE and the National Retail Federation, documented the history of American sweatshops from 1820 to 1997. The exhibit was scheduled to travel throughout the United States, but the powerful retailers' and manufacturers' associations lobbied so hard against it that museums refused to allow it to be installed. One exception was the Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles, which, despite threats of funding loss, courageously provided a home for the traveling exhibit.

teamX

In a unique move to illustrate how sweat-free conditions can produce quality garments, teamX Inc., a Los Angeles-based employee-owned manufacturer was created in 2001. teamX is fully represented by UNITE

and is modeled upon the highly successful Mondragon Industrial Cooperative in the Basque Region of Spain. teamX's labor–management and manufacturing system is in the forefront of the garment industry. Their line of clothing, SweatX, is geared to the college market. Students and professors have organized campaigns at their campuses to ensure that their student stores purchase solely union-made garments, such as SweatX.

Conclusion

From its inception until the 1970s, the ILGWU was controlled by a leadership that promoted industry stability and labor–management accord. However, a more radical faction consistently argued against this philosophy and for rank-and-file involvement to increase workers' understanding of class struggle. In the 1980s, faced with decreasing membership and the reappearance of sweatshops, a more radical ILGWU leadership pioneered creative and bold organizing campaigns, which set an example for the entire labor movement. One of the key elements in their philosophy was the necessity to organize documented and undocumented immigrant workers.

In 1995, the ILGWU merged with two other unions to form the 300,000-member UNITE, emerging as one of the most progressive unions in the United States. UNITE built labor–community coalitions, spearheaded efforts to outlaw sweatshops, sponsored a worker-owned garment collective, fought for immigrant amnesty, and continued to creatively organize workers throughout the United States. Through its efforts, UNITE linked labor with other social movements for positive social change, bringing more equity within the United States.

Myrna Cherkoss Donahoe

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LABOR MOVEMENT 1920–1934

The 1920s were dark days for the American labor movement. The decade began as the strike wave of 1919 was brutally suppressed and many local unions were effectively shattered. The Palmer Raids of the following year further stigmatized organized labor with the taint of radicalism and anarchism. Throughout the decade, seemingly every major institution of American life—the police, the courts, the federal government—allied to keep the "Open Shop" free from unionization. During the decade, union membership fell almost a third, from just over 5 million members in 1920 to 3.4 million in 1929. Whereas 19.4 percent of nonagricultural workers were union members at the start of the decade, just 10.2 percent were unionized in 1929. The number of strikes plummeted from 3,630 in 1919 to just 921 in 1929. Those contemporary observers who paid much attention to organized labor deemed it largely irrelevant. As President Calvin Coolidge observed in a January 1924 speech before the American Society of Newspaper Editors, "The chief business of America is business."

The pro-business, staunch individualist outlook was shared by all three Republican presidents during the decade and by many workers as well. Indeed, given the material advances during the decade, there was ample reason for optimism in the American working class. Between 1923 and 1928, average yearly wages increased 9.1 percent, from $1,285 to $1,405. The total annual amount paid in wages and salaries climbed from $36.4 billion in 1922 to $57.4 billion in 1929. To be sure, the increase paled in comparison to the climb in dividends, which more than doubled in the same period, from $3 billion to $6.3 billion. Although real wages inched up just 2 percent during the decade, more American workers were participating in the consumer economy thanks to the rapid spread of the installment plan. Although car and home ownership were still beyond the reach of many workers, radios, refrigerators, and other appliances became more commonplace in workers' homes in the 1920s. "Working men don't need unions nowadays," one Muncie, Indiana, businessman told Robert and Helen Merrell Lynd in their classic study of 1920s America, *Middletown: A Study in Modern American Culture*, adding, "We are much more in danger of coddling the working men than abusing them. Working people are just as well off now as they can possibly be except for things which are in the nature of industry and cannot be helped."

TRENDS IN MANUFACTURING JOBS AND EMPLOYMENT

The economic expansion of the 1920s owed much to the advances in productivity that transformed the American workplace in the first part of the century. As it had since the antebellum era, industrialization after the turn of the century emphasized machine production, technological advances, and unskilled labor in manufacturing goods; however, manufacturing work after 1900 was increasingly directed toward the making of durable goods for the consumer market. The most obvious symbol of the new consumer age in manufacturing was also its dynamic sector: the automobile industry. Nothing demonstrated the changing nature of manufacturing jobs in the twentieth century better than the assembly-line production at Henry Ford's Highland Park plant, opened in the Detroit suburb in 1909 to produce the Model T.

CONSUMERISM

Ford's factory put into practice the scientific management principles of Frederick Winslow Taylor, the most influential industrial engineer of the early twentieth century. Taylor preached simplification, routinization, and deskilling in the workplace. The use of standardized and interchangeable parts further increased worker productivity, as did the introduction of the as-

sembly line. For workers, the assembly line represented not just technological innovation, but dehumanization as well: the exhausting pace of work led to a 380-percent turnover at Highland Park by 1913. To counter the problem, Ford announced a Five Dollar Day—actually, a base rate of $2.34 with additional incentive pay—to keep workers at the helm. Thousands stormed Ford's employment office in the wake of the announcement, and other automobile manufacturers were forced to follow suit. The establishment of high wage rates in the industry allowed autoworkers to begin participating in the mass consumer economy of the 1920s. Yet the wages of the auto industry did not become the norm across the economy. One survey showed that 47 percent of Ford workers owned cars in the 1920s, while just 26 percent of workers in San Francisco and 3 percent of unskilled Chicago laborers could make a similar claim.

Unemployment

As a result of these trends, productivity in the 1920s increased 72 percent in the manufacturing sector, 41 percent in mining, and 33 percent among the nation's railroad lines. Despite these impressive statistics, in the eyes of many employers, workers remained as interchangeable as the parts they installed on the assembly line. Since no federal agency collected unemployment figures until legislation directed the Bureau of Labor Statistics to do so in July 1930, estimates of jobless workers varied widely. Some social scientists calculated that unemployment never dipped below 10 percent, even during the economic expansion of 1923 to early 1929. Even optimistic observers admitted that the jobless rate stayed well above 5 percent during the decade, even during the boom years. More accurate studies were conducted by local observers and give a more revealing snapshot of the era. A Wharton School survey in April 1929 found that 10.4 percent of Philadelphia's workers were out of a job. But a simple measure of joblessness in itself could be misleading. A 1929 survey conducted in Buffalo, New York, showed that the city had a jobless rate of 10 percent, with another 6.5 percent of respondents working only part-time. Most telling of all, the Lynds' study of Muncie, Illinois, revealed that only 38 percent of wage earners in working-class families had steady work during a nine-month survey period in 1924.

Labor in the Wake of the Great War

In contrast to the erratic nature of the 1920s economy, American workers had enjoyed boom times during World War I. The turbulence in Europe interrupted immigration and led to a labor shortage. With orders for war materiel pouring in, employers had little choice but to raise wages. Workers also took the incentive to join labor unions during the war; for many unskilled workers, it was their first experience with organized labor, which had traditionally been confined to the ranks of craft unions. Between 1914 and 1918, membership in the American Federation of Labor (AFL) expanded from 2 million to 3.2 million.

End of the Progressive Era

This massive wave of organizing took place with substantial support from the federal government, which marked a significant policy shift from preceding generations. President William Howard Taft—later a notoriously antilabor Supreme Court chief justice—approved the creation of the Department of Labor during the lame-duck days of his administration in March 1913. Under President Woodrow Wilson, the Department expanded its scope to include a special mediation commission to craft wartime labor policies. The committee recommended that workers have the right to bargain collectively through independent labor unions; that the government set up a grievance board to mediate disputes between management and labor; and that the eight-hour day become standardized, with overtime pay beyond eight hours.

In April 1918, the War Labor Board (WLB)—with five representatives from labor's ranks, five from the employer's ranks, and two government officials—was established to implement these policies. By the end of World War I in November 1918, the WLB had mediated 1,100 labor disputes. Under the WLB, the federal government had reached into industrial affairs on an unprecedented scale. In mandating that employers pay overtime and recognize independent labor unions under collective bargaining agreements, the WLB was the pinnacle of Progressive Era labor reforms.

Events at war's end demonstrated just how fragile these gains were; indeed, the labor movement would have to wait another generation for the federal government to become permanently enmeshed in labor relations. Most employers had fought against the WLB's agenda from the start and commenced a new round of attacks on the agency after the Armistice. Among their charges were complaints that the WLB's presence in industrial relations had fostered unnecessary agitation among labor's ranks. Employers had enjoyed the federal government's support in labor disputes almost without exception up to the war, and they demanded a return to the pre-Progressive Era status quo. After lobbying by the National Manufac-

During the strike wave of 1919, Philadelphia police club demonstrators. Labor conflicts often provoked state-sponsored violence in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. *(Brown Brothers)*

turers Association, the National Metal Trades Association, and other employers' groups, the WLB was disbanded by the end of 1918. Contrary to the business lobbyists' claims, the disappearance of the WLB did everything but bring calm to industrial relations. By the end of 1919, some 4.1 million workers took part in 3,630 strikes.

The 1919 Strike Wave

One of the largest strikes took place in Seattle, where shipyard workers walked off the job in January 1919. Within two weeks, about 25,000 other Seattle workers pledged their support in a general strike. From February 6 to 11, 1919, a General Strike Committee operated community kitchens, safety patrols, and other basic services, essentially running the city on the strikers' terms. Outraged local business leaders demanded state and federal intervention, by military force if necessary. Fortunately, federal mediators finally ended the strike without violence, although the initial demands of the shipyard workers were never resolved.

The peaceful end to the Seattle General Strike was an exception in one of the most violent years in American history. Typical of the unrest was the strike at the Willys-Overland automobile operations in Toledo, Ohio. Confronting a postwar slump, the city's largest employer announced wage cuts early in 1919 that threatened to take away much of the wage gains made during the war. On May 5, 1919, more than half of the workforce walked out of the company's main plant, and the strike quickly spread to some of the city's other major factories. Willys-Overland management immediately got an injunction to limit picketing around the plant, and the business community banded together through the Merchants and Manufacturers Association. Typical of the Association's propaganda was a full-page advertisement in the May 9 edition of the *Toledo Blade* that declared, "We believe the great majority of these men and women, who have been forced out of employment are not in sympathy with the radical arbitrary demands of their self-appointed leaders . . . The vast majority of Toledoans are loyal, fair, and square. They will not stand for injustices, violence, disloyalty, or Bolshevism." In support of the injunction, the mayor deputized dozens of U.S. Army troops awaiting demobilization as deputy-soldiers to patrol the streets. After a deputy-soldier started an argument with local residents on June 4, a squadron of troops stormed into one neighborhood to put down an incipient riot. As the crowd fled, two were shot dead and nineteen others were injured by the soldiers. The strike dissipated in the wake of the

violence, and unions for production workers at the Willys-Overland plant were obliterated for another seventeen years.

An equally dramatic conclusion followed the Boston Police Strike, which commenced on September 9, 1919. After the police commissioner, mayor, and governor refused to recognize a police officers' union and fired some of its leaders, three-fourths of the department declared a strike. After rioting broke out, Governor Calvin Coolidge sent the state militia in to quell the violence and crush the strike. Five citizens were killed by the militia and twenty others were critically wounded. Coolidge was unrelenting in his hostility toward the union and ultimately barred any of the strikers from being rehired. For his participation in putting down the strike, Coolidge was selected as the vice-presidential nominee by the Republican Party in 1920; he advanced to the presidency in 1923 upon the death of President Warren G. Harding. Elected to the presidency in his own right in 1924, Coolidge maintained his hostile stance toward labor throughout his term in office, which ended in March 1929.

The Red Scare and Palmer Raids

Coolidge, like the other Republican presidents who served during the decade, was a staunch individualist who believed that the government had little place in labor relations aside from intervening to break strikes in the name of public safety and economic progress. The height of the government's direct efforts to break up left-wing labor organizations came with the Red Scare and Palmer Raids of 1919–1920. Ostensibly, the action was designed to root radicals and Anarchists out of American society; yet the effects on the labor movement were devastating.

After terrorists sent a series of bombs to government officials and business leaders during April–June 1919, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer ordered a general roundup of suspected Communists and Anarchists. The Palmer Raids, which took about 6,000 suspects into custody, began in November 1919 and lasted until March 1920. Spurred on by the Red Scare, vigilante groups conducted a campaign against some labor unions, including the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). Along with such direct violence, twenty states passed criminal syndicalist laws that hounded the IWW out of existence. Typically, the laws made it a crime to advocate labor reform through illegal or violent acts, which the IWW had done. Having reached its peak of membership and influence in 1917, by 1924 the IWW had ceased to function as a force in the labor movement. The postwar Red Scare itself petered out in 1920 after the attorney general—perhaps hoping to raise his profile for a presidential run—predicted massive unrest on May Day.

When the day passed without incident, fears of a radical threat to American society quickly dissipated. Although the embarrassment effectively ended Palmer's political career, his actions had accomplished much of what employers had sought in the immediate postwar era. Labor unions were branded as radical and un-American; many labor officials had been jailed or deported; and many industrial unions had been wiped out of existence.

The AFL in the 1920s

By 1920, the number of workers in unions had fallen back to its pre-World War I level. As before the war, most of them were concentrated among skilled craft unions in the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Yet the AFL was a weak advocate for the labor movement during the decade. On a national level, the AFL was debilitated not only by the hostile labor climate in general but by jurisdictional disputes among its member unions as well. A lack of creative, visionary leadership also hampered the organization's efforts. Longtime AFL president Samuel Gompers, who died in 1924, governed the body with his "pure and simple" vision of unionism. In Gompers's view, the AFL was best served by staying out of partisan politics, keeping the government out of labor relations, and focusing on the organization of skilled workers.

William R. Green, who succeeded Gompers in 1924, shared this conservative approach. Green valued consensus and conciliation over direct conflict, which put the AFL at a disadvantage as employers broke one local union after another in the 1920s. He was also unable to calm the factional storms that broke out whenever one AFL member union tried to poach members from another AFL union. Like Gompers, Green concentrated on keeping skilled craft workers as the base of the AFL, a tactic that eventually led to the formation of the rival Congress of Industrial Organizations for unskilled workers in 1935.

The constituent unions of the AFL varied widely in the political and economic power they exerted. The most powerful AFL union, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, had a steady membership throughout the decade, with 322,000 members in 1929. Its president, William L. Hutcheson, stamped out rival organizing attempts from other AFL unions early on in the decade. Despite his potential for serving as a model for other union leaders, Hutcheson embodied the conser-

WILLIAM GREEN (1873–1952)

An important twentieth-century labor leader, William Green served as a major official in the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) and as president of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). The son of a Welsh immigrant miner, Green was born in Coshocton, Ohio. He completed eight years of education and developed a lifelong, unshakeable commitment to evangelical Christianity. At the age of seventeen, Green began a twenty-one year stint as a miner. He married Jenny Mobley and raised six children. By 1891, he was an active member of the UMWA and served in a variety of local union offices.

The foundations of his union career were based on Christian ideals combined with an unyielding commitment to the efficacy of union-management cooperation. Eventually, his union activities took him out of the mines to leadership roles in the UMWA's national organization. He also served two terms as an Ohio state senator from 1910 to 1914. In both capacities, he was outspoken about his conviction to build partnerships with industrial capital that would benefit both sides.

In 1912, Green was elected national secretary-treasurer of the UMWA and then became a member of the AFL's executive council. During these years, he worked closely with UMWA president John L. Lewis. With the death of long-time AFL president Samuel Gompers in 1924, Green emerged as a compromise candidate and was elected president that year.

As AFL president, Green understood the conservative nature of the organization. Though personally committed to industrial unionism and social action, Green followed the lead of conservative craft unionists. He never developed a role as a social justice crusader. Instead, he used the presidency as a forum to push his beliefs that labor and management needed to form a close working relationship that would result in great benefits for all. He combined this strategy with a deep-seated belief in free enterprise, unconditional patriotism, and a rabid hatred of all forms of radicalism, especially communism.

When New Deal legislation provided the catalyst for major organizing drives in the 1930s, Green failed to exercise the necessary leadership. Still believing that employers would welcome unions, he hesitated to initiate industrial union drives to organize the mass production industries. This failure led to a major split between Green and Lewis and between industrial union advocates and AFL leadership. In 1937, several of these leaders separated from the AFL to form the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Green did use supportive New Deal legislation and the protection of the World War II years to expand AFL membership. At the end of the war, with AFL membership at ten million, Green cultivated a true partnership with government and business but was devastated by consistent employer resistance and the Taft-Hartley Act (1947). By this time, AFL leaders gradually began to reassign Green's duties to future president George Meany. Green continued in office until his death in 1952.

R. David Myers

vative outlook that characterized the AFL's history. Having witnessed the destruction of ideological-minded union leaders countless times, Hutcheson embodied the pure and simple unionism of the Gompers era. At least Hutcheson could claim to have a degree of influence with the White House; he supported each of the Republican administrations and in turn was said to have turned down several offers to become the secretary of labor.

The most dynamic leadership in the AFL came from the president of the United Mine Workers of America (UMW), John L. Lewis. Although he had worked as a miner intermittently since his teenage years, Lewis's rise through the UMW's ranks began in 1910, when the thirty-year-old was elected president of a Panama, Illinois, local. He began serving as an AFL lobbyist in Springfield the following year and became an AFL vice-president in 1917. In 1920, when he assumed the presidency of the UMW, its membership base was already eroding from its wartime high of about 750,000 workers. As oil and gas challenged coal as sources of power and coal prices dropped, coal operators took advantage of the antilabor climate to attack the UMW in a seemingly endless series of confrontations.

Major strikes in 1922, 1923, and 1925–1926 set the tone for concession bargaining after 1928, when Lewis could no longer insist on a $7.50 a day wage in all the UMW's contracts. In some UMW districts, the daily wage rate dropped to $5.00—still better than the $1.50 nonunion coal operators received at the Pittsburgh Coal Company, which had violently mashed its UMW local in 1925—but the loss took away one-third of miners' wages nonetheless. By 1927, the UMW had fewer than 200,000 members.

TABLE 1. Labor Union Membership, 1920–1934

	Total Union Members	AFL-Affiliated Members
1920	5,034,000	4,079,000
1921	4,722,000	3,907,000
1922	3,950,000	3,196,000
1923	3,629,000	2,926,000
1924	3,549,000	2,866,000
1925	3,566,000	2,877,000
1926	3,592,000	2,804,000
1927	3,600,000	2,813,000
1928	3,567,000	2,896,000
1929	3,625,000	2,934,000
1930	3,632,000	2,961,000
1931	3,526,000	2,890,000
1932	3,226,000	2,532,000
1933	3,857,000	2,127,000
1934	3,728,000	3,045,000

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970* (Washington, DC, 1975).

THE EMERGENCE OF THE AMERICAN PLAN

The election of Warren G. Harding to the White House in 1920 under the banner of a "Return to Normalcy" began twelve years of uninterrupted Republican Party rule of the White House. It also marked the end of the Progressive Era in American life; indeed, the private sector was much more active than the government in shaping the outlines of labor activity during the decade. Having reestablished the "Open Shop"—that is, a workplace rid of labor unions—employers were intent on keeping the status quo in the 1920s. Although many employers had openly participated in the orgy of violence in 1919, most of their efforts throughout the decade took a more subtle approach. By 1921, these efforts to use scientific management, personnel reforms, and welfare measures had taken shape under the rubric of "The American Plan," a term first publicized by the National Association of Manufacturers and the National Chamber of Commerce in 1921.

SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT AND PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT

One aspect of the American Plan encouraged scientific and personnel management innovations to control the workplace and increase productivity. Whereas Henry Ford had concentrated largely on the principles of Taylorism in his operations, the dominant management philosophy in the 1920s articulated the need to study human relationships in the workplace, not just technological and mechanical improvements. The most significant example of this new outlook took place with a series of experiments conducted at Western Electric's (WE) Hawthorne Works from 1924 to 1933. Located in the western Chicago suburb of Cicero, Illinois, the Hawthorne plant made telephones and other electrical devices for WE. With a workforce that numbered up to 30,000 employees, the Hawthorne Works was the Chicago area's largest employer.

In the most widely publicized experiment, a study conducted by George Elton Mayo beginning in April 1928, a research group set up thirteen trials with five women from the assembly-line. Altering the workroom's illumination, the rest periods granted to workers, and the length of the working day and week, the researchers came to a surprising conclusion: there was no specific correlation between the changes made in the workplace and the level of worker productivity, which increased a total of 46 percent, even when working conditions were made measurably worse. Searching for a reason to explain this phenomenon, the researchers concluded that increased participation by workers in managerial decisions was more important than incentive pay schemes or physical conditions in improving output. WE implemented this conclusion by conducting over 10,300 interviews with its employees to discuss their opinions about their work environment in the hope of spurring company-wide productivity increases.

COMPANY UNIONS AND WELFARE CAPITALISM

Many employers cited these conclusions to demonstrate the importance of keeping the Open Shop. If a close relationship between employer and employee was the key to increased productivity and worker's satisfaction, then labor unions represented a threat to both these goals. Along these lines, many employers set up company unions to encourage workers to talk about efficiency, plant safety, and grievances with management. Company unions, sometimes called employee representation plans, were always controlled by management; the typical worker could vote for a representative to the union but otherwise had no say in its conduct. By 1928, over 1.5 million employees were enrolled in 399 company unions, and most of them worked for large-scale corporations such as Procter & Gamble and International Harvester.

An equally important part of the American Plan took the form of welfare capitalism, a term that en-

compassed a wide range of employer-sponsored benefits programs to win worker loyalty. At the Hawthorne Works, WE offered on-site medical care, a stock-ownership plan, after-hours educational courses, and sick benefits and vacation time that depended on the employee's length of service. WE also sponsored company sports teams and other social events for its employees and, like other employers, occasionally supported community institutions such as the YMCA or local churches through fund drives. Nationwide, a small but growing number of corporations sponsored a significant level of welfare capitalist programs in the 1920s; the programs were more common among large employers with secure market positions and less pressure to cut wages and costs.

Although the Hawthorne Works was invoked as the preeminent example of corporate America's beneficial influence on working-class life in the 1920s, welfare capitalist measures could take a more overtly paternalistic and anti-union form. The most notorious examples came from the textile towns of the North Carolina Piedmont region, where manufacturers had relocated from the late nineteenth century to avoid unionized workforces in New England. Everywhere in the Southern textile towns—from the company-owned housing to the company-controlled school to the company-run general store—workers were reminded of their employers' power. Employers claimed to keep the cost of living down by offering workers housing at half price, but workers were thrown out of their housing if they were suspected of supporting unions—or if they lost their jobs for any reason at all

The company-endowed and -operated schools also represented a bad bargain for workers. Poorly equipped and staffed, the typical mill school offered only eight grades, and children were routinely pulled from class to work during times of labor shortages. Company-run stores, where some workers, paid in company scrip, were forced to shop, also offered little real value for the mill hands. Although company stores typically offered credit to mill workers, the snare of debt trapped workers even further in poverty. If the company store was the only place to shop in town, workers were sure to pay a higher price for what they bought. Resentment against all of these factors contributed to a series of textile strikes in the Piedmont region in 1929 and 1930; all of them were crushed, typically with outright violence. With a wage rate of twenty-seven cents an hour for common labor in 1928—in contrast to the forty-nine cents that laborers in the Mid-Atlantic region earned—workers in the textile region remained among the most economically deprived in the country.

The Great Migration

While the labor movement faltered and the business community pressed its advantage in the 1920s, demographic trends proved equally important to the future of working-class life in America. The steady flow of European immigration was stopped by World War I, and restrictive immigration laws enacted in the 1920s kept the flow down to extremely low levels. Given the labor shortage induced by the war, a massive wave of internal migration of African Americans from the rural South took place to keep America's Northern industries running. Low cotton prices and the destruction of cotton crops by boll weevil attacks had already displaced thousands of agricultural workers during the war, and the repressive legal and social structure of the South served as an additional inducement to leave the region. From 1915 to 1920 at least 400,000 African Americans left for the North, and as many as one million joined them in the following decade in a movement known as the Great Migration. Chicago's African-American population jumped from 110,00 to 234,000 in the 1920s, and Detroit's increased from 6,000 on the eve of World War I to 120,000 in 1930.

The higher wages and less pervasive legal and social discrimination made the North "The Promised Land" to many of the migrants; yet restrictive covenants in housing and hiring practices that kept them from gaining higher wage jobs continued to make life a struggle for working-class African Americans. And although the direct violence of the Ku Klux Klan was not nearly as prevalent in the North as in the South, race riots took the lives of forty-nine victims in East St. Louis in 1917 and thirty-eight in Chicago in 1919. In East St. Louis, the riots were spurred by antagonism over the use of African-American workers as strikebreakers, a common tactic among anti-union Northern employers. Given the history of discrimination against African-American workers, racial tension proved to be a major stumbling block in the building of industrial unions in the 1930s.

Onset of the Great Depression

Between the stock market crash in October 1929 and the end of Herbert Hoover's term as president in March 1933, the American economy seemed to be in freefall. Unemployment—never accurately measured in the previous decade but estimated by some officials to be between 3.2 and 5 percent in 1929—climbed to

25 percent in 1932. In some cities, the rate hit unimaginable heights: one-third of New Yorkers were without a job, as were half of Detroit's workers, 40 percent of Chicagoans, and 80 percent of Toledoans. U.S. Steel, one of the nation's largest corporations, had a workforce of zero full-time workers in 1933, in contrast to its workforce of about 225,000 workers in 1929.

The welfare capitalist measures of the 1920s mostly fell by the wayside after 1929, although some employers started food and clothing banks for their laid-off employees. Still others inaugurated part-time work schedules to spread wages around, or allowed employees to grow vegetables on unoccupied company land parcels. Public relief efforts were somewhat better organized but equally ineffective after the first two years of the Depression. As *Fortune* reported in a September 1932 expose under the scathing title "No-One Has Starved," local relief agencies had already buckled under the economic collapse: "Food only, in most cases, is provided and little enough of that. Rents are seldom paid. Shoes and clothing are given in rare instances only. Money for doctors and dentists is not to be had."

President Hoover appointed federal commissions to study the problem but stood by his claim that voluntary relief efforts would carry the nation through the crisis. Hoover's integrity took a final blow in a conflict with the Bonus Expeditionary Army on July 28, 1932. About 20,000 Bonus Marchers had come to the capital to demand the immediate payment of a bonus promised to veterans of World War I set to be paid in 1945. Hoover, seeing a radical insurrection unfolding, ordered troops to oust the protesters, who had encamped in various federal buildings and landed in the Anacostia section of Washington, D.C. Two veterans were killed in the ensuing conflict, and one infant later died of his injuries. Images of the burning Bonus Army camps revolted many Americans, who saw Hoover as a callous tyrant. His reputation never recovered from the incident.

In the end, Hoover's only substantial relief efforts came through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), which made money available to states to support work-relief programs in 1932. Criticized as a "millionaires' dole," the RFC was a minimal response to the unfolding economic tragedy. In one last bid for working-class support as he started his reelection bid, Hoover even claimed credit for passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act of 1932, legislation that he had long opposed. In addition to outlawing "yellow dog" contracts forbidding union membership in the workforce, the act severely limited the use of federal injunctions to break up strikes. It also freed union leaders from liability for damaging acts carried out by union members, unless such acts had been advocated by union leadership.

The Norris-LaGuardia Act was the only significant piece of legislation to favor the labor movement under the twelve years of Republican rule, and few were fooled by Hoover's last-minute capitulation to the Act's passage. In November 1932, Hoover lost his reelection bid when he retained less than 40 percent of the popular vote. In his place, New York governor Franklin Delano Roosevelt ended twelve years of Republican rule as he took over the White House.

THE PIVOTAL YEAR 1934

Throughout the 1920s, successive Republican administrations had scaled back or eliminated Progressive Era reforms that had improved working conditions while conservative federal courts issued injunctions to break strikes. As a result of Roosevelt's New Deal programs, the federal government reversed both of these trends by taking itself into labor relations on an unprecedented scale. For the labor movement, the most important act of Roosevelt's first year in office was the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), which he signed into law on June 16, 1933.

The NIRA established a code of fair competition supervised by the National Recovery Administration (NRA) and temporarily suspended antitrust rules, which allowed businesses to plan production on an industrywide basis. In exchange for this favor, the NRA mandated a minimum wage, to be set by industry, and a forty-hour maximum work week. From the start, the NRA's work was roundly criticized. As they had during World War I, most business leaders resented the government's involvement in the private sector. Other critics argued that the NRA's reach did not go far enough in fundamentally restructuring the economy. Still others were simply baffled by the complex bureaucracy that the creation of the NRA entailed.

Nothing symbolized the controversy and confusion over the NIRA better than its Section 7(a). The section declared "That employees shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and be free from interference" by their employers in such efforts. The section also prohibited employers from forcing their workers to join company-controlled unions or from firing them for joining independent labor unions. Yet the NIRA did not specify penalties against employers for failing to follow Section 7(a); nor did it set up an

administration to oversee the implementation of the article. Thus, while Section 7(a) seemed to place the weight of the government behind unionization, it did little to clarify how workers could actually organize labor unions. In the wake of the NIRA's passage, a new wave of labor unrest swept the country as business and labor tested the real impact of Section 7(a) in the work place.

The Auto-Lite Strike

The strike at the Auto-Lite factory in Toledo, Ohio, was one of the first to test the actual meaning of Section 7(a). A small group of workers at the auto parts plant had struck for union recognition in late February 1934, an action that made little headway with the company's staunchly anti-union management. On April 13, 1934, the majority of the plant's workers walked off the job again, with union recognition at the top of their list of demands. The strike quickly turned into a mass movement in the city, as four other major plants were also shut down by strikes. With thousands of strikers and their supporters gathering at the Auto-Lite plant throughout May 1934, the company armed its guards with machine guns and tear gas in preparation for an assault, even as it refused to bargain with the union.

After someone in the factory threw a steel bracket at striker Alma Hahn on May 23, 1934, a riot erupted among the 10,000 protesters. Four days of unrest, including the shooting deaths of one striker and one strike supporter, were finally put down by about 1,350 National Guardsmen; about two hundred others were injured. When Governor George White refused the company's request to forcibly reopen the plant, Auto-Lite's management finally agreed to recognize the union. With a five-cent increase in wages and a minimum wage set at thirty-five cents, the plant reopened on June 5, 1934, with AFL Local 18384 as the recognized bargaining agent for the factory's workers. The following year, after the establishment of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, Local 18384 became Local 12 of the United Auto Workers union.

The Teamsters' Strike

Workers in Minneapolis also tested the limits of the NIRA in 1934. After Teamsters organizer Ray Dunne led a successful strike by coal truck drivers in early February 1934, Local 574 signed up between 2,000 and 3,000 members and demanded union recognition, a wage hike, and overtime pay from employers. The conflict quickly went beyond the collective bargaining table, however, as the anti-union Citizens' Alliance (CA) jumped into the fray. Declaring the Teamsters' action a bid to radicalize the city's working classes, the CA began arming its members for a violent confrontation. A series of battles between strikers and the CA at the city's public market on May 21–22 left two CA members dead. Under pressure from Governor Floyd Olson, who was sympathetic to the strikers, the employers' group signed an agreement to abide by Section 7(a) on May 25. The truce was short-lived as the CA broke its agreement just weeks later. On July 16, 1934, the Teamsters went out on strike again.

The second strike turned into a more protracted affair, lasting thirty-six days. Crowds of up to 100,000 union supporters poured into Minneapolis, and another violent confrontation on July 20 left two strikers dead and fifty injured. The governor declared martial law on July 26. After intense efforts by Roosevelt's representatives, the CA finally was brought into an agreement with the Teamsters, which gained undisputed recognition as a bargaining agent and a minimum wage for its members. Within two years of the strike, Local 574 represented members at 500 Minneapolis-area companies, and the Citizens' Alliance was effectively broken as a power in the city.

The Maritime Workers' Strike

The biggest of the three urban strike waves culminated in a general strike in San Francisco from July 16–19, 1934. On May 9, 1934, International Longshoremen's Association workers along the entire Pacific Coast (with the exception of Los Angeles) went on strike under the leadership of Harry Bridges. As in the other strikes, higher wages, reduced hours, and more equitable hiring practices were among the reforms demanded by strikers, along with their chief goal, union recognition in collective bargaining. The Industrial Association of San Francisco (IASF), a coalition of anti-union employers, took the lead in battling the maritime workers' strike. In conjunction with the local police, the IASF disrupted a July 5 strike protest by shooting into the crowd; two strikers were killed and dozens more were shot on that "Bloody Thursday," as the day became known. Over the next few days, a grassroots call for a general strike began brewing among San Francisco's workers. On July 16, with the reluctant support of most of the city's labor leadership, at least 130,000 workers essentially shut down the city.

The strike was called off three days later after

Tanks prepare to roll in to break the general strike in San Francisco in 1934. Some 130,000 strikers—including trolley drivers, construction workers, teamsters, and bartenders—had brought the city to a virtual standstill for four days. *(© Underwood Photo Archives, Inc.)*

pressure from the Roosevelt administration, and the maritime workers later achieved most of their demands in a federal arbitration ruling. Not only had the union won recognition as a bargaining agent, it also gained joint control with employers over the hiring process, higher wages, and an overtime provision. By the end of 1934, 1,856 strikes involving 1,470,000 workers had taken place.

Together with a renewed series of textile strikes in the Carolinas, the major urban strikes of 1934 demonstrated the problems in administering the vague clause of Section 7(a) of the NIRA. The NIRA itself was soon deemed irrelevant, however, when it was declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1935. In response, the Roosevelt administration fought to pass the National Labor Relations Act (often called the Wagner Act), which the president signed into law on July 5, 1935. Unlike the NIRA, the Wagner Act not only guaranteed the right of workers to bargain collectively, but specified how that right would be enforced. It also created the National Labor Relations Board to issue injunctions over unfair labor practices, to oversee union elections, and to hear grievances between labor and management. The most significant piece of legislation to govern labor relations in the twentieth century, the Wagner Act opened up a new era in the history of the American labor movement.

TABLE 2. Work Stoppages and Workers Involved, 1920–1934

	Work Stoppages	Workers Involved
1920	3,411	*
1921	2,385	
1922	1,112	
1923	1,553	
1924	1,249	
1925	1,301	
1926	1,035	
1927	707	330,000
1928	604	314,000
1929	921	289,000
1930	637	183,000
1931	810	342,000
1932	841	324,000
1933	1,695	1,170,000
1934	1,856	1,470,000

*U.S. Bureau of the Census does not provide data for "Workers Involved," 1920–1926.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970* (Washington, DC, 1975).

SUMMARY

Coming as it did between the Progressive Era and the New Deal, it is tempting to dismiss the period from 1920 to 1934 as a mere interruption in the growth of the American labor movement's economic, social, and political power in the first half of the twentieth century. At the time, however, the powerful alliance of business and government seemed permanent. The conservative—and at times, reactionary—coalition of antilabor interests found expression in the politics of "normalcy," the rhetoric of unswerving patriotism, and the implementation of the American Plan. The impact of these forces meant that the era passed without significant labor reform, regulation, or legislation. They also ensured that wage gains for workers lagged far behind what was necessary to generate a sustainable consumer economy. A mass production, mass consumption economy as envisioned by Henry Ford and others during the Progressive Era would take another generation to achieve.

The labor movement itself—torn apart by ideological dissension, power struggles, and an almost universally lethargic leadership—in large part failed to rise to the challenges presented by what was admittedly one of the most antilabor periods in American history. Ideologically minded unions such as the IWW were no match for the might of the government's Palmer Raids and Red Scare. At the other end of the spectrum, the AFL's inability to reach out to unskilled workers in favor of a narrow vision of craft unionism was increasingly out of step with the modern industrial landscape. The best that can be said for the labor movement's generally conservative leadership is that in endorsing material goals over more visionary strategies, workers were particularly disillusioned when their consumerist dreams vanished with the Great Depression. The devastation was so complete that the majority of the working class turned their loyalties to their unions and Roosevelt's administration with a decisiveness that made the weaknesses of the prior decade's labor movement all the more telling.

Timothy G. Borden

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Communist Movement

The Communist Party of the United States has had a variety of names and a complex history. It had deep roots in, and a significant impact upon, the multicultural U.S. working class and the American labor movement, as well as the intellectual and cultural life of the United States. Animated by a revolutionary interpretation of the Socialist theories of Karl Marx, and by the example of the Russian Revolution of 1917 led by Vladimir Ilich Lenin, it was part of a powerful international movement that arose in 1919 under the banner of the Communist International.

As part of that international movement, American Communism came under the domination of the Russian Communist Party, which had succeeded in establishing a revolutionary regime in what had once been the Russian empire, ultimately renamed the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) or Soviet Union. As this regime became increasingly bureaucratic and authoritarian, there were problematical consequences throughout the world Communist movement, including the movement in the United States. One result was a three-way split in the late 1920s, with an overwhelming majority remaining in the organization that became increasingly subordinate to the ruthless dictator of the USSR, Josef Stalin.

Consequently, the Communist mainstream became marked by a combination of revolutionary idealism and the extremely negative qualities associated with the Stalinist dictatorship. This problematical reality weakened both the Communist Party and the American Left; nonetheless, a number of American Communists made substantial contributions to struggles for social change.

Sources

The rise of Communism in the United States cannot be understood without examining its sources and origins in a number of American realities. From the end of the American Civil War (1861–1865) through the 1890s, the capitalist economic and social order of the United States experienced a tumultuous transition of industrialization, corporatization, and expansion that had a powerful impact on various segments of the population. The country became the world's leading manufacturer, and dramatic increases in economic productivity brought phenomenal increases in the wealth of the nation.

The benefits and expenses of this development were unevenly distributed. Although tremendous opportunities opened up for enterprising financiers and industrialists, many smaller businesses were destroyed, and small farmers throughout the country found their farms and livelihoods placed in jeopardy by the dynamics of the new structures of power and market forces unleashed in this "Gilded Age" transition.

The country's working-class majority felt multiple impacts. Many skilled trades were increasingly replaced with occupations requiring unskilled (and cheaper) labor—more easily dominated and more intensively exploited by employers. Efforts to organize unions for improvements of wages and working conditions were routinely attacked and broken by employers (with the often violent assistance of both private "police" and governmental authorities). Massive waves of immigration also undermined gains that workers were able to win—flooding the labor market with impoverished and often desperate laborers from a variety of different cultures, often suffering ethnic and racial discrimination, and pitted against each other by employers seeking to control their workforce more effectively.

The most intense discrimination was usually reserved for African Americans who had been betrayed by a post-Reconstruction compromise that denied them equal citizenship rights and generally kept them on the lowest rungs of the socioeconomic ladder. Institutional racism was enforced by state and local gov-

ernments throughout the South, buttressed by lynchings and Ku Klux Klan terrorism; in the North, systematic discrimination in defense of white privilege was widespread. Women of all races were also subjected to second-class citizenship—denied the right to vote, undermined by multiple varieties of legal and economic discrimination, and subjected to various forms of sexual harassment and double standards.

There were yet other negative developments—notably, the pervasive corruption of politicians by wealthy interests, multiple business abuses, the systematic cheating of consumers by unscrupulous manufacturers, and the despoliation of urban areas, rural areas, and nature itself for the purpose of maximizing profits for the greedy few. Periodically, the "boom-and-bust" business cycle would generate devastating depressions, throwing millions of people out of work and plunging them into poverty. Many charged that the immense concentration of wealth into a few hands was changing the American republic from a democracy into a plutocracy (rule by the rich instead of rule by the people). And there were growing concerns that U.S. foreign policy was evolving in the direction of imperialism—economic expansionism beyond the borders of the United States in search of business profits—that would embroil the country in oppressive and exploitative relations with weaker peoples and draw the United States into dubious wars.

Intellectuals and artists were among the first to give powerful expression to such concerns. But these developments generated an array of dissident currents and protest movements, the most dramatic being the Populist movement of the late 1880s and the 1890s as well as a number of feminist and antiracist efforts. Especially important was the growth of a substantial labor-radical subculture reflected in a succession of organizations—the National Labor Union, the Knights of Labor, the Eight Hour Leagues, the Workingmen's Party of the United States, the American Federation of Labor (AFL), the Socialist Labor Party, the International Working Peoples Association—as well as a series of often violent strikes and labor conflicts, such as the rail strike and labor upsurge of 1877, the 1886 eight-hour demonstrations culminating in the Haymarket "riot," the Homestead strike of 1892, and the Pullman strike of 1894.

Beginnings

The Progressive Era of the early twentieth century saw the culmination of such protests and struggles in a nationwide political shift that caused some elements in both the Democratic and Republican parties to tilt in a radical direction toward challenging the power of big business. It also resulted in the political mainstream, which, under such presidents as Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, began to flow in a direction that favored an increase in government regulation of the economy and fostered reforms designed to eliminate corruption and abuses, as well as to help the disadvantaged, in order to dampen radical sentiments. Within this context, a variety of movements and organizations dedicated to far-reaching social reforms were established. Among these were the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), struggling for equal rights for blacks, and a new wave of feminism, focused on winning the right to vote for women but also struggling for greater educational and occupational opportunities as well as for access to birth control.

By 1901, many of the remnants and continuations of the labor-radical tradition combined with other elements (former Populists, Christian Socialists, radicalized feminists, leftward-moving intellectuals, battle-scarred trade unionists, and others) to form the Socialist Party of America. Its peak was reached in 1912, with 118,000 members throughout the country and with 323 publications (in English and other languages) with a total circulation of more than 2 million. The weekly newspaper *Appeal to Reason,* published in Girard, Kansas, had the largest circulation—more than 761,000. In 1912, Socialist leader Eugene V. Debs (who had led the 1894 Pullman strike) polled 6 percent of the presidential vote, and Socialists held 1,200 elected offices in 340 cities, including seventy-nine mayors in twenty-four states. Socialist congressmen were elected from New York City and Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and as late as 1918 Socialists elected thirty-two state legislators and were making a positive showing in several municipal elections. Socialists led and strongly influenced about one-third of the unions in the AFL, and many Socialists also played a central part in establishing the more militant Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), which assumed a vital role in organizing inclusive, multiethnic, multiracial struggles among unskilled industrial workers.

Sharp differences emerged between more reformist Socialist Party currents led by Representative Victor Berger (Socialist-WI) and labor lawyer Morris Hillquit on the one hand, and more revolutionary-minded figures such as Debs and IWW leader "Big Bill" Haywood. The moderate elements dominated the party apparatus and sought to minimize left-wing influence. In the face of the patriotic hysteria and

fierce government repression unleashed by the United States' entry into World War I in 1917, the bulk of the Socialist Party held to its antiwar position. And when, in the same year, the Bolshevik revolution proclaimed the world's first "workers' state" in Russia (dramatically described in eyewitness reports in the Socialist press by radical journalist John Reed, whose classic account *Ten Days That Shook the World* would soon be published), the Socialist Party as a whole greeted it with enthusiasm.

But the Socialist left wing felt that the antiwar position was being soft-pedaled by the moderates and that U.S. Socialists should apply the Bolshevik model of organization and revolutionary strategy to American conditions. When it became clear in 1919 that the left wing was winning over a party majority, the moderates engineered massive expulsions, eliminating the bulk of the left wing and over half the membership. In addition to the bulk of the Socialist Party's left wing, many IWW activists and AFL militants were drawn to the example of the Russian Revolution. Among others who were attracted were some black Socialists who, led by Cyril Briggs and Richard B. Moore, organized in a significant group called the African Blood Brotherhood.

Under such circumstances, a newly formed Communist Party might have been expected to emerge with 80,000 members and substantial influence. But fierce government repression and no less fierce factional disputes (which resulted in two Communist parties being formed) guaranteed that this would not happen. The Communist Party of America (CPA) probably had fewer than 25,000 members, and the Communist Labor Party (CLP) may have had about 15,000.

The CPA, dominated by the foreign-language federations (especially the federation made up of Russian immigrants headed by Nicholas Hourwich and the Jewish federation led by Alexander Bittelman) that had been expelled by the Socialist Party, claimed to be more attuned to the Bolshevik model. As such, it attracted the talented young Italian-American intellectual Louis Fraina, the stalwart Ohio Socialist organizer Charles Ruthenberg, the dynamic former student Socialist leader Jay Lovestone and his classmate William Weinstone, millionaire Rose Pastor Stokes, the studious teacher Bertram D. Wolfe, and Juliet Stuart Poyntz, who had been education director of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

The Communist Labor Party, which claimed a greater connection with U.S. realities and the American labor movement, included the flamboyant "all-American" radical John Reed, the volatile Irish-American workers' leader James Larkin, Ben Gitlow (one of ten New York Socialist state legislators elected but refused their seats in the super-patriotic atmosphere of the times), the seasoned IWW organizer James P. Cannon, the experienced AFL Socialist militant William F. Dunne, and veteran Socialist Party organizer Ella Reeve Bloor.

Although most of these leaders remained in the Communist movement for years to come, many rank-and-file Communists found it difficult to endure the government repression, disillusionment over the failure of the hoped-for revolutionary upsurge to materialize in the United States, and the debilitating disunity. Both organizations ended up with fewer than 10,000 members combined, but continued to denounce each other and seek exclusive recognition as the "real" U.S. Communist Party from the newly formed Communist International. Instead, the leaders of the Communist International insisted on unity, which was finally achieved in 1921, although there was still a factional fight over whether the organization should be predominantly "underground" in the way that the Russian Bolsheviks had been. (The Russian leadership of the Communist International concluded that, given the relatively free conditions existing in the United States, maintaining such an underground existence made no sense.) The unified organization was able to establish a more stable existence, reversing the membership decline, and to begin attracting significant recruits, such as the famous leader of the 1919 steel strike, William Z. Foster.

The unified party took the name Workers Party of America. In 1925, the organization's name changed to the Workers (Communist) Party of America and, by 1930, to the Communist Party of the United States of America.

The Communist International

The Communist International (also known as the Comintern and the Third International) was of decisive importance to the origins and subsequent development of American Communism. When established under the leadership of the Russian Communists, it was projected to be a world party of Socialist revolution in which all national sections and individuals would enjoy a comradely equality. Not surprisingly, however, it was the Russians who were naturally seen as the leaders inasmuch as they had made a successful revolution and were the hosts and financiers of the Comintern.

"In the first days of the October revolution—that

is the Bolshevik revolution—the Russians were leaders through prestige, through achievement, through the fact that they conquered one-sixth of the world for socialism," recalled Jay Lovestone, some years later. "We had an attitude of almost religious veneration toward them . . . But I must say in fairness to the Russian leaders at that time they did not advocate this, they did not nurture this." In fact, according to Lovestone "they tended to treat us as equals, with equal respect: respecting our opinions, and we appreciated that. They were big men, and because they were big men they did not act in little or small ways, but nevertheless the Russian influence was decisive."

According to James P. Cannon, he and his comrades "learned to do away forever with the idea that a revolutionary socialist movement, aiming at power, can be led by people who practice socialism as an avocation. . . . Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Radek, Bukharin—these were our teachers. We began to be educated in an entirely different spirit from the old lackadaisical Socialist Party—in the spirit of revolutionists who take ideas and programs very seriously." Bertram Wolfe concurred, noting that before 1925 it was *not* the case that "all important decisions for the American Communist party were being made in Moscow"—rather, communications from Lenin, Zinoviev, and other Comintern leaders "were intended only as helpful suggestions, often exciting ones, and as successful examples to imitate after adapting them to American conditions, but not as categorical commands."

Lovestone recalled that by 1924, when Comintern leader Gregory Zinoviev was allied with Josef Stalin against Leon Trotsky, there developed "sharp, unprincipled factionalism—I would say suicidal factionalism—in the Russian party, [and] the Comintern policies began to be involved in and determined by factional struggles inside the Russian party. . . . First there was the beginning of slavishness and mechanical transference, and what I called the Byzantine court at Moscow—kowtowing before the potentates, but it was not yet worked up into a system. . . . Then that culminated in the triumph of Stalin in Russia and thereafter the triumph of Stalin in the Communist International."

"Everything had been settled behind the scenes," Cannon observed about a typical situation in the Comintern of the mid-1920s. "The word had been passed and all the secondary leaders and functionaries in the Comintern were falling into line." When radical intellectual Max Eastman complained to Foster of a highhanded action of Comintern leadership, Foster responded: "Max, a lot of things happen here that I don't like. But we can't do anything about it. They've got the prestige. No revolutionary movement anywhere, as things stand now, can prosper without their backing."

The Political Accomplishments of the 1920s

Although the American Communists benefited from the revolutionary prestige of the early Soviet Republic, and from various forms of Comintern assistance, their own initiative and creative energy were decisive in making the Workers Party a significant force in the 1920s.

Under William Z. Foster's leadership, an influential network of leaders and activists was created in the AFL through the Trade Union Educational League (TUEL). In its monthly periodical *The Labor Herald,* and in its many pamphlets and public meetings, it sharply criticized corruption, exclusionary practices, and conservatism in existing unions. It also put forward a program that urged craft unions to amalgamate to form industrial unions; to establish a shop delegate system to ensure rank-and-file control of unions; to create a labor party; to enact reforms such as unemployment insurance; and to support the Soviet Republic in Russia and the eventual creation of a workers' republic in the United States. Progressive union leaders and activists rallied to many of these demands, and through sustained TUEL efforts a number of unions were influenced by the TUEL program, as were central labor councils in Chicago, Minneapolis, and other cities.

Trade union activists who had gotten experience through the TUEL (and through its early 1930s successor, the Trade Union Unity League) went on in the later 1930s and 1940s to play prominent, dynamic roles in building a powerful labor movement through the organizing drives that were part of the rising Congress of Industrial Organizations.

The American Communist Party was also involved in defending civil liberties, particularly those of workers, through the International Labor Defense (ILD). The ILD had been conceived of during discussions between "Big Bill" Haywood, Rose Karsner, and James P. Cannon (Cannon would become its national secretary when it was set up in 1925). The ILD provided aid to hundreds of "class-war prisoners," regardless of political affiliation, who had been imprisoned or otherwise persecuted during the fierce government repression during World War I, during

the postwar "Red Scare," as well as in subsequent strikes, labor struggles, and other situations. It publicized the cases (through the *Labor Defender,* meetings, picket lines, and other means), raised money, and often secured legal assistance. During the 1920s, its most famous cases were those of the Italian Anarchists Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, as well as those of militant Socialists and trade unionists Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings.

In the following decade, the ILD would become best known for its defense of Angelo Herndon, a black Communist arrested and imprisoned for making a radical speech in Georgia, and "the Scottsboro boys," nine young black men accused and convicted of raping two white women in Alabama (although the trial was blatantly unfair and one of the women later recanted). Such cases became important symbols of antiracist struggle.

Especially through the insistence of the Communist International, the American Communist Party began to give more consistent and careful attention to the problem of racism and the plight of African Americans than had ever been the case among U.S. left-wing organizations. A small but important core of black workers and intellectuals came to see, in the words of Harry Haywood, "the elimination of racism and the achievement of complete equality for Blacks as an inevitable byproduct of socialist revolution in the United States." In 1925, the American Negro Labor Congress was organized, headed by the flamboyant Lovett Fort-Whiteman (who later went to live in the USSR and perished in Stalin's purges), which published *The Negro Liberator.* A cadre of 200 black Communists developed, which was able to assume a major role during the struggles of the 1930s among the unemployed and unionizing industrial workers, against racism in the United States, and against fascism abroad.

The Communist slogan "black and white, unite and fight" was to be symbolized in the 1932 presidential election when black party leader James W. Ford was selected as the vice-presidential running mate of William Z. Foster. Several thousand blacks joined the Communist Party during that decade and began to wield a dramatically widening influence within the black community. As a result, Communists played a sometimes pivotal role in the antiracist struggle. Black lawyers such as Benjamin J. Davis (who later served as a Communist on New York City's city council) and William Patterson (who later headed up the ILD and later the Civil Rights Congress), such writers as Langston Hughes and Richard Wright, singer and actor Paul Robeson, and the great African-American scholar W.E.B. Du Bois were among those drawn to the Party's ranks or periphery.

The Communists coordinated an impressive array of immigrant fraternal, cultural, and social organizations, and sought to help protect the rights of immigrants through the broad-based National Council for the Protection of the Foreign Born, which was established in 1926 and formed a coalition of organizations representing 700,000 members. It should be noted that a majority of U.S. workers in many areas in this period were first- and second-generation immigrants—the fraternal organizations were vitally important for affirming and preserving one's culture and protecting one's rights from a pervasive anti-immigrant bigotry. In the 1930s, this was broadened into a multiculturalism that was counterposed to the rising tide of fascism. The 1930s also saw the organization of the influential International Workers Order, organized by ethnic units (Italian, Jewish, Hungarian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovak, Ukrainian, Greek, Polish, and so on), which provided insurance and other benefits, sponsored various cultural and political activities, and had 150,000 members.

Women made up less than 20 percent of Communist membership throughout the 1920s (it was to rise by more than 10 percent in the 1930s). Nonetheless, Communism took a formal position in favor of equal rights for women, and several women were prominent in leadership positions (Ella Reeve Bloor, Rose Pastor Stokes, Juliet Stuart Poyntz, Rose Wortis, Sylvia Bleecker, Rose Karsner, among others). Attention was given to "the woman question" through articles, pamphlets, and books; through International Women's Day events on March 8 of every year; and through classes and discussions. Often this attention was accompanied by a rejection of "bourgeois feminism" and an emphasis on the special problems of working-class women, for example, through the United Council of Working-Class Women, headed by Kate Gitlow (mother of party leader Ben Gitlow), and the publication of the periodical *Working Woman.* As has often been pointed out, the Communist Party's views on "the woman question" could be quite narrow, although sometimes in Communist circles there was a linkage of gender-class-race issues that was remarkably ahead of its time. By the 1930s, women in and around the Communist Party were able to engage in discussions and activities (discussions around the 1936 Women's Charter asserting the rights of women to full equality in all spheres of social activity, activities to provide full rights and representation for

Members of the Washington Communist Party meet on March 6, 1930, to plan a demonstration in front of the White House. The Communist Party led the fight for integration, black empowerment, and workers' rights in the 1930s. *(© Underwood Photo Archives, Inc.)*

women in the workplace and labor movement) that helped create new perceptions of womanhood and set the stage for the later feminist resurgence.

The Young Workers League, later renamed the Young Communist League, was organized in 1922 for activists in their teens and twenties, with Martin Abern as national secretary and Max Shachtman as editor of the monthly *Young Worker.* By 1925, it had an estimated membership of 4,000. The Young Pioneers of America was established for children between the ages of seven and fourteen, with a magazine first called *Young Comrade* and then *Young Pioneer.*

Other Communist-sponsored organizations included the United Farmers Educational League, the Friends of Soviet Russia, the All-American Anti-Imperialist League, and many more—some of which evolved into larger and more influential organizations in the 1930s.

Through innumerable books and pamphlets published by International Publishers and Workers Library Publishers, through the *Daily Worker* (launched in 1924), through a variety of English- and foreign-language periodicals (twenty-seven journals in nineteen languages, with a total circulation of 177,000), through classes (including an impressive curriculum

organized under the directorship of Bertram D. Wolfe for the Workers School in New York City), through rallies and Communist electoral campaigns, and through hard work in a variety of organizations and movements, the Communists sought to spread Marxist ideas and deepen socialist consciousness. The cultural and intellectual life of the Communists contributed to the ability of some members to contribute to the larger cultural and intellectual life of the United States during the 1920s and even more during the 1930s and 1940s—in scholarship, literature, music, graphic arts, theater, film, and more.

Although Party membership fluctuated between 7,000 and 12,000 throughout the 1920s, many thousands more were drawn to its activities and influenced by its efforts, and American Communists were positioned to play a significant role in coming decades. But the factional conflicts of the 1920s, and the final outcome of those conflicts, also did much to undermine the Communists' ability to realize the potential of their movement.

The Factional Wars of the 1920s

In addition to a deep idealism, a profound opposition to oppression and exploitation, and an uncompromising commitment to the creation of a society of "the free and equal," the leadership of the Communist Party was marked by a variety of personalities, egos, ambitions, and "careerist" aspirations. In addition, serious differences arose as to how best to build the Communist Party and to advance the struggles of the workers and the oppressed. A major difference emerged around the issue of how to best impact the larger political life of the United States. As the Democratic and Republican parties shifted rightward and as "mainstream" politics pulled in a more conservative direction in the 1920s, a variety of oppositional currents in the working class, among farmers, and among intellectuals and "middle-class" reformers gave intense consideration to the creation of a third party.

By 1923, a Hungarian Communist and Comintern representative who went by the name of John Pepper (his actual name was Joseph Pogany) had insinuated himself into the leadership of the U.S. Communists, gathering around himself the party's general secretary Charles Ruthenberg, Jay Lovestone, Ben Gitlow, and others. Under Pepper's influence, they pushed the party into a set of disastrous adventures in the third-party movement. Progressive trade unionist John Fitzpatrick, head of the Chicago Federation of Labor and a powerful ally of William Z. Foster's TUEL, initiated a conference to begin the development of a new radical farmer-labor party. Pepper's efforts culminated in the Communists packing the conference with representatives of their own "front" groups and pushing through—over Fitzpatrick's angry objections—the premature creation of a supposed farmer-labor party based on their own fantasies.

Fitzpatrick and other trade union progressives in the AFL immediately broke with the Communists and facilitated the destruction of TUEL influence in the AFL. A genuine farmer-labor effort—the Conference for Progressive Political Action (a broad-based coalition of unions, reformers, and Socialists)—excluded the Communists and ran Senator Robert M. La Follette (R-WI) for president in 1924 on the new Progressive ticket, which would receive 4 million votes. But by this time the Communists had been frozen out of the third-party movement, and differences among the Comintern leadership caused them to scuttle any efforts to reverse that process. The Communist Party ended up running its own candidates, Foster and Gitlow, in the presidential race, in a pale campaign that netted a paltry 33,000 votes.

Additional "clever" maneuvers of the Pepper–Ruthenberg–Lovestone leadership generated the rise of a strong oppositional current—an alliance of two caucuses led by William Z. Foster and James P. Cannon. The Foster–Cannon opposition, rejecting schemes that would cause the Communists to overreach themselves, insisted on building solid united-front efforts, with special attention to building a base within the Progressive wing of the AFL. The ability of the Foster–Cannon caucuses to secure a majority only intensified the factional conflict, for which Lovestone proved to be especially talented.

The Comintern pulled Pepper out of the United States and initially seemed to favor a semiharmonious balance between the factions. At one point, Cannon, Bittelman (breaking temporarily from the Foster caucus), and Weinstone (breaking temporarily from the Lovestone caucus) sought to cut across the factionalism to help create a more unified, "Bolshevized" Communist Party, but the factionalized situation continued. A remarkable intervention of the Comintern then tipped the scales in 1925—in effect dictating that the Ruthenberg–Lovestone faction should be the leadership of the Party. As it turned out, this represented a decisive move on the part of the Stalin faction inside the Russian Communist Party to bring various sections of the Comintern under its control. A special concern was exhibited to minimize the influence of potential left oppositionists who might be drawn into

support for Stalin's chief rival, Trotsky. When Ruthenberg died in early 1927, Lovestone moved quickly to assume full leadership and to intensify an uncompromising struggle against anyone who might challenge that leadership.

Communist Fragmentation

An anti-Trotsky campaign was being orchestrated throughout the Comintern, and under Lovestone's leadership—ably supported by Wolfe, Gitlow, and others—this campaign was advanced among the American Communists. Ludwig Lore, a prominent German-American Communist, had been expelled in 1925 at Lovestone's initiative, in part for defending Trotsky. "I know everyone of our boys is solid with Stalin," Lovestone asserted proudly when Trotsky and Zinoviev established a united opposition to challenge the crystallization of the bureaucratic dictatorship in the USSR in 1926. But the Party was shaken in 1928 when James P. Cannon and some of his closest associates (Max Shachtman, Martin Abern, Rose Karsner, and others) were brought up on charges and expelled for Trotskyism. Disgusted and disheartened by the factionalism and what he viewed as unprincipled maneuvering that seemed to characterize so much of the internal life of American Communism and the Comintern as such, Cannon had in fact been won over to Trotsky's critique of Stalinism. He and about 100 expellees promptly organized the Communist League of America in 1929, basing themselves forthrightly on Trotsky's revolutionary perspectives.

But 1929 also saw a dramatic "leftist" zigzag in Stalin's policies inside the USSR and its Communist Party, as well as within the Comintern. Over the objections of his moderate-Communist ally Nikolai Bukharin (with whom Lovestone and his associates had nourished a close relationship), Stalin had pushed through a brutal forced collectivization of the land and a rapid industrialization policy in the USSR. Stalin's decision brought extreme hardship and even death to millions of peasants and workers and was accompanied by an intensification of extreme dictatorial measures. Also over the objection of various elements in the Comintern (including Lovestone and his supporters), Stalin began imposing an ultra-left turn on Communist Parties throughout the world, calling on them to reject alliances with all others on the left, to split the trade union movement in order to establish Communist-led unions, and to prepare for an expected new wave of revolutions.

Backed by a majority of the American Communist Party, Lovestone organized a large delegation to go to Moscow to argue in the Comintern that the Stalin line would be a sectarian and ultra-left disaster if applied to U.S. conditions. In consultation with trusted aides in the United States (Jack Stachel and Robert Minor), Lovestone also took measures to keep American Party resources in "safe hands" in the event of a break with the Stalin leadership. Consummate factional infighter though he was, Lovestone was no match for Stalin's political machine. Brutally crushing them in Moscow as "right opportunists" and "American exceptionalists" who were "disloyal" to the Communist International, Stalin mocked: "No one will follow you but your wives and sweethearts." Stachel, Minor, and others of the Lovestoneite majority back in the United States were given the choice: break with Lovestone or break with the Comintern and the USSR. Along with a substantial portion of the delegation to Moscow, the great majority of Communists in the United States (including Stachel and Minor) repudiated Lovestone.

When Lovestone, Wolfe, Gitlow and other unrepentant co-thinkers finally were allowed to leave the USSR, they were able to establish a new organization in 1930 called the Communist Party (Majority Group). This was so far from the truth that the 200 Lovestoneites soon adopted the new name Communist Party Opposition.

William Z. Foster was not considered to be sufficiently trustworthy to represent the Stalinist line in the U.S. Communist leadership. As a result, the Comintern elevated a secondary figure from the Foster caucus, who had recently spent time in Moscow, Earl Browder, to serve as general secretary of the Communist Party of the USA. This appointment was made just as the Great Depression was devastating millions of workers and raising questions about whether the capitalist system was about to collapse. A majority of American Communists, losing patience for continued factional disputes, let alone critiques of the USSR and the Comintern, felt it was time to close ranks behind the leadership of Comrade Stalin, in the face of intensifying economic hardship, the rising tide of fascism, and the shadows of war.

As Peggy Dennis later commented, "in our political naivete . . . we younger comrades did not particularly connect our own internal struggle with that which had raged in the Comintern and the Soviet Communist Party," nor did many U.S. Communists comprehend that the Comintern's interventions into the affairs of the American Communist party were "part of Stalin's consolidation of his leadership within the Soviet party and the international movement, less than five years after Lenin's death." She added, "we

Mounted police club Communist demonstrators in Union Square in New York City on "Red Thursday," March 6, 1930. Hundreds of thousands of Communists worldwide rallied in Chicago, Detroit, San Francisco, London, Paris, and Berlin to protest unemployment and capitalism. *(Brown Brothers)*

eloquently echoed Stalin's published denunciations of Bukharinism and Trotskyism without even objecting to the fact that we were not allowed to read what Bukharin or Trotsky had said or written."

In the period of ferment and radicalization in the 1930s that was generated by the Great Depression and the threat of fascism, it was not just party members but also radicalizing non-Communists considering various points of view who were drawn to the arguments of the Communist Party's leadership. Listening to a debate between Stalinist V.J. Jerome and Lovestoneite Bertram D. Wolfe, George Blake Charney later recalled: "I was in no position to judge the respective merits of their arguments on Marxism. Both were learned men. In the end I was drawn to the position of the [Stalinist] party because it was positive and forward-looking, whereas Wolfe was carping and negative and offered so little hope at a time when we needed so much."

Mixed Legacies

Despite the drastic curtailment of internal democracy in the Communist Party and the Comintern, matched by the intensification of the brutal authoritarianism of the Stalin regime in the USSR, American Communists of the 1930s threw themselves into a variety of activities to defend the interests of the working class and the oppressed. The injustices that had drawn them to Communism had by no means vanished—and some of them had gotten worse. Organizational efforts and struggles were launched among the ranks of the unemployed—hunger marches, the building of Unemployed Councils, and the Workers Alliance. There were also union struggles—especially when the Con-

One of the most prominent leaders of the Communist Party of the United States from the 1920s to the 1950s, William Z. Foster ran for president in 1924, 1928, and 1932. He is shown here testifying before Congress on November 8, 1945. *(Bettman/Corbis)*

gress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) began organizing millions of mass production workers—in which Communist Party members and sympathizers often provided leadership. Communists played a pioneering and often dramatic role in struggles against racism and in some cases in struggles for women's rights. Struggles were ongoing against fascism, imperialism, and militarism. In the process, Communists made innumerable contributions to culture and consciousness that impacted millions of people throughout the country.

By the late 1930s, nearly 100,000 people were associated with the Communist Party. At the same time, in line with Earl Browder's slogan that "Communism is 20th Century Americanism," the Communists sought to avoid doing anything to alienate pro-capitalist liberals in the New Deal wing of Franklin D. Roosevelt's Democratic Party. This was part of the People's Front orientation, designed by the Stalin leadership of the Comintern to create a broad, multi-class global coalition to block the spread of fascism (especially the variety represented by the Hitler regime that took power in Germany). In the words of Earl Browder, "Roosevelt's programmatic utterances of 1937, when combined with the legislative program of the CIO (his main labor support), provides a People's Front program of an advanced type," adding that "we can completely agree with such non-socialist democrats upon the united defense of democracy under capitalism." Years later, Browder boasted that the Communist Party thereby "rapidly moved out of its extreme leftist sectarianism of 1930 toward the broadest united front tactics of reformism for strictly limited immediate aims. It relegated its revolutionary socialist goals to the ritual of chapel and Sundays on the pattern long followed by the Christian Church. On weekdays it became the most single-minded practical reformist party that America ever produced."

The Trotskyists never attracted more than 2,000 members, sometimes existing in several organizations or even as independent individuals. Despite an often undeserved reputation for sectarianism, they were able to play an honorable role in the labor movement, especially through the impressive leadership they provided in the 1934 Minneapolis general strike. Pockets of working-class militants in various unions and industrial centers, as well as in unemployed and community struggles, continued to do what they could to advance class consciousness and the class struggle, and to keep alive revolutionary Socialist ideas. Trotskyist and Trotskyist-influenced intellectuals, writers, and artists made contributions to American culture, such as: James Burnham, Max Eastman, James T. Farrell, Sidney Hook, Irving Howe, Dwight Macdonald, Mary McCarthy, Philip Rahv, James Rorty, Meyer Schapiro, Edmund Wilson, and others (although some abandoned their left-wing commitments). One of the greatest legacies of the Trotskyists was their consistent anti-Stalinism in which they not only denounced Stalin's crimes, but also insisted that these were alien to Marxism, to the Russian Revolution of 1917, and to the goals and commitments of the early Communist movement. In later years, some also played a significant part in antiracist, antiwar, feminist, and other struggles.

The Lovestoneites have left a more complex legacy. Hoping that the Comintern would recognize them as having been right, they persisted in defending many of Stalin's policies—until by 1937 they recoiled with horror as the bloody purges of the 1930s

made it clear that there was no way back for them. One of their greatest contributions was the magnificent left-wing mural history of the United States painted by the great Mexican revolutionary muralist Diego Rivera at their New Workers School. They also made significant contributions in certain union struggles, including (along with Socialists and "mainstream" Communists) during the sit-down strikes of automobile workers. However, their role in unsavory union factional fights finally destroyed their credibility in the United Auto Workers. On the other hand, a prominent Lovestoneite, the popular Charles ("Sasha") Zimmerman, rose in the leadership of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU), and Lovestone became a close associate of ILGWU chieftain David Dubinsky (and eventually a significant figure in the AFL, after Dubinsky assured other AFL leaders that "the son of a bitch converted" to their own anti-Communist outlook). This was after their organization dissolved in 1941, and Lovestone went on to help develop and implement Cold War foreign policy in collaboration with the State Department and Central Intelligence Agency. Bertram Wolfe became an anti-Communist authority on the USSR and State Department employee. Another Lovestoneite, Will Herberg, became a prominent Jewish theologian and conservative intellectual. Ben Gitlow moved even further to the right as an associate of the John Birch Society.

Much of this reaction was related to revulsion over the fact that the Russian Revolution, in which so many idealistic hopes were invested, gave way to the murderous dictatorship of the Stalin regime. This reality (and the defense or denial of the reality) is one of the most negative legacies of American Communism's mainstream. A related problematic legacy was the tendency for Communists in various social struggles to tailor their efforts to harmonize with the dictates of the Stalin regime, sometimes to the detriment of those struggles. In addition, some were drawn into spy networks to assist the "homeland of socialism"—through the Comintern underground apparatus, the Soviet secret service, Soviet military espionage—in its battle against the capitalist enemy. These made up only a very small minority of Communists, and in some cases their stories did not end well. There was, for example, Juliet Stuart Poyntz, who took on trusted "underground" assignments, became disillusioned with Stalinism, and suddenly disappeared (perhaps kidnapped and murdered) in the 1930s. There were Whittaker Chambers and "Red spy queen" Elizabeth Bentley, who were idealistically drawn into "secret work" and then repelled by aspects of what they were doing, causing them to turn on their comrades and become professional witnesses against Communism. Such reactions fed into the anti-Communist hysteria of the Cold War era beginning in the late 1940s and caused many to view American Communism as simply a treasonous conspiracy.

The fact remains that the legacy of American Communism cannot simply be reduced to this negative set of events. Too many were heroically involved in the struggle for the economic betterment of the working class, for racial equality and human rights and against poverty, imperialism and militarism, and fascism. Too many people had made such involvements fundamental commitments of their lives for us to be able to exclude such idealistic impulses from the Communist legacy. People were drawn to this movement because they sought a world in which our economic resources would be democratically controlled and utilized to provide dignity, freedom, and equality for all people. Although many reject this vision as an impossible dream, it endures.

From the 1950s through the 1960s and beyond, many children of Communists (nicknamed "red diaper babies")—while often rejecting the Communist Party—went on to play important roles in struggles for political, economic, and social change. "Most red diaper babies struggle with the need to adapt the socialist values of childhood to capitalist adult reality, to walk a fine line between individual fulfillment and social responsibility," note Judy Kaplan and Linn Shapiro in their anthology *Red Diapers.* Many without such family backgrounds have also looked to retrieve what might be positive from the mixed legacies of U.S. Communism as they struggle to make the world a better place.

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Sacco and Vanzetti

On April 15, 1920, in Braintree, Massachusetts, a paymaster and his guard were carrying a factory payroll of $15,776. Two gunmen suddenly fired on them, grabbed the cash, and fled in a nearby automobile. Three weeks later, two friends, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, were arrested for the crime. Thus, the stage was set for the most notorious political trial in the twentieth century.

Their arrest coincided with the "Red-Scare" of 1919–1920, a period in U.S. history immediately following World War I, during which many people feared those labeled as "Reds," "Anarchists," and "foreign-born radical agitators." Neither Sacco nor Vanzetti had a criminal record, but they were recognized by the authorities for their involvement in strikes and antiwar demonstrations and for their close association with the Italian Anarchist Luigi Galleani. Both were committed Anarchist activists. Many liberals and most radicals feel the two men were tried for their political beliefs and not because they committed the robbery.

Trial Beginnings

In addition to the Braintree robbery, Vanzetti was charged with a holdup that had occurred on December 24, 1919, in Bridgewater, Massachusetts. Vanzetti was found guilty of this crime. Vanzetti's witnesses were primarily Italian immigrants who spoke little English, and he did not take the stand in his own defense. For this criminal offense, a crime in which no one was hurt, Vanzetti received a sentence much harsher than usual—ten to fifteen years. This signaled to the two men and their supporters a hostile bias on the part of the authorities that was political in nature and pointed to the need for a new defense strategy in the Braintree trial.

On the advice of the Anarchist militant and editor Carlo Tresca, new legal counsel was brought in—Fred H. Moore, the well-known Socialist lawyer from the West. He had collaborated in many labor and Industrial Workers of the World trials and was especially noted for his important role in the celebrated Joseph Ettor-Arturo Giovannitti case, which came out of the 1912 Lawrence, Massachusetts, textile strike. Moore decided it was no longer possible to defend Sacco and Vanzetti solely against the criminal charges of murder and robbery. Instead he would have them frankly acknowledge their anarchism in court, try to establish that their arrest and prosecution stemmed from their radical activities, and dispute the prosecution's insistence that only hard, nonpolitical evidence had implicated the two men in common crimes. Moore would try to expose the prosecution's hidden motive: its desire to aid the federal and military authorities in suppressing the Italian Anarchist movement to which Sacco and Vanzetti belonged.

Anarchist Roots

By trade, Sacco was a shoe worker and Vanzetti was a fish peddler. Both men were supporters of Galleani's journal *Cronaca Sovversiva*, the principal Italian Anarchist newspaper in the United States, which advocated "propaganda by the deed" (direct action in violent form) and revolutionary violence, including the use of dynamite and assassination. Such activities, they believed, were responses to the overwhelming violence of the state. During World War I, the paper was shut down for its radical views, and its editors, including Galleani, were deported to Italy in 1919 at the war's end.

Like most Anarchists, the followers of Galleani were against the war. In an article entitled "Matricolati!" (Registrants) published in *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Galleani advised his followers to avoid the draft and go underground. Heeding his call, Sacco and Vanzetti left for Mexico. Unable to find work, the two sneaked back across the border in September 1917. After working at a series of labor and construction jobs, Vanzetti

bought a fish cart, knives, and supplies from a friend returning to Italy and became a fish peddler. Sacco continued to earn his living as a shoe worker. He worked in factories and was on good terms with his employers. Sacco was also devoted to his wife Rosina and his son Dante. The family also included a daughter, Alba, who passed away in 1906 when she was barely a month old. Vanzetti never married or had children.

The first Italian Anarchist group formed in 1885 in New York City. One of the precipitating factors in the development of Italian anarchism was the Haymarket Affair of 1886–1887, which began when Chicago police fired into a crowd of striking workers at the McCormick Reaper Works, killing and wounding several men. In response, Anarchist and Socialist labor leaders organized a meeting near Chicago's Haymarket Square, and a riot broke out between police and workingmen, ultimately killing more than half a dozen police officers. By the 1890s, there were Italian Anarchist groups in Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, and San Francisco.

As historian Paul Avrich notes in *Anarchist Portraits* (1988), "another important stimulus was the arrival from Italy of a series of distinguished anarchist writers and speakers." Some like Galleani and Tresca made the United States their home. Galleani arrived in the United States in October 1901 at the age of forty. Settling in Paterson, New Jersey, he assumed the editorship of *La Questione Sociale*, the leading Anarchist periodical in the United States. On June 6, 1903, he launched *Cronaca Sovversiva* in Barre, Vermont, among the Italian stone and marble cutters.

Sacco and Vanzetti, like many Italian Anarchists, revered Galleani as a "patriarch of the movement." They considered themselves Anarchist-Communists and were dedicated to social revolution, rejecting the state and private property. Galleani's brand of anarchism appealed to a broad section of the Italian working class, including garment and construction workers, stonecutters, shoe workers, barbers, tailors, and machinists.

Unlike the followers of Tresca who adopted anarcho-syndicalism, Sacco and Vanzetti avoided the unions owing to their suspicion of hierarchical organizations. However, they were participants in strikes, Sacco in Hopedale in 1913 and Vanzetti at Plymouth in 1916. This was the character of the movement to which Sacco and Vanzetti adhered. They subscribed to *Cronaca Sovversiva*, attended political lectures, frequented the concerts and picnics, and acted in Anarchist plays. They took part in demonstrations and agitated during strikes.

Defending Sacco and Vanzetti

From 1920 to 1927, the plight of Sacco and Vanzetti was the primary concern of the Italian Anarchists. They formed the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee in order to raise funds and lecture in defense of their comrades. Other Anarchist ethnic groups—Jewish, German, Russian, and so on—rallied behind the cause. But the Anarchists were not alone. Moore's defense of the two men soon became so openly and energetically political that its scope quickly transcended its local roots. He organized public meetings, solicited the support of labor unions, contacted international organizations, initiated new investigations, and distributed tens of thousands of defense pamphlets throughout the United States and the world. Much to the chagrin of some Anarchist comrades, Moore would even enlist the aid of the Italian government in the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti. The Communist International urged all Communists, Socialists, Anarchists, and trade unions to organize efforts to rescue Sacco and Vanzetti. Moore's aggressive strategy transformed a little-known case into a cause celebre.

Leftists and liberals accepted Moore's assertion that Sacco and Vanzetti were being tried for their political beliefs. Moore urged that the prosecution was not using strictly nonpolitical evidence and that their case was based on facts that had no bearing on the murders. However, Moore's attempt to convince the jury that the goal of the prosecution was suppressing the Italian Anarchist movement fell on deaf ears. Following a six-week bitter trial, Sacco and Vanzetti were found guilty of robbery and murder on July 14, 1921.

But the guilty verdict was hardly the last page in their legal battle. It would drag on until 1927 during which time there were many motions, appeals, and petitions for a new trial on various court levels. The motions contained evidence of perjury and comments by Judge Webster Thayer referring to the two men as "those anarchist bastards."

After the failure of Moore's strategy, Sacco and Vanzetti hired a respected Boston lawyer, William Thompson. Thompson abandoned Moore's political approach and engaged strictly in jurisprudence. Nonetheless, the political dimensions of the case continued to be voiced by Anarchists, Socialists, liberals, and trade unionists.

Demonstrations took place in the major cities of

Despite a paucity of evidence, anarchists Bartolomeo Vanzetti (center) and Nicola Sacco (right) were convicted of murder in 1921. Many charged that they were really tried for their extreme political beliefs, and liberals and radicals worldwide mobilized in their defense. They were executed in 1927. *(Brown Brothers)*

the United States and in France, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, and Scandinavia. Thousands of French police troops were needed to prevent a mob from besieging the American embassy in Paris. Scientist Albert Einstein, English novelist H.G. Wells, English labor leader Thomas Mann, and even the Vatican were strong Sacco and Vanzetti supporters who protested their conviction.

Ultimately, all the efforts were to no avail. Sacco and Vanzetti were executed on August 23, 1927, a date that became a watershed in twentieth-century American history. Serious doubts still surround the verdict. Indeed, no other convicted murderers have received a celebrated place in the *Dictionary of American Biography*. Furthermore, the Sacco-Vanzetti case was inspiration for a few movies, several poems, six plays, and nine novels. As historian Robert D'Attilio notes, "It became the last of a long train of events that had driven any sense of utopian vision out of American life."

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Unemployment Movement

Following the collapse of the economy after the stock market crash of 1929, Americans confronted the specter of steadily increasing unemployment that robbed them of their jobs and led many to abandon the voluntaristic assumptions of laissez-faire economics. As the ranks of the jobless swelled with the advent of widespread unemployment, large numbers of displaced workers turned to left-led voluntary associations and political organizations for leadership in the struggle to meet the most basic of human needs. The result was the development of mass organizations that displayed the characteristic features of social movements, including evidence of spontaneity, grassroots pressure, and democratic control. As unemployed activism escalated, various political organizations embraced the cause of the jobless and worked to advance partisan programs through engagement in the unemployed movement.

Communist Party Councils

The first group to offer meaningful assistance to the unemployed was the Communist Party (CP), which had long championed the cause of the dispossessed in the American underclass. Always aggressive in their search for adherents, party organizers actively recruited on the breadlines, at the plant gates, and in relief offices in an effort to broaden their support base among the jobless. One of the earliest mass actions occurred on March 6, 1930, when in a coordinated nationwide demonstration hundreds of thousands filled the streets of the major cities and demanded government action to meet the needs of dislocated workers and their families. Even CP activists were stunned by the size and intensity of the International Unemployment Day demonstrations. Success fueled the party's determination to mount a mass movement by creating a national organization to promote the interests of the unemployed.

The result was the establishment in summer 1930 of the Unemployed Councils of the United States, a body intended to advance the agenda of the jobless and link them with employed workers in the struggle to improve the lives and status of impoverished workers and their families. In Detroit, New York, and Chicago, militant organizations carried out jobless demonstrations, eviction protests, and welfare office mediation on behalf of relief re-

This gripping image conveys both the depth of the Depression and the determination of the unemployed to gain relief. *(Brown Brothers)*

Unemployed veterans of World War I descended on Washington, D.C., in the spring of 1932 to demand that Congress authorize immediate cash payments, or "bonuses," as compensation for their military service. With no place to stay, some of the bonus marchers camped out in front of the Capitol Building on July 13. Two weeks later, federal troops forcibly evicted some 2,000 veterans, killing two. *(Brown Brothers)*

cipients. Although the Councils were loosely coordinated by the Communist Party's designated leaders, one of the greatest strengths of these organizations lay in the substantial independent initiative exercised by the local Councils and their leaders. This decentralization enabled local organizations to move quickly and decisively in response to emergency situations such as evictions or denials of public assistance. Although there is little evidence of mass conversion to Communist Party ideology, it is clear that the jobless knew that at the local level it was the Councils and their leaders who provided the most reliable support when they were confronted by personal crises. Consequently, party organizers enjoyed a level of respect and acceptance rarely achieved in post-Depression years.

Between 1929 and 1933, the Unemployed Councils worked to raise public and political consciousness of their program through a series of highly publicized national events, such as the national hunger marches of 1931, 1932, and 1933, the Bonus March of 1932, and selected efforts to establish the unity of employed and unemployed workers in strike situations. Led by the tireless Communist organizer Herbert Benjamin, the Councils worked to advance a national agenda that featured a demand for unemployment insurance, greater federal relief allocations, and public employment programs. Before 1934, the Unemployed Councils were at the forefront of the national unemployed movement, in part due to their persistence in local organizing and commitment to short-term goals. Their revolutionary rhetoric drew a tepid response, but their success in addressing human needs drew the support and gratitude of the jobless and dispossessed.

The League for Industrial Democracy

So successful were the Communists in the early Depression years that other radical groups determined to enter the field. Struggling to break the hold of the Socialist old guard, Socialist Party (SP) militants moved to compete with the Councils for the loyalty and allegiance of the unemployed. These efforts began with the establishment of the Wisconsin Workers Committee and the Chicago Workers Committee on Unemployment. Active as early as 1932, the Illinois group expressed the spirit of a younger element in the SP that grew out of the League for Industrial Democracy (LID) and dedicated itself to organizing the unorganized rather than engaging in doctrinal debates. The LID Socialists, with the support of the party's national executive committee, moved to contest CP domination of the unemployed movement by employing some of the same techniques used by their adversaries. By emphasizing grassroots organizing at the local level, the Workers Committee competed with the Councils and by 1934 had become successful advocates for the jobless and established a firm foothold in such places as Chicago, Milwaukee, and New York. While the Unemployed Councils were declining in influence, the Socialist expression of the unemployed movement demonstrated remarkable growth that culminated in the organization of the SP-sponsored Workers Alliance of America at the national level in 1935. The Alliance, under the aggressive leadership of New Yorker David Lasser, soon came to dominate the evolving mass movement.

Musteites and the National Unemployed League

Still another entry into the field of unemployed organizing was the National Unemployed League, which grew rapidly in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Ohio. Led by the radical A. J. Muste and his followers, many of them associated with the Brookwood Labor College. This organization included Socialists, Communists, and Trotskyites, and often members of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, which aspired to create an independent worker movement on the left capable of competing with the American Federation of Labor. Combining forces with the Seattle-based self-help cooperative known as the Unemployed Citizens League, the Musteites and their allies came to be called the National Unemployed Leagues. The organization was strongest in the coal-mining and steel-producing areas of the East and Midwest. Formally established in 1933 at a national conference in Columbus, Ohio, the League experienced disagreements between the advocates of self-help cooperative programs and radicals determined to engage in labor actions and high-profile demonstrations. Perhaps the most important success for the Musteites occurred in the Toledo Auto-Lite strike of 1934, when the Lucas County Unemployed Leagues joined hands with striking workers in a dramatic illustration of unity between employed and jobless workers, thus realizing the early dream of the Unemployed Councils.

By 1935, the Workers Alliance of America had grown into a major national organization with a membership of 400,000 jobless workers in eighteen states. Truly national in scope, the Alliance had eclipsed the Unemployed Councils and enhanced the prestige of the Socialist Party among the nation's unemployed. In early 1936, the stage was set for the next major development in the unfolding unemployed movement. By this time, the Communist Party had entered the Popular Front period, during which it endorsed cooperation with the non-Communist left, including Socialists and New Deal Democrats. The change in approach facilitated a new openness to the idea of a unified unemployed movement, which ended in the merger of the Councils, Leagues, and the Workers Alliance in 1936. Although the majority of the Alliance's restructured national executive board was non-Communist and Lasser retained his position as president, Benjamin assumed the important position of national executive secretary.

These changes coincided with the launching of the New Deal's ambitious program for the unemployed under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, which created the Works Progress Administration (WPA). The new federal work relief program was a direct stimulus to increased militancy and organizational activity among Workers Alliance participants. The burgeoning federal work relief program provided the Alliance with a fertile field for organizational growth, as the concentration of workers on the projects facilitated recruitment. With this expansion, the unemployed movement entered a new phase characterized by an emphasis on lobbying at the national level for favorable legislation and high-profile intervention on behalf of the jobless. The practical consequence was that from 1936 on, the Workers Alliance came to function more as a legitimate labor union for its unemployed members and less as an advocate for relief recipients and their families. Lasser and Benjamin interacted easily with Roosevelt administration officials, who came to regard them as representatives of workers on government projects.

As a result of this gradual integration into the New Deal structure, the unemployed movement was eventually coopted by the forces of liberalism, though radicals like Benjamin continued to exercise strong influence on its policies and direction. Similarly, many of the Alliance's most gifted organizers were drawn into the Congress of Industrial Organizations' (CIO) struggle to organize the unorganized in the mass industries such as steel, auto, and rubber. Led by the United Automobile Workers (UAW), some CIO unions moved to incorporate unemployed organizing into the fabric of the international unions. Their goal was to maintain Depression-era membership and educate the jobless as a bulwark against their use as strikebreaking pawns in the labor-management struggle. As a result of such strategies, the unemployed movement functioned as a training ground for union organizers who became the shock troops of the industrial union movement of the late 1930s and early 1940s.

As the economy revived with the advent of World War II, some leaders of the unemployed movement reinvented themselves as advocates for the "unemployables" of the labor force: women, youth, and the handicapped. From Michigan, for example, the UAW Welfare Department exerted political pressure in Washington in hopes of converting WPA into an agency that might meet the needs of these traditionally ignored elements in the workforce. Simultaneously, the smaller and politically isolated Workers Alliance devoted its energies more and more to the

chronically unemployed and long-term relief recipients. The Alliance's shrinking membership base and the cumulative impact of Red-baiting attacks doomed the organization to obscurity in an era marked by an expanding economy.

By 1939, economic recovery and renewed employment opportunity had begun to undermine the unemployed movement as a vibrant social force. The movement was also damaged by sharpened allegations of Communist infiltration as both the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Committee on Appropriations took aim at the Workers Alliance. Charges of Communist influence, cooptation by New Deal liberalism, the reality of economic revival, engagement in the mainstream union movement, shrinkage of WPA employment, and the onset of war all combined to fatally weaken a movement that had played a key role in sheltering the jobless and the hard core "unemployables" in capitalism's darkest hour.

Conclusion

Although the movement faded with the economic upturn, it had contributed in significant ways to the advancement of Depression victims' interests. Advocacy efforts for welfare recipients and public works employees had filled an important gap in the social safety net by shielding workers from economic disaster. Eviction reversals, benefit increases, counseling, and assistance in establishing entitlement were among the concrete services the movement provided for the discards of Depression America. Pressure group activity and lobbying also aided in the enactment of unemployment compensation legislation and complemented liberal efforts to expand WPA programs and other public employment opportunities in the troubled 1930s. Moreover, one of the key achievements of the unemployed movement was certainly its role as a school for unionism, in which the jobless were reminded of the common interests shared by employed and unemployed workers as part of the working class.

When the unemployed refused to cross picket lines and took their organizing experiences into the nation's factories upon reemployment, they often became dedicated union activists who brought industrial unionism to a receptive workforce. Under radical leadership, the unemployed movement had demonstrated how collective action could meet the needs of individuals who committed themselves to participation in a wider social community of human interest. In the process, grassroots unemployed organizers served the most immediate interests of the jobless by creating a web of organizations and activists that constituted an influential mass movement rooted in unprecedented, if transitory, class solidarity

James J. Lorence

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Unemployed Councils

The unemployed movements of the 1930s were a powerful response to an economic disaster that helped to give hope and sustenance to unemployed people and their families throughout much of the United States. It was at one and the same time a national movement and a highly localized movement. In addition to providing immediate assistance to many thousands of people, it helped to create significant pressure on local, state, and national governments to provide relief, including substantial social legislation, for those afflicted by unemployment and poverty. It also helped to give significant numbers of people political experience and organizational training that would be utilized in other struggles—most dramatically, the organizing drives and strikes of mass production workers during the 1930s and 1940s spearheaded by the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). It was an important instance in which left-wing organizations in the United States played a vital role and achieved mass influence.

The Great Depression

The stock market crash in October 1929 signaled the beginning of the Great Depression that afflicted the United States and the world economy for a decade. A salient feature of the economic downturn, of course, was massive unemployment. The number of those who were jobless rose from 492,000 at the time of the crash to 4,065,000 three months later in January 1930. By September of 1930, the number passed 5 million, and in November, 6 million. In January 1931, it was up to 8 million, and by October, it was more than 9 million. It soared to over 12 million by 1933, and before the year was over there were more than 15 million unemployed.

Joblessness led to an inability of millions of workers and their families to secure income for food, clothing, shelter, as well as fuel and other necessities. For many, the consequences were hunger, utility shutoffs, and foreclosures on homes with unpaid mortgages or apartments with unpaid rents. Individual people and individual families dealt with these problems as best they could—seeking help from other family members, relying on charity, asking for food and odd jobs wherever they might be found, and in some cases building little shacks for shelter outside of city limits (in some instances these mushroomed into shantytowns called "Hoovervilles" in bitter tribute to President Herbert Hoover, with his false promise that "prosperity is just around the corner").

The Early Unemployed Movement

The unemployed movement was a response to these circumstances—and to a realization by many people that these were common problems that could be adequately solved only through collective action. Much of this movement took the form of collective self-help—people working together to secure food, clothing, shelter, and fuel through a variety of methods: raids on grocery stores, negotiations with farmers to gather crops that would otherwise be wasted, digging and operating illegal "bootleg" coal mines, and setting up increasingly complex bartering systems (selling labor for food, selling food for clothes, selling clothes for food, selling food for haircuts, etc.).

The most effective expressions of the movement were organized by left-wing organizations. The first to take dramatic action was the Communist Party, affiliated with the Communist International, which was able to point out that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, under Josef Stalin, was the only country not suffering from this capitalist economic collapse. The Communist Party organized a network of Unemployed Councils that came together as the Unemployed Council of the USA in 1930 and was reorganized in 1934 as the national Unemployed Council.

Some of the most innovative efforts were carried

Americans thrown out of work by the Great Depression, such as these in Philadelphia, organized Unemployed Councils throughout the country.
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out by an offshoot of Brookwood Labor College, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action (CPLA), led by A.J. Muste (hence sometimes referred to as "the Musteites"). The CPLA later became the American Workers Party and then merged with dissident Communists influenced by the ideas of Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky (known as Trotskyists) into the Workers Party of the United States. The Communist Party organized the Unemployed Councils of the United States of America. The Musteites organized what were generally called Unemployed Leagues, culminating in the formation of the National Unemployed Leagues in 1933.

The more moderate Socialist Party—particularly as radical young activists entered its ranks under the impact of the Depression—soon played a prominent role in a number of areas. Socialist-led formations had various names (the Chicago Workers Committee, the People's Unemployed League of Baltimore, the Unemployed Workers League, etc.) but finally merged with each other (and with the Association of the Unemployed, led by dissident Communists associated with Jay Lovestone) to form the Workers' Alliance of America in 1935.

Historians have sometimes been inclined to dismiss such organizational divisions in the unemployed movement as reflecting sectarian "turf battles" between competing left-wing groups. While this sort of

thing was not absent, there were more substantial reasons for the divisions.

In the early 1930s, the Communist Party was guided by the view of Stalin and others that the revolutionary period initiated by the Russian Revolution of 1917 had in the 1920s given way to a second period of capitalist stabilization and prosperity. Now, the Communists maintained, the Depression signaled *a third period* in which capitalism would be overthrown under the leadership of Communist Parties throughout the world. This third-period Communism was often characterized by a recklessly "revolutionary" attitude and a refusal to work in coalition with other left-wing organizations—qualities that affected much Communist work in the unemployed movement.

While the Unemployed Councils developed a reputation for being militantly confrontational, for example, in bodily blocking evictions, the Socialist Party often involved itself in efforts to work with local relief authorities to secure financial assistance for threatened families. The Unemployed Leagues effectively blended both approaches and also often sought to root their efforts in local self-help efforts and to generate revolutionary consciousness among participants. They did so not with appeals to the Russian Revolution, but with references to American revolutionary traditions (such as the frequent use of the "Don't Tread on Me" flag of 1776).

Dramatic Action

Various components of the unemployed movement engaged in a number of dramatic actions. The Unemployed Councils organized massive protests on March 6, 1930, turning out perhaps half a million nationwide, in about twenty cities: 100,000 each in New York City and Detroit, about 50,000 each in Chicago and Boston, 30,000 in Philadelphia, 25,000 in Cleveland, 20,000 apiece in Pittsburgh and Youngstown, and so on. In many cases, the police attacked the demonstrations, arresting more than 200 and injuring at least 200 more ("Communists have no Constitutional rights," insisted the police commissioner of Los Angeles)—though a number of city governments also pledged aid to the unemployed.

Hunger marches were organized in dozens of cities in the following year. In 1931 and again in 1932, the Unemployed Councils organized hunger marches in Washington, D.C.—the first consisting of less than 1,700 delegates from various cities, and the second with 3,000 delegates, who were attacked by the police.

National marches on the nation's capital were also staged by less radical ideologues. Father James R. Cox, a Catholic priest from Pittsburgh, led a 1932 hunger march of 12,000. Later that year, 22,000 unemployed veterans from World War I converged on Washington, setting up a shantytown and calling on the government for early payment of a $1,000 bonus that had been promised to each of them by law. The law stipulated that the bonus would be paid in 1945, but the veterans argued that they needed it now. Eventually, President Herbert Hoover had troops forcibly disperse the veterans and burn down their shanties. "The Bonus march in the summer of 1932 was one of the most instructive things that ever happened in this country," commented novelist John Dos Passos. "Both its failures and its successes cast light on the realities of popular government under the great monopolies." (In the radical high-tide of 1936—overriding the veto of President Franklin Roosevelt—Congress would pass the Patman Bill, which finally gave the veterans their bonus.)

Perhaps more important for the lives of those suffering from the Depression were the activities taking place in the neighborhoods. Richard Boyer and Herbert Morais have offered a composite anecdote that gives a sense of a more localized dramatic action, of friends and neighbors who came to the aid of unemployed Peter Grossup and his wife, when they were being evicted from their house, after missing mortgage payments, by five deputies from the sheriff's department:

> A tall Negro, apparently in charge, stood next to Mr. Flaherty [his neighbor]. . . . Mr. Flaherty pulled at him again and said, "We're from the Unemployed Council. We want to help."
>
> "Well, my God," shrieked Mr. Grossup, "if you want [to] help, do something then!"
>
> The tall Negro looked briefly at the five deputies on the porch and then at his thirty unemployed.
>
> "Move it back," he said.
>
> In an instant before Mr. Grossup's very eyes all of his prized possessions, his easy chair, even the big refrigerator, the bed posts, the pictures, everything was streaming back into his home. The neighbors began grabbing pots and pans and mattresses and stumbling a little and laughing wildly and calling out in excited tones, clumping up onto the porch and into the house. There was a little scuffle once on the porch with the deputies but more and more neighbors were helping and they just pressed in.
>
> Mr. Grossup never knew how it all happened. It was a happy blur. He had his home again. He had strength. He had friends. . . .

Such activities had effects on a number of levels. "Social workers everywhere told me that without street demonstrations and hunger marches of the Unemployed Councils no relief whatever would have been provided in some communities," according to one reporter, "while in others even less help than that which had been extended would have been forthcoming." One of the leaders of the Unemployed Leagues, A.J. Muste, later described such struggles as "providing an outlet to the unemployed who were no longer passively submitting to their lot, actually ameliorating their condition somewhat, and contributing to the channeling of dissent which, among other things, led to the election of Roosevelt in 1932."

Thousands of protesters—mobilized by Unemployed Councils, Unemployed Leagues, and the Workers' Alliance—converged on state capitols at various times, putting pressure on the legislators. One of the most dramatic protests was a 1936 sit-in at the New Jersey State Legislature, staged by the Workers' Alliance, with unemployed workers occupying the seats normally filled by politicians. They made humorous speeches, "passed" legislation to aid the unemployed, and attracted considerable media attention. The Workers' Alliance issued a pamphlet describing the event by a young militant named George Breitman, who expressed the views of many who were radicalized in this period:

> The interests of the ruling, the boss class, are opposite to those of the exploited, the ruling class; therefore the workers can expect nothing but betrayal from the representatives of the ruling class, their politicians, and must be prepared to fight them for everything they want.

One of the most dramatic developments involved the militant Toledo Auto-Lite Strike in 1934, in which the Lucus County Unemployed League mobilized masses of unemployed workers to join in actively supporting the embattled workers, helping them to win their strike. But people demonstrated loyalty to the radical organizations of the unemployed because of the practical efforts described by Ernest Rice McKinney, a black leader of the Unemployed Leagues:

> We actually got them placed on relief, we actually kept them on relief, we fought the relief organization on behalf of the unemployed very concretely. We got food orders for them, we got houses for them to live in, we got clothing for them. We put their furniture back in the house when it was set out on the street. We actually turned their gas on when it had been turned off. We wired their houses for electricity when the current had been cut off. We did very concrete things.

Unity and Decline

By 1936, the various left-wing currents seemed to be converging sufficiently to facilitate the unification of the major components of the unemployed movement. After Musteites merged with Trotskyists in 1935, and then the combined organization began to gravitate toward the radicalized Socialist Party in 1936, the Unemployed Leagues decided to merge into the Workers' Alliance. As the Communist Party shifted away from its earlier "third-period" ultra-leftism toward favoring united-front efforts with other left-wing and even liberal currents, the Unemployed Councils also merged into the Workers' Alliance, with Socialist David Lasser and Communist Herbert Benjamin sharing the leadership of the unified movement.

The reasons for unification were also related to larger developments. At the beginning of the Depression, people responded in very personalized ways, and as individual responses were transformed into collective action, the targets were initially local relief agencies, landlords, and city governments—then state governments. The business and laissez-faire orientation of the national government under Herbert Hoover made it an ideal target for angry protests, but not a likely source of assistance. By the second year of Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal" in 1934, however, national pressure on the policies of the federal government would have greater impact.

Roosevelt initiated a number of important programs that helped the unemployed. A Public Workers Administration (PWA) received billions of dollars in the course of the Depression. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was established in 1933, and over a nine-year period it employed a total of 2.5 million young men (though only 300,000 to 500,000 at any one time)—living in rural camps, planting millions of trees, fighting hundreds of forest fires, building 42,000 dams, creating hundreds of parks and public camp sites and thousands of miles of hiking trails, laying 45,000 miles of telephone lines. Even more ambitious was the Works Progress Administration (WPA), established in 1935 and employing as many as 2 million men and women at any one time (though drastically fewer before it went out of existence in the early 1940s. In addition to manual workers (building roads, bridges, schools, swimming pools, parks and post offices), the WPA employed clerical workers, teachers,

writers, artists, musicians, and others. Of course, there were other forms of government assistance as well; by 1938, a total of 6,641,000 households (representing 20,581,000 individuals, about 20 percent of the population) were receiving some form of public assistance from local, state, and federal agencies, but of these about one-third were on WPA.

In addition to pushing for such programs as these (and for even greater funding to help expand them), the Workers' Alliance, as had the various earlier groups, fought hard for other legislation, including Social Security and unemployment insurance. More than this, the Workers' Alliance organized WPA and CCC workers, functioning as a union of federal employees, struggling for and even going on strike for improved working conditions, for back pay, and for increased pay when hours were increased. By 1938, it claimed a membership of 800,000.

A weakness of the Workers' Alliance, over time, was its increasingly close relationship with, and even growing dependency on, the Roosevelt administration. This relationship may have been understandable given some of the New Deal policies, and it was also related to the pro-Roosevelt shift in Communist Party perspectives, as its united-front orientation evolved into what the Communist International hailed as the People's Front. This emphasized that—in the face of Hitler's aggressive policies toward the USSR and other countries—the choice was not between capitalism and socialism but instead "between bourgeois democracy and fascism," and that Roosevelt's programs (major social reforms in the United States and friendly relations with the USSR) represented, as Communist leader Earl Browder put it, "a People's Front program of an advanced type."

When Roosevelt began to slash New Deal programs in the late 1930s, shifting toward preparations for World War II, the Workers' Alliance was not in a position to provide an effective challenge. Moreover, when the Communist Party defended the September 1939 Hitler-Stalin Non-Aggression Pact (which shocked many on the left), there was an eruption of sharp Socialist-Communist conflict within the Workers' Alliance, culminating in the angry resignation of Lasser and other Socialists.

The unemployed movement had been significantly weakened by other factors as well. There were built-in stabilities. Unemployment is a difficult and demoralizing situation, often making it difficult to sustain ongoing political activity. The most energetic and highly motivated individuals in the unemployed movement will generally seek to end their unemployment if possible through obtaining good jobs in the private sector—and once they do that, they normally leave the unemployed movement. The decisive factor, of course, was that the Depression came to an end with U.S. preparations for World War II, and the evaporation of unemployment naturally brought the evaporation of the unemployed movement.

Nonetheless, the unemployed movements of the 1930s had an enduring impact in more than one way. Hundreds of thousands of people throughout the country benefited from direct contact with these movements, and millions benefited from their successful campaigns for relief to the unemployed. Countless numbers of people crossed racial, ethnic, and religious barriers to join in a common struggle that benefited all—and this had a powerful impact on the consciousness of many. The political education and experience gained by participants was also felt in innumerable ways—particularly among mass production workers who returned to work and helped build powerful industrial unions of the CIO, but also among those who would struggle for civil rights and a variety of social reforms in future years.

Paul Le Blanc

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Strikes of 1934

The strikes of 1934—particularly those in Toledo, Minneapolis, and San Francisco—were a turning point in the revitalization of the U.S. labor movement, opening the way to the dramatic upsurge through which millions of industrial workers, and others as well, joined the ranks of organized labor. Through tireless organizing efforts and militant strikes, these workers went on to bring dramatic improvements to the quality of life of the U.S. working class and to change the face of the American political scene.

The early years of the Great Depression found the organized labor movement at a low point after a decade of decline during the 1920s. Through business assaults (supported by the government), union membership declined from 5 million in 1920 to 3.5 million in 1923, with the membership of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) remaining steady at just under 3 million throughout the decade. Labor journalist Edward Levinson commented that "from 1923 to 1933 was the Federation's period of sterility." AFL leaders tended to emphasize their respectability, their opposition to all forms of "radicalism," and their desire to contribute to the "efficiency" of the business economy. More than this, they tended to dismiss the possibility of organizing the majority of unskilled and semiskilled mass production workers, favoring craft unions of skilled workers. Critics denounced the AFL as the "American Separation of Labor" because, ignoring the mass of unorganized workers, it focused on the separate jurisdictions and the various jurisdictional disputes of the craft unions. Nor did they put forward any vision for dealing with the Great Depression, which began in 1929, that was significantly different from that of the conservative Republican president, Herbert Hoover.

The massive unemployment dramatically contributed to the further erosion of AFL membership, which sagged to 2 million. Employers launched an assault on the wages and working conditions of those workers still "lucky enough to have jobs"—and the only significant labor battles of the early Depression years were those engaged in by unemployed workers, led by the political radicals who were despised by the AFL chieftains.

Elements in the labor movement—ranging from dissidents associated with Brookwood Labor College to John L. Lewis, the relatively conservative (but shrewd) autocrat of the United Mine Workers of America—had been pressing for the AFL to shift to a more inclusive, active, and bold orientation required to match the changing times. The explosions of 1934 would provide them with irrefutable arguments.

Militant Upsurge

In Minneapolis, Vincent Raymond Dunne and other dissident Communist followers of Leon Trotsky (who were opposed to Josef Stalin's dictatorship, which had taken over in the decade following the 1917 Russian Revolution) led thousands of Teamsters and others to victory through a militant general strike that used bold new tactics. In San Francisco, mainstream Communists allied with Harry Bridges led West Coast longshoremen to a partial victory after a hard-fought general strike. In Ohio, Toledo Auto-Lite workers, led by A.J. Muste and his Socialist followers in the American Workers Party, won a similar victory.

The Toledo Auto-Lite Strike began on February 23 and stretched to June 4. The Minneapolis Teamsters strikes came in three phases: a strike of coal-yard workers, February 7–9, which established Local 574 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, which went on to wage citywide strikes from May 15 to May 25 and July 16 to August 22. The San Francisco longshoremen's strike erupted on May 9 and was settled on July 31. There was a labor upsurge throughout the country during the year, with gains being made by mine workers, garment workers, clothing workers, and others.

Most dramatic was a national textile workers strike lasting from September 1 to September 22 under the leadership of the United Textile Workers; this strike was especially notable for mobilizing thousands of hard-pressed workers throughout the South who displayed remarkable determination and courage. But with minimal strike funds and illusions that the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt would support them, they could not withstand the brutal and violent repression (sixteen workers were killed and many others were wounded) orchestrated by powerful mill owners and their political friends. Unlike so many of the other battles of 1934, the national textile strike went down to bitter defeat (15,000 workers were fired and blacklisted), setting back the cause of southern labor for many years to come.

Yet the balance of power in the labor struggles of 1934 tilted decisively in labor's favor. The strikes that proved to be decisive were those of Toledo, Minneapolis, and San Francisco.

Common Patterns

As outlined by A.J. Muste, the three struggles shared several key elements.

> The methods employed in the Auto-Lite strike—calm defiance of injunctions, cooperation between unemployed organizations and unions, dramatization of the strike issue to bring the masses out to observe and participate in picketing, the threat of a local general strike by the city central body, persistent effort by groups of advanced workers with a revolutionary outlook but a realistic union policy—brought the Auto-Lite strike to an end with a partial victory for the union. Before a year passed, these methods had led to the complete unionization of the Auto-Lite plant and of the entire auto parts industry in Toledo. In other cities and industries these same methods, in many cases applied by workers consciously following the Toledo example, brought complete or partial victory in a great series of struggles which made the year 1934 one of the most notable in the history of the American working class.

Of special importance were the left-wing groups that helped to provide, influence, and back up the capable people with fiercely radical ideas who led the struggles. "The dynamic intervention of a revolutionary workers organization, the American Workers Party, seemed to have been required before that outcome could be achieved," noted Muste's comrade, strike leader Louis Budenz. "The officials in the [AFL-sponsored] Federal Automobile Workers Union would have lost the strike if left to their own resources."

"Our policy was to organize and build strong unions so workers could have something to say about their own lives and assist in changing the present order into a socialist society," V.R. Dunne matter-of-factly explained when he spoke of his efforts in leading workers of his hometown to victory. "Probably four or five hundred workers in Minneapolis knew 'Ray' personally," journalist Charles Walker later commented. "They formed their own opinions—that he was honest, intelligent, and selfless, and a damn good organizer for the truck drivers' union to have. They had always known him to be a Red; that was no news."

In addition to the basic methods Muste described from the Toledo experience, innovations in the Minneapolis strikes included: the use of "flying squadrons" (roving pickets utilizing automobiles and directed via radio from a central command point); the establishment of a strike headquarters that would include a commissary to help feed strikers and their families, and a hospital; the development of a women's auxiliary to facilitate involvement in the strike of wives, sisters, mothers, and sweethearts (among others) in the multiple activities and tasks connected with the struggle; the production of a fairly professional daily strike newspaper to tell the strikers' side of the story, *The Organizer,* which was full of information and humor.

On the West Coast, Harry Bridges, leader of the radicalized International Longshore and Warehouseman's Union that emerged from the San Francisco strike, did not hesitate in expressing the opinion that "the capitalistic form of society . . . means the exploitation of a lot of people for a profit and a complete disregard of their interests for that profit, [and] I haven't much use for that." Relying on a substantial core of left-wing activists (with the Communist Party in particular committing its newspaper, legal and other professional assistance, and its substantial cadres to the struggle), Bridges was able to mobilize a powerful force capable of doing battle with the immense power deployed by West Coast business interests.

As in Toledo and Minneapolis, there was a need for mass picketing, and the willingness to engage in pitched battles with company thugs and the forces of "law and order" that were defending the rights of employers to break unions resulted in casualties on both sides. In all three cases, the National Guard was

brought in, and martial law was declared. In San Francisco, the deaths of two strikers occasioned a call for a massive funeral march—"a stupendous and reverent procession that astounded the city," wrote the *San Francisco Chronicle,* as thousands of union members marched to honor the martyrs and their cause. And as with the other two key strikes, the entire labor movement was drawn into the struggle, largely through rank-and-file pressure, through a general strike that brought the city to a standstill.

In Toledo, Minneapolis, and San Francisco, the strikes ended with compromise settlements and partial victories. But in each case, this decisively shifted the balance of power and provided the essential foothold through which more gains were rapidly achieved. Each city soon attained the status of strong "union town."

Paving the Way

The 1934 strikes not only inspired workers in many other areas to go and do likewise, but it convinced certain key AFL figures—John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers, Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, David Dubinsky of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and others—that it was time to form a Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO, which later formed a separate Congress of Industrial Organizations). This soon resulted in a decisive break with the more conservative leadership of the AFL.

Under the CIO banner, a number of powerful new industrial unions came into existence, representing auto workers, steelworkers, electrical workers, rubber workers, longshore and maritime workers, transit workers, and many more. These unions were built, in large measure, by following the example and utilizing the techniques associated with the 1934 victories. The AFL leadership responded by shifting away from its outright opposition to industrial unionism. By 1937, the CIO had 1.5 million members, and the AFL had grown to 2.5 million. Both federations would continue to grow through the 1940s.

This not only brought immediate and tangible gains to the workers who won union recognition and consequent improvements in working conditions and living standards, but it also created an organized force that pushed many politicians (including President Roosevelt) to adopt pro-labor policies. As a result, the balance of power in U.S. politics would be changed for many years to come.

Paul Le Blanc

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Brookwood Labor College

Brookwood Labor College, one of the outstanding educational institutions in the United States, played an essential part in the training of labor activists—intellectually and organizationally—who revitalized the labor movement through the creation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in the 1930s. Established in Katonah, New York, in 1921, it was animated by the tension between an institutionalized union movement functioning as part of a capitalist economy and the vision of democratic and militant workers' struggles that would create a future free from oppression and exploitation. The tension intensified and culminated in fissures among the school's founders and faculty, and finally in Brookwood's closing in 1937.

Workers' Education and Brookwood's Beginnings

In the wake of the radicalization that issued from the disillusionment over World War I and the hopes generated by the Russian Revolution, many left-wing trade unionists and radical educators in the United States—in part influenced by workers' education efforts in England—moved to establish "labor colleges" across the United States. In 1921, a Workers Education Bureau was created to help coordinate such efforts, and its first president was James Maurer, who explained that "the underlying purpose of workers' education is the desire for a better social order . . . and the ultimate liberation of the working masses." He urged that it not be utilized to help students rise out of the working class, but rather that it help them to "serve the labor movement in particular and society in general."

Some workers' education efforts took the form of evening classes sponsored by unions and central labor councils, whereas others involved summer schools, such as the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women or the Wisconsin School for Workers (affiliated with the University of Wisconsin). A third form consisted of residential labor schools, of which Brookwood Labor College was the most prominent.

At the end of World War I, well-to-do pacifists William and Helen Fincke, deeply influenced by Walter Rauschenbusch's Christian Socialist Social Gospel perspectives and by John Dewey's approach to progressive education, had sought to establish a school for working-class children in Westchester County, on a beautiful wooded estate about forty miles from New York City. Concluding (in consultation with their close friends Toscan and Josephine Bennett) that the effort should be shifted in the direction of workers' education, the Finckes called a conference of left-wing labor activists to discuss such a project.

Among those who gathered at Katonah were John Brophy, president of District 2 of the United Mine Workers of America; Jay Brown, president of the International Timber Workers Union; Fannia Cohn, education director of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; John Fitzpatrick, president of the Illinois Federation of Labor; Charles Kutz, head of Pennsylvania Railroad employees in the International Association of Machinists; Abraham Lefkowitz, vice president of the American Federation of Teachers; James Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor; A.J. (Abraham Johannas) Muste, president of the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America; Joseph Schlossberg, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; and Rose Schneiderman, president of the Women's Trade Union League. They agreed on four basic points that would be the basis for the establishment of Brookwood Labor College:

1. A new social order was needed and was coming—in fact, it was already on the way.
2. Education would not only hasten its coming, but

would also reduce to a minimum and perhaps entirely eliminate the need to resort to violent methods.
3. The workers themselves would usher in the new social order.
4. There was an immediate need for a workers' college with a broad curriculum, located amid healthy country surroundings, where the students could completely apply themselves to the task at hand.

A Socialist perspective lay at the core of Brookwood's philosophy, but it was intimately intertwined with a commitment to practical trade union organizing within the framework of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). "Socialist ideas were not offered as a substitute for trade unionism, but rather as a supplement, a means of strengthening the union," as John Brophy explained. He and the others formed a board of directors for the Brookwood Labor College, and they selected A.J. Muste to be the day-to-day director of the college. A tall, lean thirty-six-year-old who had been an effective leader of the 1919 Lawrence Textile Strike, Muste had before that event been a scholarly pastor, associated with the pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation, animated by the Social Gospel and by an enthusiasm for the socialism of Eugene V. Debs.

Although day-to-day activities at Brookwood would be determined by the faculty in consultation with the students, policy was set by the ten-person board of directors. The board would be made up of labor representatives, with a nonvoting Educational Advisory Committee, and with representatives of the faculty having four votes and of the students having two votes.

Fifteen students enrolled in 1921, and eventually the yearly number of students would average fifty. This was the beginning of a venture that would eventually educate close to 500 organizers and activists who would later help transform the American political scene.

A.J. Muste's Faculty and Students

With a few significant exceptions, the workers enrolled at Brookwood Labor College were young labor radicals, who were either open to or already influenced by various currents of left-wing thought. One early Brookwood student, Len De Caux, later described Brookwood's director in this way:

> A.J. Muste was the man who ran Brookwood, resident labor college, of the Twenties. We could not then have imagined his later career as militant activist in radical and pacifist causes—in his eighties he matched the youth as man of action against the Vietnam war. To us young Brookwooders, A.J. was essentially the moderate. We respected his counsels of caution, practicality, a relative labor conformism. But our favorite crack was that he always looked for the center with his "On the one hand . . . But on the other hand. . . ." I would have expected him to progress ever rightward, a typical social-democrat. Youthful impatients, we didn't suspect that fires like our own might burn beneath the diplomatic calm of this lean and eager man.

Revolutionary and pacifist A.J. Muste directed Brookwood Labor College, a school devoted to working-class organization and militancy in the 1920s and 1930s. *(Karen Eberhardt/Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University)*

Muste's own evaluation of the faculty, staff, and students at Brookwood is also revealing. "Above all, the men and women . . . with whom I worked closely for a decade or more at Brookwood, in the general

A.J. MUSTE (1885–1967)

Abraham Johannes Muste was born on January 8, 1885, in Zierikzee, the Netherlands. A pacifist who became a Marx-Leninist revolutionary and then a pacifist again, Muste served as a minister in three different Christian denominations. Known to the public as A.J. Muste, he was sometimes called "America's Gandhi" because he was a leading influence on twentieth-century social movements in the United States.

Muste came to the United States at age six and was raised by a Republican family in the strict Calvinist traditions of the Dutch Reformed Church. In 1909, he was ordained a minister in that church and married Anna Huizenga, with whom he raised three children. He was class valedictorian at Hope College and received a degree from Union Theological Seminary, graduating magna cum laude.

In 1914, increasingly uncomfortable with the Reformed Church, he became pastor of a Congregational Church. When war broke out in Europe, Muste, inspired by the Society of Friends (Quakers), became a pacifist. Three years later his antiwar stance cost him his church, whereupon he took a church post with the Quakers in Providence in 1918. He then started working with the fledging American Civil Liberties Union in Boston. In 1919, as executive secretary of the Amalgamated Textile Workers (1919–1921), when the textile industry strikers appealed for help from the religious community, he suddenly found himself thrust into the center of the great labor strikes in Lawrence, Massachusetts. From 1921 to 1933, Muste served as director of the Brookwood Labor College in Katonah, New York. Its curriculum, which consisted of the theory and practice of labor militancy, supported his efforts to train labor activists.

For several years during the 1920s, Muste served as chairman of the Fellowship of Reconciliation but steadily drifted toward revolutionary politics, and in 1929 he helped form the Conference for Progressive Labor Action (CPLA), seeking to reform the American Federation of Labor from within. When the Great Depression hit, the CPLA became openly revolutionary and was instrumental in forming the American Workers Party in 1933, in which Muste played the leading role. He abandoned his Christian pacifism and became an avowed Marxist-Leninist. He was a key figure in organizing the sit-down strikes of the 1930s and merged his own political group with another to form the Trotskyist Workers Party of America.

In 1936, Muste traveled to Norway to meet with Leon Trotsky. It is not clear what took place, but Muste returned that same year as a Christian pacifist. Although he did remain active in the labor movement, in 1940 he became executive secretary of the religious pacifist organization Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), a post he held until 1953. The organization adopted radical methods of civil disobedience under Muste's leadership and inspired the organization of the Congress on Racial Equality, the first of the militant civil rights groups.

At age sixty-eight, Muste "retired" and wrote several books. In retirement he became the leader of the Committee for Nonviolent Action, an organization that actively protested nuclear power and arms proliferation. Muste was close to the emerging liberation movements in Africa, and he helped organize the World Peace Brigade, which worked closely with Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania. In the United States, Muste served as close friend and mentor to Martin Luther King Jr. and his wife, Coretta Scott King.

Muste also became a pivotal figure in organizing opposition to end the Vietnam War. In 1966, he led a group of pacifists to Saigon, where, after trying to demonstrate for peace, they were arrested and deported. Later that same year, he flew with a small team of religious leaders to Hanoi where they met with Ho Chi Minh. Less than a month later, on February 11, 1967, Muste died suddenly in New York City. At his death, messages of condolence came from sources as diverse as Ho Chi Minh and Robert Kennedy. A brilliant thinker, he produced no single body of theoretical work but did leave behind a remarkable legacy of fighting for peace and social justice.

James G. Lewis

field of workers' education, and in various phases of labor organization and strike activity, were people of integrity," Muste later recalled. "They had their shortcomings, in a few cases distressing or irritating ones, but they were solid and clean, incapable of playing cheap politics, though by no means political babes or bunglers."

Muste himself taught courses in the history of Western civilization and the United States. Specializing in U.S. and international labor history was David J. Saposs, who had been a student and associate of John R. Commons and had co-authored with Commons, Selig Perlman, and others the classic *History of Labor in the United States.* His minor classic *Left-Wing*

Unionism: A Study of Radical Policies and Tactics (1926) (whose arguments against radical "dual unionism" coincided with those of William Z. Foster) was published by the Communist Party's International Publishers in 1926—though Saposs was not a member of the Communist Party (Brookwood students remembered him as being more moderate than Muste) and was destined to become a member of the National Labor Relations Board. Mark Starr—who taught economics and labor journalism—had been involved in the National Council of Labor Colleges of England; he would later become education director of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and coauthor a standard popular text, *Labor in America* (1944), for use in high schools and labor education classes in the late 1940s and 1950s. He met his future wife, Helen Norton (a rail worker's daughter and college graduate from Kansas), on the Brookwood faculty, where she trained students in labor journalism and helped them produce the *Brookwood Review.*

One of the most popular and most radical of the teachers was Arthur W. Calhoun. Calhoun had an undergraduate degree from the University of Pittsburgh and a Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin, and teaching experience at Clark University; he was also the author of a pioneering three-volume *Social History of the American Family from Colonial Times to the Present* (1917–1919) and taught sociology, economics, and even courses in Marxism, while his wife Mildred taught courses in English. (Calhoun was replaced in 1929 by an instructor from the Seattle Labor College, John C. Kennedy.) Another popular Brookwood stalwart was Josephine Colby, a high school teacher with a degree from the University of California; she was an instructor in English (also teaching English as a second language to many of the immigrant workers who came to Brookwood), literature, and public speaking, and directed many of the plays put on by the Brookwood Labor Players. Tom Tippett, who developed as an energetic labor educator during his years as a radical mine workers' organizer, served as director of Brookwood's extension program, organizing classes for central labor councils, state labor federations, and local unions. According to one student, he was "a stimulating and colorful teacher who correlates theory with practical activity"; he also became involved in union-organizing efforts in the South, which he described in the classic *When Southern Labor Stirs* (1931).

Workers from mostly urban and largely industrial environments were not brought into a well-organized and beautiful campus in a rural setting for the purpose of duplicating normal "higher education," which Brookwood supporter Jean Flexner described as catering to "the inexperienced, impressionable dilettante, who drifts with open and colorless mind through a kaleidoscope of courses to emerge without deep convictions or definite objectives." Seasoned labor radical Clint Golden—Brookwood's field secretary, who raised money, secured union support, and scouted for students—explained that workers needed "expert knowledge as a weapon in their struggle for justice," emphasizing: "By developing and controlling our own institutions of learning, for the men and women of our movement, we will educate the workers into the service of their fellow workers rather than away from the labor movement, as is so often the case when the ambitious unionist enters the average university." And yet, according to Cara Cook (the librarian who also oversaw much of the administrative work and tutored as well), a distinctive characteristic of Brookwood was that "we were always singing." One of the songs gave a humorous sense of faculty and staff:

> There's A.J. Muste, a teacher, He used to be a preacher . . .
> And Polly Colby makes them speak, With phrases smooth and manner neat . . .
> Dave Saposs tells them stories, About past union glories . . .
> And Helen Norton makes them write, For labor papers day and night . . .
> Tom Tippett teaches classes, In the field to union masses . . .
> While J.C. Kennedy does his stuff, and Makes them learn their Marx enough . . .
> Mark Starr does British labor, With considerable British flavor . . .
> And Cara Cook does this and that, and runs the Secretariat . . .

Singing, socializing, putting on plays, playing baseball, communing with nature—all were essential elements of the Brookwood experience. So was physical labor, with all students and faculty expected to help with the work that was necessary to prepare meals, wash dishes, do the laundry, clean the various facilities of the institution, maintain the grounds, repair and expand the school's buildings, and so on. "The importance and dignity of hand work and head work are both fully appreciated," Brookwood's founding committee affirmed.

Another aspect of the Brookwood curriculum was

fieldwork. This involved practical experience assisting unions (sometimes in strike situations or assisting in the efforts of union reformers) or engaging in other campaigns—such as participating in the struggles to save the lives of the famous Italian Anarchists sitting on Death Row, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, or participating in antiwar activities. Faculty as well as students were expected to do such fieldwork.

Students could attend Brookwood for either one or two years. The first year offered more basic courses, and the second (for those returning) offered more advanced training. In addition to courses designed to give a background in history, sociology, economics, and other academic areas, there were courses designed to teach practical skills for labor activists: Trade Union Organization, Structure, Government and Administration of Trade Unions, Labor Journalism, Labor Legislation and Administration, The Strategy of the Labor Movement, Public Speaking, Labor Dramatics, and Training in Speaking and Writing. A typical first-year student might, for one term, study economics two mornings a week, English three mornings a week, and in the afternoons have drama twice a week and sociology three times a week. A typical second-year student might have morning courses in public speaking and drama twice a week, journalism twice a week, and labor issues twice a week; with the afternoons involving intensive labor history and social psychology courses.

The evenings might involve social or cultural activities—or educational discussions with guest speakers: novelist Sinclair Lewis, labor historian Norman Ware, A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party, Father John A. Ryan of the Catholic Social Welfare Council, Communist Party educator Bertram Wolfe, philosopher John Dewey, economist Scott Nearing, Fenner Brockway from the British Labor Party, J. Olson of the Norwegian Labor Party, Socialist educator and journalist Oscar Ameringer, Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union, John Keracher of the Proletarian Party, historian Harry Elmer Barnes, and many others.

Diversity was a hallmark of Brookwood's student body, which ranged in age from teens to people in their fifties (though a majority were between twenty-one and thirty years old). About one-third of the student body was female (much higher than the percentage of women in the labor movement of that time). A survey of forty-two students in 1927 reveals that about 52 percent were native-born and 48 percent foreign-born, with the great majority (thirty-three students) coming from families of industrial workers, and half had completed no more than eight years of school (some significantly less). Although the largest number of students came from the industrial Northeast, many came from the South and Midwest, and some from the far West as well as from other countries. There was also significant ethnic diversity, including African-American workers and activists. Ideological diversity was also represented in different religious backgrounds and different political orientations. A mixture of Socialists from various organizations (and from no organization at all) mixed with Anarchists and "pure and simple" trade unionists, as well as workers who didn't identify themselves with such labels.

Gompers and Lenin

Debate and discussion were encouraged at Brookwood, and all were urged to see themselves as part of the effort to revitalize the labor movement. Dominant currents within the AFL increasingly saw this approach as a threat; as the 1920s unfolded, they were increasingly inclined to become even more conservative than the ex-Socialist, "pure and simple" AFL president Samuel Gompers had been. They certainly did not want to be "revitalized." Ultimately, this tension deepened and finally tore Brookwood apart.

Along with Gompers and many others in the labor and Socialist movements, most of Brookwood's faculty, staff, and students threw themselves into the 1924 third-party presidential campaign of Progressive Robert M. La Follette. La Follette netted an impressive 4 million votes, but the AFL leadership reared back from what it considered a terrible failure. In contrast, Brookwood spokesmen continued to advocate the creation of an independent labor party. They also were increasingly inclined to criticize the exclusive craft-union focus on skilled workers favored by the dominant forces in the AFL, calling for new industrial unions that would organize unskilled mass production workers. Moreover, they were tolerant or even actively sympathetic toward various forms of labor radicalism that challenged the AFL's top leadership.

The list of guest speakers, as we have seen, included a large percentage of left-wing figures, some of whom were members of or close to the Communist Party, which was anathema to the AFL leadership. For that matter, several of the faculty members—Calhoun, Saposs, Colby, and Tippett—were identified (falsely) by some AFL conservatives as being Communist Party members.

The school staged memorials to commemorate the

deaths not only of AFL founder Samuel Gompers, but also of Russian Communist leader Vladimir Ilich Lenin and U.S. Socialist leader Eugene V. Debs. May Day celebrations featured portraits of all three, along with such others as Rosa Luxemburg and Leon Trotsky. (Muste later commented: "The composition of the student body being what it was, some of them were as irked at having Gompers' picture on the wall as others were by Lenin's, but it was in accord with the catholicity we observed in these matters that both were there and the entire student body took part in the meeting.") Then too, some songs sung at Brookwood may have proved offensive to labor conservatives. One of these songs was written by student Edith Berkowitz and contained, in part, the following words: "They've refused to heed our suffering, But they'll hear our marching feet! We have the workers' Red Flag unfurled. We come to take back our world."

After several years of fruitless efforts to force Brookwood to submit to their more conservative labor orientation, in 1928 the AFL leadership—relying on informants placed within the student body—released a sensational public denunciation of Brookwood Labor College as Communistic and called on its affiliates to sever relations. Many of them refused to do so when Brookwood denied the charges, and many prestigious pro-labor liberals and radicals rallied to the college's defense. And yet the situation created terrible tensions—which were complicated by the Communist Party's attacks on Brookwood in the same year.

Among the Communists attending the college at that time were Sylvia Bleeker and her companion Morris Lewit, who—in the factional disputes within the Communist Party at that time—were aligned with William Z. Foster against the organization's general secretary Jay Lovestone. Factional infighter that he was, Lovestone made a point of having the Party press attack Brookwood in 1928 as "class-collaborationist," serving as "a cloak for the reactionary labor fakirs." He publicly berated the "Fosterites" at the college for co-signing the Brookwood statement allegedly "denouncing the communist movement and kowtowing to the American Federation of Labor bureaucracy." This began an irreversible development of Communist Party hostility to Brookwood that continued well after Lovestone lost his factional fight. (Under the influence of Soviet dictator Josef Stalin, U.S. Communists from 1929 through 1934 would attack all Socialist groups and labor organizations not controlled by the Communist Party.)

Adding to the tangle was the fact that Brookwood faculty member Arthur Calhoun publicly disassociated himself from the college's defensive statement. While insisting that he was not a member of the Communist Party, he argued that the college should openly break from reactionary AFL leadership and politically align itself with the revolutionary orientation that the Communists represented. In response, Muste and the majority of the faculty (including those who had been red-baited by the AFL leaders) urged the board of directors not to renew Calhoun's contract. This created new dissensions among Brookwood's remaining supporters.

And then the Great Depression came. This, combined with the attacks from the AFL, caused Muste and some of the others associated with Brookwood to assume a more radical trajectory. Since 1924, the Socialist magazine *Labor Age*—edited by labor activist Louis F. Budenz—had become increasingly associated with Brookwood, and by 1929 Muste was working with Budenz and others in the milieu of the magazine and college to establish the Conference for Progressive Labor Action (CPLA). A number of Brookwood graduates and supporters became involved in the new venture—which began with a call for (1) organizing the unorganized workers into unions, (2) working to transform the craft unions of the AFL into more inclusive industrial unions, (3) breaking down all exclusion from union membership for racial, political, economic, social, or religious reasons, (4) launching government programs providing unemployment benefits and other forms of social insurance, (5) creating a labor party based on the trade unions, (6) persuading the U.S. government to recognize the Soviet Union; and (7) encouraging anti-imperialist and antimilitarist policies by the U.S. labor movement, which would lead to "a closer union of all workers of the world."

With the coming of the Depression, however, a majority of activists in the CPLA became more intensely involved than ever in the struggles of the unemployed (building militant Unemployed Leagues), as well as in desperate strike actions. Through the early 1930s, a powerful dynamic of radicalization drew Muste and a number of CPLA members to the conclusion that—in competition with what they saw as the "sectarian" Communist Party and the hopelessly compromising Socialist Party—the CPLA should evolve into a revolutionary vanguard party that operated according to the principles of democratic centralism. This would mean that its members would be "workers and fighters in the revolutionary movement"—with "the policies which they carry out

in a disciplined manner . . . worked out by these members themselves on the basis of the most democratic discussion." Muste urged that "Brookwood be transformed into a training base" for "CPLA fighters" and that it focus less on general education and more on "action and direct involvement in the labor struggle."

A majority of Brookwood's faculty (including Colby, Norton, Saposs, and Starr) and the board of directors decisively rejected this version of the CPLA in 1933. The break was painful. Muste and his supporters left the college to pursue their radical course. Brookwood continued for almost four more years under the capable and energetic leadership of Tucker P. Smith, who was recruited not from the labor movement but from the pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation. Among the new faculty was Roy Reuther, who with his brothers Walter and Victor (both of whom also visited Brookwood) would play a key part in the creation of the United Auto Workers. Those remaining sought to adhere to Brookwood's original goals, yet the college's spirit was altered and its base significantly eroded by what had taken place. Lack of funds forced it to close its doors in 1937.

Legacies

Brookwood Labor College was a vital moment in the history of the American labor movement; though itself unable to endure, it left an enduring legacy. Its faculty formed Workers Education Local 189 of the American Federation of Teachers, which expanded beyond Brookwood during the 1930s to embrace labor educators in many locations. Internal differences led to a shift in affiliation to the Communication Workers of America, but Local 189 has continued into the twenty-first century as a gathering place for labor educators and as the symbolic high point in workers' education.

Many Brookwood veterans played an essential role in the battles, strikes, and organizing efforts that created the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Although the Socialist future that had animated them never came into being, many of them went on to assume important posts in the CIO (and after 1955 in the AFL-CIO) and its various union affiliates, as well as in the fields of education, politics, and government. While many of these former radicals became very much a part of the trade union "establishment," younger labor radicals seeking to revitalize the labor movement have often looked to the Brookwood experience for inspiration and useful lessons.

Muste and those who followed him away from Brookwood with the CPLA went on, during the early years of the Depression, to militant actions of the Unemployed Leagues and "class struggle" activities. One of the most dramatic of these activities was the Toledo Auto-Lite Strike of 1934. The CPLA evolved into the American Workers Party at the end of 1933, and then it merged with the Communist League of America (followers of Leon Trotsky) at the beginning of 1935. Some of Muste's comrades stayed with the Trotskyists for many years, others ended up in other groups, and some dropped out of left-wing politics altogether. Muste himself soon returned to his radical pacifist and Christian roots in the Fellowship of Reconciliation, where he played a leadership role in antiwar and antiracist struggles for many years afterward.

The Brookwood experience impacted on other radicals who had a major impact on the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. Myles Horton visited and studied Brookwood as a partial model for the Highlander Folk School, which he and other radical educators established in Tennessee during the 1930s and which shifted from training labor activists to training civil rights activists in the 1950s. One Highlander associate who was centrally involved in establishing both the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) of Martin Luther King Jr. and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was Ella Baker—who was also a graduate of Brookwood Labor College.

Paul Le Blanc

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Labor Movement 1935–1947

The birth of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) represented a watershed in American labor history. At the center of labor activism during two crucial decades, the CIO not only exercised a key role in the establishment and expansion of collective bargaining in the nation's core industries, but it also provided a political voice for the nation's working class. During the era of the New Deal and World War II, the CIO pioneered and supported political initiatives that involved economic policy and social welfare. In the process, the CIO aided in the forging of the New Deal Democratic coalition, which dominated American politics for nearly forty years.

Besides involving itself in domestic affairs, the CIO and its ideologically diverse leadership engaged in debate surrounding the politics of anti-Communism both at home and abroad, especially in the early years of the Cold War. Overall, CIO leaders acted as critical supporters of the government's anti-Communist foreign policies, while at the same time, they molded their practices of modern political action initiatives in the domestic political arena, especially in the area of civil rights, of which they were pioneers. Extensive debate surrounding the political dimension of the industrial union crusade and the competing visions on how to advance organized labor characterized the CIO in the years following World War II. The diverging political currents among CIO leaders, which included but were not limited to communism, the role of government in regulating organized labor, and a cautious approach in the organizing of African Americans in the South, were greatly responsible for its failure to organize workers in Operation Dixie. All of those issues, and especially growing government intrusion into the internal affairs of the CIO as reflected in the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act, weighed heavily in its decision to merge with the American Federation of Labor (AFL) in 1955.

The Formative Years

Begun in November 1935, as an attempt to encourage the growth of industrial unionism within the American Federation of Labor (AFL), John L. Lewis, of the United Mine Workers of America (UMW) and other unions, created the Committee for Industrial Organization. Benefiting from the financial resources provided by the UMW, the CIO had a high degree of activism that contrasted sharply with the AFL's craft unions' organizational inertia. Specifically, the AFL had failed to seize opportunities for industrial unionism afforded by national legislation aimed at economic recovery during the early years of the Great Depression and the New Deal.

Signed into law on June 16, 1933, the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) created the National Recovery Administration (NRA), which was responsible for restructuring the entire nonagricultural economy. For workers, the relevance of the legislation involved the creation of codes in each industry that regulated work hours and established minimum wages. Of particular importance to organized labor were Sections 7a and 7b, which proclaimed the right of workers to establish unions of their own choosing, free from employer domination.

For the remainder of 1933 and through 1935, industrial workers responded enthusiastically to this legislation, which was reflected in a remarkable surge in union membership and activism. Between 1933 and 1935, AFL membership grew by 30 percent as the UMW and garment workers' unions rebuilt their organizations, which had fallen victim to the successful anti-union employer offensive that had dominated the 1920s. These AFL industrial union outposts were joined by workers forming new unions in mass production industries, such as the steel and auto, rubber, textiles and electrical goods, all of which sought AFL affiliation. By 1935, AFL membership had reached 3

DAVID DUBINSKY (1892–1982)

The president from 1932 to 1966 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU), Dubinsky was born in Brest-Litovsk, Poland, on February 22, 1892. He was a baker in his father's shop in Lodz (then in Russian Poland) and joined the baker's union at age fourteen. The General Jewish Workers' Union, or *Bund*, was a highly political organization of Jews from Poland and other parts of the Russian empire. The union looked to socialism as the best solution for preserving and promoting Jewish culture and bringing relief to the workers of the world, a belief that Dubinsky carried with him the rest of his life. A year after joining, he became the secretary for the local union. He was arrested a year later and banished in 1908 to a Siberian prison. He escaped and reached the United States in 1911, where he became a cloak cutter and joined the ILGWU.

At the time he joined, and for the remainder of his time in the union, Dubinsky led the fight within the union against the Communists and helped make unions a bulwark of democracy. Before and during World War II, the fight spread to the American Labor Party, a Socialist political party in New York State that Dubinsky helped to found in 1936. Like the Garment Workers' Union, it was also largely comprised of East European Jewish refugees who were divided into pro- and anti-Communist factions. When the Communists seized control of the party, Dubinsky and his fellow Socialists left the party in 1944 to form the Liberty Party, which soon overtook his old party in membership numbers.

Dubinsky rose rapidly through the ranks of the Garment Workers' Union and became president in 1932, serving for thirty-four years. Under his guidance, he transformed the union from a struggling financial entity on the verge of collapse to one with assets in the hundreds of millions of dollars. The union took on issues such as the provision of health insurance, severance pay, retirement benefits, and a thirty-five-hour work week. He also worked to abolish the sweatshops that were ubiquitous in the industry. He led the expansion of membership of the ILGWU during the Great Depression, when union membership jumped in numbers because of federal support for them.

Although a vice president of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), Dubinsky led (1935–1936) his union in joining with the Committee (later Congress) of Industrial Organizations (CIO), which organized unions by industry. When the AFL, which organized unions by trade, suspended the CIO unions in 1936, Dubinsky resigned from the AFL. However, he opposed the establishment of the CIO on a permanent independent basis, and in 1938 he also broke with it, thus making the ILGWU independent.

In 1940, the ILGWU reaffiliated with the AFL. Dubinsky then launched a campaign to rid the AFL of mob ties, but struggled against a reluctant and frightened leadership. In 1945, he again became a vice president and member of the executive council of the AFL. After a change of leadership in both organizations in 1952, he saw his opportunity and worked for a merger of the two, which took place 1955. He again pressed for cutting mob ties. His lengthy efforts to oust corrupt union leaders who had mob connections culminated in the anti-racket codes adopted by the AFL-CIO in 1957. He retired from the presidency in 1966 and served as director of the union's Retirees Service Department. He was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1969, the nation's highest civilian honor. He died on September 17, 1982.

James G. Lewis

million. Although Lewis and the UMW provided seasoned organizers and financed much of the new activity, he and his UMW staff received help from a variety of veteran and emerging trade union leaders who understood that tapping into the mass activism was not enough. A revitalized and assertive American labor movement required disciplined leadership.

Leaders like Sidney Hillman, head of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA), and David Dubinsky of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) were nominal Socialists and were critical of the AFL and its leaders. Yet they were also ardent supporters of the New Deal and President Franklin D. Roosevelt. At the same time, they adhered to the AFL principles and tradition of placing collective bargaining at the top of the union agenda and the notion that effective unionism necessitated centralized and authoritative leadership guided by an unflagging belief in the American free-enterprise system.

Lewis's most reliable allies, however, and those most responsible for overseeing the union organizing drives in mass production industries during the latter part of 1930s, were two UMW stalwarts and former adversaries, John Brophy and Adolph Germer. Brophy, defeated by Lewis for the presidency of the UMW in 1926, was a capable organizer with ties to

radical political groups. As a veteran activist known for his independence and integrity, he filled the position as director of the CIO's daily operations. Immediately, Brophy appointed Germer, another former UMW activist, as the organization's first field representative. Circulating throughout the heartland in 1935 and 1936 in an attempt to align the CIO with the increasing militancy of workers in that region, Germer emerged as a full-time adviser to rubber workers, who during those years tenaciously struggled to establish industrial unionism in Akron, Ohio.

Strikes, Politics, and Organizational Independence

The rubber workers of Akron not only battled the likes of the Goodyear, Goodrich, General, and Firestone Tire companies, but they also had fought among themselves, because those enterprises had established company unions that had obtained a significant degree of credibility over the years. In July 1935, however, Congress enacted the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) after the Supreme Court had ruled the NIRA unconstitutional. A key provision of the NLRA was prohibition of overt company support for labor organizations. This element of the law, along with other sections that declared a number of management practices toward worker organization illegal, provided space for rubber workers to organize.

The AFL had denied the United Rubber Workers' Union a full charter under the auspices of the NRA and instead advocated reliance on the federal government and cooperation with employers to bring collective bargaining. This strategy had failed to produce improvements in wages and working conditions, or to address the problem of employer disciplining of union activists. After Goodyear fired 137 tire builders in February 1936, workers walked out and eventually formed an eleven-mile picket line around the huge factory complex. A month later the strikers emerged victorious. But even after strikers earned recognition from the company, Germer complained to Brophy that the URW was dominated too much by irresponsible militancy.

The thrust of CIO organizing then moved to the steel industry where slightly more than a half million workers encountered employment instability, arbitrary and capricious promotion and discipline policies, along with confusing pay schedules and job assignments. The NRA had provided the impulse for thousands of steelworkers to join the AFL-affiliated Amalgamated Association (AA) with the hope that it would remedy their problems. In addition, the AFL had been advocating an expanded organizing drive among the workers in America's quintessential heavy industry. Like their rubber industry counterparts, the steel magnates had established company unions to blunt workers' efforts to form independent organizations and representation. As in the case of the rubber workers, AFL inertia had left eager-for-organization steelworkers disillusioned. On June 12, 1936, Lewis announced the formation of the Steelworkers Organizing Committee (SWOC). Lewis staffed the SWOC board with UMW hands, Philip Murray and David J. McDonald, while infusing the organizing drive among steelworkers with $500,000 from the miners' union treasury. SWOC published a newspaper, established a research department, and hired full-time legal counsel. But the organizing drive lacked the enthusiasm characteristic of the rubber workers' struggle, and the campaign developed slowly as a result.

This lack of vitality combined with the fact that the upcoming 1936 presidential election detracted CIO attention away from organizing. A consensus had developed among the CIO hierarchy that Franklin Roosevelt's reelection was crucial to the success not only of its current organizing initiatives, but also to the very survival of the CIO itself. In May 1936, the CIO established an ad-hoc committee to support Roosevelt and other progressive candidates. Throughout the fall campaign Lewis frequently visited industrial America, met with Roosevelt personally on a number of occasions, and addressed the nation on the radio calling for support of the president. For his part, Murray shifted resources and organizers from SWOC to the political campaign. Roosevelt's November landslide ensured that the NLRA would not be repealed. It also cleared the way for more organizing as union leaders and workers were confident that the president, after overwhelmingly receiving the labor vote, would surely support the expansion of collective bargaining.

Following the election, the CIO succeeded in bringing industrial unionism to most key sectors of the economy. Besides finally making breakthroughs in the steel and automotive industries, CIO collective bargaining entered the workplace in transportation, the appliance industry, meatpacking, and on the docks in the nation's ports. Some of those victories, however, proved ephemeral. Although the SWOC signed an agreement with U.S. Steel, companies employing over 150,000 workers known as Little Steel fiercely resisted, and the struggle culminated in the police murder of ten Chicago strikers on Memorial

John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, leads a meeting of mineworkers participating in a mock trial of American Federation of Labor President William Green. He is being tried for unfriendly acts against the union for their participation in the Committee for Industrial Organization. *(© Underwood Photo Archives, Inc.)*

Day, 1937. The rubber barons in Akron still resisted the URW and CIO, and organizing drives among textile workers in the South had stalled. Although Henry Ford's company carried out a reign of terror inside his huge Detroit and Dearborn plants, the United Automobile Workers (UAW) signed agreements with Chrysler and General Motors (GM). The bargaining agreements materialized as a result of the 1937 sit-down strike in Flint, Michigan.

Representing the apex of mass production industry with its featured assembly line, the auto companies had become masters of high-performance workplace innovations. Constant restructuring and redefining skills combined with the latest in union-busting tactics to forestall unionization in the industry for more than two decades. But as the Depression dragged on, autoworkers grew more vocal and employed bold tactics in their protest against worsening conditions. First, the NRA, and later the NLRA, helped to galvanize union sentiment as autoworkers marched and went on strike. In late 1936, autoworkers everywhere were demanding union recognition by using a new tactic, the sit-down strike.

On December 30, 1936, workers sat down in two GM Fisher Body plants in Flint. Shutting down the machines, the Flint autoworkers ejected foremen and company guards and stopped GM production of all Chevrolet, Buick, and Pontiac models. With broad

Spectators outside the Fisher Body Plant on January 17, 1937, watch as sit-down strikers refuse to evacuate the auto plant. The sit-down strikers played a crucial role in the organization of the United Auto Workers union. *(Brown Brothers)*

support from the community, the strikers and their wives fought off police attempts to storm the plants and crush the rebellion. Meanwhile, acting as the CIO's chief spokesperson, John L. Lewis skillfully negotiated through elected public officials in the state of Michigan and at the level of the federal government to bring GM to the bargaining table. The result was a February 11, 1937, agreement that ended the six-week struggle and obliged GM to recognize the UAW as the exclusive bargaining representative. The Flint sit-down strike was a monumental leap forward in the establishment of industrial unionism in the automotive industry, and, at the same time, it lent credibility to the CIO course of militancy, which sharply contrasted with the more cautious approach of the AFL.

Success in the organization of auto industry workers not only swelled CIO membership, but also enhanced organized labor's political influence and clout. In 1938, over the objections of many pro-business politicians in the North and Southern conservatives, Congress passed the Fair Labor Standards Act, which established the minimum wage as well as the regulation of hours and the requirement of overtime pay. The legislation, along with the Social Security Act passed in 1935, was viewed by many as proof that the CIO had emerged as a key player in helping the advance of New Deal reform initiatives. This factor, combined with successful organizing campaigns in a variety of industrial sectors, resulted in the CIO's formal break with the AFL in 1938, when it adopted

its permanent name, the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

The CIO, Labor, and World War II

Almost immediately following the break with the AFL, serious infighting developed among the organization's central figures. From the CIO's beginning, differences existed, but they largely had been submerged and subordinated to the idea of building up the ranks of organization. But as the economy continued to worsen in 1939 and CIO membership remained stagnant, troubles mounted. Serious disagreements that emerged over the CIO's relationship to the federal government as the nation drifted toward war divided the leadership. These problems mounted on top of the ILGWU departure in 1938 and an intense factionalism within the UAW that almost resulted in an organizational implosion. In 1940, Lewis and Sidney Hillman engaged in open conflict over Roosevelt's seeking an unprecedented third term as well as his foreign policy, which Lewis claimed was moving the nation toward war. As a result, Lewis departed from the CIO and turned the reins of leadership over to steelworkers' head Philip Murray.

Lewis's leaving the CIO paralleled the outbreak of World War II, which began on September 1, 1939. The war in Europe also was responsible for sharpening the conflict and the growing rift between Lewis and Hillman. Although Lewis was now outside the CIO, he was still recognized as America's principal labor leader, and his publicly expressed views on war mobilization and organized labor's relationship with the federal government reached a broad audience. Although Hillman closely identified with the administration's foreign policy, Lewis was an ardent isolationist. Hillman, especially after May 1940, when Germany invaded France, sought to tie organized labor to government plans for war preparation, which involved implementation of a program for dramatically increasing industrial production. Consistent with his philosophy that government-labor cooperation was optimal for advancing the CIO, Hillman accepted Roosevelt's offer to be appointed as labor's representative to coordinate the rising military production. Lewis, meanwhile, constantly expressed antiwar views and criticized Hillman for allowing the government to award contracts to industrial firms that violated federal labor laws with impunity.

In 1940, Lewis supported Roosevelt's opponent, utilities executive, Wendell Willkie. After Pearl Harbor, more of the U.S. economy became enmeshed in war production, and the Roosevelt administration received a no-strike pledge from CIO leaders. The agreement was possible because in January 1942, Roosevelt abolished the National Defense Mediation Board (NDMB) and replaced it with the National War Labor Board (NWLB). Created in March 1941, the NDMB was a tripartite body charged with trying to settle union disputes with companies holding defense contracts by issuing nonbinding recommendations. Although it had worked for Lewis and the UMW during a nationwide strike of mines owned by the steel firms, the CIO and the government desired a mechanism that would be more decisive and therefore better serve to stabilize industrial relations and production during wartime.

Unlike the NDMB, the NWLB had power to issue "directive orders" without Roosevelt's approval. NWLB jurisdiction extended to any labor-management dispute that might interrupt work and thereby contribute to the effective prosecution of the war. In effect, virtually the entire U.S. economy became subject to the NWLB. And with Roosevelt linking labor peace directly to national security, the NWLB and the courts, as highlighted in the *Little Steel* case, required workers to maintain union membership during the life of the union contract. Despite these legal advances for organized labor, Lewis, not willing to surrender the right to strike and rely exclusively on the judgment of the NWLB, severed UMW ties with the CIO in 1942. Although the ranks of the CIO grew by some 40 percent and membership approached 5 million, the AFL emerged from World War II larger than the CIO. Despite the CIO no-strike pledge, many rank-and-file acted independent of the leadership and ignored the policy, striking war-related industries frequently. Consequently, the AFL succeeded in portraying itself as more responsible and better able to stabilize production. Accordingly, many employers opted for recognizing AFL unions rather than run the risk of experiencing disruptive work actions by angry CIO rank-and-file members.

Strikes also fueled antilabor sentiment, which resulted in the Republicans gaining seats in both the House of Representatives and the Senate in 1942. In June 1943, Congress passed the Smith-Connally Act, which, among other things, authorized government seizure of war and military production operations threatened by labor disputes, and banned strikes in federally operated plants. Smith-Connally also limited union political activity. The CIO responded by creating a Political Action Committee (PAC), which resulted in bringing closer ties between the labor organization, Roosevelt, and the Democratic Party. Be-

JOHN L. LEWIS (1880–1969)

Born in Cleveland, Iowa, on February 12, 1880, Lewis was the son of a Welsh immigrant coal miner. Between 1898 and 1907, Lewis tried coal mining, farming, construction, and business before entering the labor movement. Working as a miner after 1906, he rose through the union ranks, and by 1909 he had become a national organizer for the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and then president of the United Mine Workers of America (UMW) in 1920, a post he held until 1960. Lewis fought vigorously to build up the declining union in a sick industry, won the loyalty of the miners, and thus consolidated his own power. He did so by courting management. He was welcomed by businesspeople and even served as chair of the Republican Party's National Labor Committee.

In the midst of the Great Depression in the 1930s, he joined the Democratic Party in 1932 hoping that the national government would help stabilize industrial relations in the coal industry. He worked closely with Franklin Delano Roosevelt after his election in 1932 and had welcomed the New Deal. Frustrated with the AFL's failure to organize mass production workers, he split with the AFL. Taking several of the largest unions with him, Lewis founded a new organization, the Committee (later Congress) of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in 1935, and became its first president. By 1937, the CIO had taken control of the nation's two largest mass production companies, General Motors and U.S. Steel, and Lewis was at the peak of his power. When Lewis felt President Roosevelt took labor for granted, he supported Republican candidate Wendell Willkie for the presidency in 1940 in hopes that a Republican candidate elected with labor votes might support the union in general and Lewis specifically. He staked his CIO presidency on Willkie's victory. When Roosevelt won, Lewis resigned from the CIO but remained head of the UMW.

Increasing antagonism between Lewis and Philip Murray, the new head of the CIO, led to a break, and in 1942 the UMW withdrew from the CIO. Lewis maintained power despite the separation. During World War II, Lewis faced a hostile War Labor Board and unfavorable public sentiment because of the many strikes of the coal miners in the "no-strike" period. Although they did win the demands of the miners, these strikes alienated public support and may have helped to pave the way for later anti-strike legislation. Between 1945 and 1950, he led four national coal strikes. The UMW again joined the AFL but split off a year later in 1947, once more in a dispute over means of combating the restrictive Taft-Hartley Act. Lewis's failure to obey a federal court order to end a protracted coal strike led to a heavy fine for criminal contempt of court in 1948.

After 1950, Lewis ended his more aggressive tactics and followed a policy of accommodation with the declining coal industry. He steadily improved the material conditions of union members, and won esteem as an apostle of "cooperative capitalism" because his cooperation stabilized the industry. Despite the improvements for his workers, they suffered in the long run when they became victims of technological change. He voluntarily resigned as president of the UMW in 1960 and served as chairman of the UMW's Welfare and Retirement Fund after his retirement. He died on June 11, 1969.

James G. Lewis

cause Smith-Connally declared direct union financial contributions in general elections illegal, PAC activity focused on nonpartisan voter registration and education campaigns. The political activity combined with the no-strike pledge played an instrumental role in gradually guiding the CIO to rely more on political and institutional structures rather than on mass mobilization and work actions as the principal means to better the lot of American workers.

The 1945–1946 Strikes: CIO Leadership and Strategy

As the war ended, however, a temporary shift away from this trend was necessitated by the fact that, during World War II, basic wage rates had eroded. Although stable employment, job upgrading. and ample opportunity to work overtime hours during the war years enabled workers to earn income, inflation continued to eat away at their standard of living. After the end of the war, orders for factory goods disappeared. Unemployment among the civilian workforce increased 25 percent. Although the CIO urged government to stimulate economic growth and provide security through housing and welfare programs, increases in wages remained at the core of the postwar CIO bargaining agenda. The CIO joined prominent economists in arguing that mass purchasing power was necessary to generate and sustain economic

growth and essential in avoiding a return to the conditions of the 1930s. The CIO and some economists asserted that American business could afford to give substantial wage increases without raising prices. But business chafed at union demands for wage increases. And the most strike-riddled episode of American history followed.

In the last few months of 1945, America lost over 28 million man-days to strikes. In November, 180,000 UAW members struck GM. By January 1946, 500,000 steelworkers, 200,000 electrical workers, and 150,000 CIO packinghouse workers had joined them on the picket lines. In February, the nation lost almost 20 million man-days to strikes. In the end, the strikes won substantial wage hikes for workers in those industries, increases that ranged between 15 and 20 percent. As a result, the CIO increased the number of workers it represented and were covered by contract to over 1.7 million. Although relatively successful, in the end, the strikes revealed sharp, divergent views among the CIO leadership over the future direction of the organization, especially in terms of how to build and define collective bargaining structures in a modern, industrial economy.

Whereas steelworkers' chief Philip Murray advanced the notion of business-labor cooperation with the government providing general oversight, Walter Reuther, the emerging leader of the UAW adopted a more confrontational approach. He emphasized capitalizing on worker militancy and mobilizing public opinion to hold American business accountable not only to labor, but to the average American citizen as well. Reuther argued that, when giant firms such as GM claim they cannot afford to give workers wage increases, they should be required to open their books to public scrutiny. The UAW leader claimed his position was consistent with the fact that the collective bargaining process itself was widely publicized, and that wages and other terms and conditions of employment for mass production workers were known to the general public.

But Reuther's strategy for organized labor backfired when President Harry Truman reacted to mounting political pressure. In December 1945, Truman called upon Congress to enact some form of antistrike legislation. At the core of Truman's request was a proposal for preventing strikes in industries affecting the public interest. It involved cooling-off periods during which presidential fact-finding boards would gather and examine evidence and issue nonbinding recommendations. Although Congress did not act on Truman's proposal, it planted the seed for future antistrike legislation, which would result in weakening organized labor overall.

Other factors emanating from the strike wave of 1945–1946 also forecasted hard times for the CIO and organized labor. Overall coordination of the strike movement by the CIO was nonexistent. In its place, for example, unions such as the United Electrical Workers (UE) and the UAW, which both represented 30,000 workers at GM's Frigidaire Division, competed against one another by pursuing strategies and making tactical decisions based exclusively on their own interest. Also not boding well for building a stronger CIO was the emerging issue of Communism. This factor, along with others, including a failure by the CIO leadership to reach consensus on linking membership to broader social purposes, such as civil rights, greatly impacted organizing in the immediate postwar years, especially as it related to Operation Dixie.

Operation Dixie

Although the CIO suffered from internal divisions, the results of 1945–1946 ushered in optimism surrounding the building of membership, especially in the South. World War II had produced significant gains for the CIO in the region, as its membership in Dixie reached 225,000. At war's end, CIO unions were administering 42,000 collective bargaining contracts with Southern-based textile firms. Oil workers had doubled their prewar membership in Louisiana and Texas, pulp and paper workers had unionized in Virginia, and the URW had established strong locals in Memphis and Gadsden, Alabama. Accordingly, in early 1946, CIO leadership permanently established the Southern Organizing Committee (SOC).

From its inception, important aspects of Operation Dixie were well planned and funded. SOC deployed teams of organizers, which formed functioning unions that were integrated into the various CIO affiliates. The USWA (United Steelworkers of America), UAW, and UE all provided hundreds and thousands of dollars for the campaign, and organizers collected a one-dollar initiation fee from new recruits. SOC leaders and organizers hoped to recruit military veterans, who were exempt from the initiation fee, and native Southerners. The strategy reflected the desire by CIO leaders not to have the organizers labeled as radicals or Northern carpetbaggers. Despite careful planning on various levels, the leadership failed to design an overall strategy that would provide direction, framework, and purpose.

Initially, CIO and SOC leadership had hoped to rekindle the militancy of the 1930s. Soon, however,

Operation Dixie evolved into a campaign that was not about a militant crusade, but one that resembled more of a business proposition. Conservatives dominated Southern congressional delegations, and their ranks received a boost with the election of more Northern Republicans to Congress in 1938 and 1942. In addition, no effort was made to build upon the already existing CIO Communist-led, biracial unions in logging, tobacco, food processing, and woodworking. Lurking in the background throughout the duration of Operation Dixie were the politics of anti-Communism. Ultimately, this combined with the insistence that the campaign not mix organizing with politics, thereby rejecting the notion that Operation Dixie would link itself with any crusade for civil rights. The organizing drive focused almost exclusively on the white worker-dominated textile industry and largely ignored lumbering, pulp and paper, tobacco, and other industries where great numbers of African Americans were employed. SOC leaders also actively discouraged African Americans from applying for organizing positions.

This strategic drift complemented employer tactics designed to stymie organizing and reinforce the traditional paternalism that for so long had characterized the Southern employment relations system. SOC leaders relied heavily on the unfair labor practices provisions of the National Labor Relations Act. Even during the 1930s, textile employers had been successful in delaying legal proceedings under the provisions, and during Operation Dixie they refined these practices. Propaganda launched by public officials and local journalists also aided textile employers in the fight against the CIO. Besides playing themes that traditionally had resonated with Southern whites, such as that industrial unionism would bring social and economic equality to African Americans, they also asserted that a CIO victory would destabilize the South's institutions and destroy regional economic progress. The result was a failure by the SOC to establish strong, local unions, identified in the beginning by CIO leadership as key to a successful campaign.

Meanwhile, a string of National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) election defeats in the textile mills added woes to a campaign that already was under serious financial stress. By the end of 1946, it was clear to CIO leadership that Operation Dixie had failed. Refusing to link the growth of industrial unionism in the South to the African-Americans' struggle for civil rights, CIO leaders played into the hands of the Southern economic elite, who already had a wealth of experience in deploying the issue of racial equality to divide Southern workers.

Within the context of the politics of anti-Communism, which loomed increasingly important in the internal affairs of the CIO, the fact that unions with a heavy concentration of African Americans were Communist-led served to undermine the possibility of success for Operation Dixie. Operation Dixie's failure helped to reinforce the anti-Communism fixation inside the CIO, and as the general public embraced the Cold War political framework, industrial unionism was increasingly challenged.

Taft-Hartley Weakens the CIO

On the heels of Operation Dixie, the CIO focus shifted dramatically toward politics. However, despite increased PAC activity in support of pro-labor candidates, the Republicans scored huge victories in the 1946 congressional and state races. For the first time since 1932, Republicans had control over both the House and the Senate. The public mood had turned decidedly antilabor. The 80th Congress reflected the hostility toward organized labor by escalating efforts to radically alter the NLRA. The result was the enactment of the Taft-Hartley Act, passed over President Truman's veto on June 23, 1947. The major thrust of the legislation aimed at curbing the power of unions and strengthening the hand of employers in resisting unionization.

The legislation incorporated a list of unfair union practices and expanded presidential power in forcing unions to delay strike action. Both the NLRB and employers could seek injunctions against unions, and it allowed employers the right to actively dissuade employees from joining unions. A section of the law allowed states to adopt so-called right-to-work laws, thereby undermining union security and organizing activity. Workers in right-to-work states who benefited from union contracts could now refuse to join unions and not pay union dues. It prohibited union contributions to candidates in primary and general elections, which severely restricted union political activity. Probably more damaging for CIO internal affairs and organizational health was a provision requiring that all union officers and those seeking remedy from the NLRB sign and file affidavits with the Labor Department stipulating they were not Communists.

Although CIO leaders, including President Philip Murray, who spoke out in opposition to what he called the law's "loyalty oath," initially opposed the

GEORGE MEANY (1894–1980)

George Meany, the long-term (1955–1979) president of the AFL-CIO (American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations), spent almost his entire working life as an official in the union movement in one capacity or another. Born the son of a plumber on August 16, 1894, Meany dropped out of high school at sixteen, passed the apprenticeship test for the plumbers union on his second try, and worked briefly in the trade. Despite these humble beginnings, he became the leader of the AFL-CIO, a remarkable accomplishment for a man who proudly proclaimed that he had never walked a picket line or led a strike.

In 1917, Meany joined Plumbers Local 463 in New York. Typical of AFL unions of that day, the organization's chief mission was not recruiting members or organizing new locals, but controlling the supply of plumbers in order to set wages. AFL unions in general represented only skilled craftsmen and excluded recent immigrants, people of color, and women—policies that persisted throughout Meany's tenure and beyond. Meany was elected business agent of Local 463 in 1922 and secretary of the New York City Building Trades Council a year later. In 1934, he was elected president of the New York State Federation of Labor, a position he retained over five elections. He was politically astute and influential with the state legislature, shepherding the passage of seventy-two pro-labor bills.

During the 1930s and 1940s, Meany's influence with the Democratic Party grew. As part of the Franklin D. Roosevelt coalition of liberals, labor, ethnic minorities, and Southern Democrats, Meany delivered the votes of its unionized skilled trades workers. In the 1930s, the AFL was challenged by the CIO, a new federation that emerged to unionize industrial workers, a constituency previously ignored by organized labor.

In 1939, Meany rose to the position of secretary-treasurer of the AFL, a position he held until the death of AFL president William Green in 1952. He was then elected president of the AFL by its executive council. His major accomplishment occurred in 1955 when he helped engineer the merger of the AFL and CIO. Subsequently, he was elected unanimously, essentially appointed by the executive board he controlled. Meany was a chief proponent of "business unionism"—the concept that unions should work in concert with business, eschewing strikes and radicalism, working for better wages and benefits, and defending only its members, within the capitalist system. A rabid anti-Communist, Meany practiced an essential conservatism that led him to grow increasingly out of touch with the needs and aspirations of the rank-and-file. Although he saw himself as a foreign policy expert, his staunch opposition to cooperation with Communist China and the Soviet Union and his support of the Vietnam War put him far to the right of most of his constituents and the Democratic Party by 1972.

Meany's statements on international affairs throughout the era resound with warnings against "appeasement" at nearly every turn, demonstrating how even pre-World War II events deeply influenced the thinking of Americans. The blend of historical events which included World War I, the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, and subsequent events in the Soviet Union, the interwar years, World War II, and especially the Cold War dramatically influenced the way Americans, and especially influential leaders like George Meany, came to view the world around them. Meany sincerely believed that a monolithic international Communism was out to conquer the world and that it was the AFL-CIO's duty to involve itself in international affairs to help counter this threat. He was able to convince the majority of leaders within the AFL-CIO that this was so. Meany did not answer directly to the rank-and-file, having been, in essence, appointed as president for life by his executive board. In turn, he controlled the board that kept him in power. He supported American policy in Vietnam during the Johnson and Nixon administrations, disregarding the growing opposition within his own organization and among the American workers he represented.

Meany's tenure saw the number of unionized American workers rise to over 30 percent. It also witnessed the decline, by 1971, to 22 percent. By the end of his career in 1979, he was clearly an anachronism and was even partially responsible for the decline of the union movement in the United States. In his early years, he espoused organizing the unorganized, but by 1971 he declared organizing useless and unnecessary. In 1972, Meany declared the AFL-CIO's neutrality in the presidential election between Republican Richard Nixon and Democrat George McGovern, contributing to Nixon's landslide victory. Though initially supportive of Nixon and especially his policies on Vietnam, he later turned on Nixon after the Watergate scandal, demanding his resignation or impeachment. In 1979, Meany declined to seek reelection to the presidency of the AFL-CIO, and he died the following year at age eighty-five.

Frank Koscielski

signing of non-Communist affidavits, foreign policy issues and domestic loyalty soon trumped CIO unity on the issue. As public debate concerning the containment of Communism abroad and the threat of subversion at home intensified, tensions between pro-Soviet and anti-Communist elements in the CIO sharpened. When Walter Reuther became UAW president, he convinced the UAW executive board to sign the affidavits. Other CIO unions followed, and on July 29, 1949, Murray reluctantly signed an affidavit, leaving the Communist-dominated UE, Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, Farm Equipment Workers, and Food, Tobacco, and Allied Workers' unions the only holdouts.

Walter Reuther then began to aggressively employ the affidavit against the nonsigning unions and attempted to raid their membership, especially the UE and the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers. The UE, at least initially, successfully fought off the raids, due to its leadership and resources. Soon, however, rival factions within the UE emerged, and James Carey challenged its leadership. After the UE completely broke with the CIO in mid-1949, President Murray chartered an electrical workers' union, the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE), to compete against the UE. During raiding activity, the IUE received critical support from the Roman Catholic Church and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, as well as from Carey's testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, popularly known as the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), which conducted investigations into Communist subversion of American institutions, including Hollywood and the Screen Actors' Guild. Although unions like the UE survived, they emerged from the raiding wars battered. This process alone contributed heavily to the overall weakening of the CIO. The AFL, meanwhile, absorbed affiliates and members while charting steady, organizational growth during the period. By the early 1950s, this factor, along with others, led CIO leaders into serious discussion concerning the possibility of merging with their rival.

The Realpolitik of Merger

Besides the problems associated with the politics of anti-Communism, CIO postwar leadership faced the challenge of the changing dynamics of the American workforce. CIO leaders proved unprepared to deal with the growth of the service, white-collar, and other nonindustrial sectors. With manufacturing saturated, AFL unions successfully outmaneuvered the CIO in organizing workers in the goods-handling, white-collar, and public sectors. As the AFL expanded, it also began drawing former CIO affiliates into its ranks, especially among packinghouse, textile, food, and chemical workers. In addition, the growth of skilled jobs in the metal trades, particularly in small shops, made tool-and-die makers and millwrights look to the traditionally craft-oriented AFL for affiliation. By 1950, the AFL legitimately claimed double the membership of the CIO. The only consolation for the CIO was the success it enjoyed enlisting the Communications Workers of America (CWA), which included a large number of telephone operators, the overwhelming majority of whom were female.

Although CIO attacks on the AFL's racial policies were still credible, by 1950 the AFL counted more black members than the CIO. This occurred despite the CIO establishing itself as a significant force in the national civil rights legislative initiative. The CIO wrote an *amicus brief* for the Supreme Court in *Brown v. Board of Education*. Strong rhetoric and civil rights statements from CIO leaders like Walter Reuther did not correspond to how the federation's affiliates treated African Americans in the workplace. The UAW, for example, did nothing to break the monopoly white workers enjoyed in the skilled trades. In contrast, AFL leaders like George Meany, although part of the racially exclusive building trades, had at least established good relations with black unionists, such as A. Philip Randolph, head of the AFL-affiliated Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. In addition, Meany and the AFL supported the contours of the CIO's liberal, legislative agenda, including civil rights and an expansion of New Deal-type social reforms.

Other factors also contributed to the drift toward merger. In the area of foreign policy, CIO leaders, while supporting the government's anti-Communist crusade, and in particular the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) overthrow of Jacobo Arbenz Guzman in Guatemala in 1954, never penetrated the inner circle of established, international AFL operatives, relegating the once rebel federation to a marginal role. Like their AFL counterparts, however, CIO leaders saw Communist influence fostered by the Soviet Union behind every movement of economic nationalism and independence in the Third World during the Cold War years, a factor that would end up damaging the labor movement in future years.

Most importantly, the CIO had long abandoned the militant and confrontational approach toward employers, and by the early 1950s it had embraced the long-standing AFL philosophy of order and discipline

in the workplace. CIO leaders enthusiastically backed employer prerogatives to boost productivity and economic growth. The CIO exchanged the notion of spontaneous protest for higher wages and benefits and shop floor peace. Over the years, the CIO had gradually adopted this position, playing a critical role in the establishment of the modern system of collective bargaining and industrial relations. In 1953 and 1954, the AFL and the CIO signed important no raiding agreements, which served as precursors to their eventual merger in December 1955. In the end, the unification represented a general consolidation of organized labor's public activity, rather than an agreement concerning organizing, particularly as it existed in the legislative and political arenas, which long before 1955 had arrived to dominate the agenda of both federations.

Conclusion

The emergence of the CIO during the height of the Great Depression provided hope for hundreds of thousands of American workers during one of the nation's most turbulent periods of history. The CIO rekindled the labor activism of the early twentieth century that had been submerged by an aggressive employer counteroffensive during the 1920s. When the United States entered World War II, CIO leadership successfully channeled that labor activism into fostering productivity, which exercised a significant role in the defeat of the Axis powers. That process contributed heavily to the growth of collective bargaining and the establishment of a formal industrial relations system. The CIO also immersed itself in politics, and in so doing, it gave the nation's working class its first coherent and effective voice by creating a modern political action vehicle, which has endured to the present day. Its political action arm, especially after World War II, was key in the struggle for civil rights. In the years immediately before the merger with the AFL, the CIO political program incorporated a legislative agenda that provided one of the cornerstones of American liberalism.

Through the channeling of labor activism into institutional structures such as collective bargaining, and along with it the acceptance of government regulation, the CIO did limit the exercise of workers' power. This also resulted from CIO insistence that it participate as a player within a Democratic Party coalition, rather than exercise political independence, such as the brand exhibited by John L. Lewis in his opposition to Franklin Roosevelt in 1940. In addition, CIO acceptance of Cold War policy in the Third World and its congruence with the AFL on what constituted labor internationalism eventually contributed to the erosion of union membership at home. American corporations gradually began to locate production in countries where anti-Communist regimes guaranteed a more pliable and docile workforce.

In the final analysis, however, the CIO dramatically improved working conditions for vast numbers of laborers toiling in American industry. Through collective bargaining it helped to establish higher standards of living and, in the process, elevated the social status of ordinary working people. Autoworkers, steelworkers, rubber workers, electrical workers, and other factory hands earned decent incomes and achieved personal dignity. As a result, their offspring attended college and many moved upward in American society. For those reasons alone, the CIO has to be considered as one of the most important social movements in American history.

Norman Caulfield

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Labor Law

Social movements, including the labor movement, affect the development of law. Labor law focuses on *collective* action, addressing issues between organized capital and organized labor. An important distinction needs to be made between labor law and another closely related body of law, employment law. The latter focuses on *individual* workers' rights and issues such as workers' and unemployment compensation, health and safety, wages and hours, discrimination, pensions, and Social Security regulations. Labor law, on the other hand, applies to workers who belong to a union and or are seeking union representation. Strikes create the impression that the battle for labor reform takes place on the picket lines or in the streets; however, most labor struggles are ultimately decided in the halls of the legislature and then, finally, in the courts. Legal cases focused on labor have a long history, but most present laws regulating labor-management relations are rooted in the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) passed in the 1930s.

Most major legal decisions regarding labor took place after the Civil War. Still, significant cases dealing with strikes and picketing went before the courts before the industrial revolution reached America. As trade and manufacturing advanced in Colonial America, the first labor organizations began to form in occupations such as shoemakers, printers, tailors, and carpenters. The first documented strike in the United States occurred in Philadelphia in 1768 when printers sought a minimum wage of $6 per week. When strikes occurred, employers argued that labor organizations were illegal conspiracies. A conspiracy, according to English "common law," is the collusion of two or more persons to harm the public good. The conspiracy charge was the basis for legal opinions regarding labor in America both before and after the revolution. In addition to limiting workers' ability to fight against low wages and poor conditions, the common-law doctrine helped legalize forced labor systems such as indentured servitude and slavery.

At least twenty-one conspiracy trials were held in the United States between 1805 and 1842. Judges of the period were generally conservative, and they made decisions based on middle-class principles. So, not surprisingly, organized workers only won six cases as judges continued to use common-law conspiracy doctrines as their guiding principles. Because they were attempting to raise wages and reduce hours through "combinations," strikes by workers amounted to conspiracies. Labor organizations were forced to disband and pay heavy fines. The first union to be convicted of engaging in a criminal conspiracy was Philadelphia's Journeymen Cordwainers in the 1806 legal decision, *Commonwealth v. Pullis*. Despite setbacks, workers continued to campaign against the conspiracy doctrine, arguing that it was developed by British judges and had no place in the United States. The efforts proved worthwhile. One of labor's early legal victories came in 1842 in *Commonwealth v. Hunt* in which Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw of Massachusetts held that unions did not amount to conspiracies, even if the union's actions meant lower profits for an employer or a reduction in trade. Gradually, the courts abandoned criminal conspiracy doctrine to prevent unionization, and charges against striking workers based on this area of law slowed in the 1850s and 1860s.

The postbellum period witnessed the development of large labor organizations such as the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor, and the strike emerged as the most significant form of social protest in the United States. A dramatic increase in the number of strikes and large-scale industrial struggles—such as the Haymarket Affair of 1886, the Homestead Lockout of 1892, and the Pullman Boycott of 1894—brought national attention to the problems of labor. The first nationwide strike took place in 1877

when railroad workers struck in the middle of a severe economic depression. There was court action in response to the strikes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; however, the legal intervention took the form of the injunction rather than conspiracy charges. An injunction is a court order by a judge demanding that certain parties stop performing certain actions which threaten other people's property. The labor injunction was a powerful tool for employers to break strikes, pickets, or boycotts. Injunctions enabled management to circumvent pro-labor juries because the decision to grant an injunction rested solely with a judge—who was often very friendly with capital. When there was picketing or organizing, or even when unions planned to pay strike benefits or operate soup kitchens, employers rushed into both state and federal courts seeking injunctions, claiming that union action caused property loss. An injunction could usually be granted quickly, and any union that defied the order and continued to strike was held in contempt of court. Union officers and members could be punished immediately or thrown in jail.

Labor injunctions were first issued in the 1880s. A key example of the effectiveness of the injunction for capital occurred during the Pullman Strike of 1894. The strike against the Pullman Palace Car Company officially began on Friday, May 11, 1894, although factory workers had been unhappy about wages and rents in the company town for years. The walkout took on a new dimension weeks later when the American Railway Union (ARU), led by Eugene Debs, officially intervened in the strike and refused to handle Pullman cars. When the boycott went into effect, it proved enormously successful. A key moment in the strike came when the courts issued a "blanket injunction" that outlawed any activity that could be deemed as support for the striking workers. Injunctions were also issued against Debs and other union officers. Because the strike continued, the labor leader was charged with contempt of court and conspiracy. Despite the efforts of his attorney, Clarence Darrow, he was sentence to six months in jail. The case is striking because of the involvement of the U.S. Supreme Court. In the case *In re Debs,* the Supreme Court upheld the use of the blanket injunction, as well as the conviction of Debs and other union leaders. With support from the courts, the use of injunctions in labor disputes on both the state and federal level increased from 1890 to 1930. In the late 1890s and early 1900s, some state and federal anti-injunction bills appeared. However, the Supreme Court again struck a blow against labor by declaring these laws unconstitutional.

Labor did gain some strength in national politics during the Wilson administration (1913–1921). For example, the Department of Labor, which was originally formed as a branch of the Department of the Interior in 1884, was elevated to cabinet status in 1913 with a mission to "foster, promote, and develop the welfare of wage earners." Labor made gains in the courts as well. In the past, employers had used government regulations such as the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 and the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890 as an antistrike tool. The acts were intended to discourage monopolies and trusts, but some courts also deemed the normal activities of trade unions as "restraint of trade" under the antitrust legislation. For example, when a strike by New Orleans longshoremen began, the United States attorney won an antistrike decree by claiming that the unions were blocking interstate and foreign commerce. Finally, in 1914, Congress enacted the Clayton Act which provided some protection for organized labor by declaring that antitrust laws did not apply to unions since "the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce." In 1926, another step forward for labor occurred with passage of the Railway Labor Act, which required employers to bargain collectively with unionized workers employed with interstate railroads. Unions also learned to use the injunction to its benefit in the opening decades of the twentieth century. A small number of pro-labor injunctions were issued to forbid lockouts or blacklisting. Injunctions were also issued on labor's behalf to keep employers from breaking collective agreements. Advances were also made in the courts regarding picketing. In the nineteenth century, state courts took the position that all picketing—a major weapon of the worker—was illegal. By 1930, however, state courts allowed peaceful employee picketing.

When the United States' economy collapsed in 1929, conditions resulted which encouraged organization by both the unemployed and employed. Workers demonstrated, picketed, and formed unions. Faced with an increase in radicalization among the masses, the 1930s witnessed great gains for unions and the right to organize and strike. The first hint of change came with passage of the Davis-Bacon Act in 1931, which required that construction contracts entered into by the federal government specify a minimum wage to be paid to persons employed under those contracts. The closing year of the Hoover administration in 1932 was marked by passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act. The legislation became known as the Anti-Injunction Act because a key provision, Section

4, barred federal courts from issuing injunctions against labor unions and individuals. The act also made the "yellow-dog contract" (which forced workers to promise not to join a union or discontinue union membership) unenforceable in federal court. In general, if there was a labor dispute, the injunction had been removed from the employer's arsenal. They could still obtain injunctions from state courts; however, several state legislatures followed the federal lead and passed their own anti-injunction bills. The initial impact of the Norris-LaGuardia Act was weakened by court challenges but the Act was finally declared constitutional in 1937.

Following the inauguration of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt in March of 1933, Congress passed the National Industrial Recovery Act. Under the legislation, a friend of labor, Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, insisted on the inclusion of Section 7(a), which provided that "employees shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and shall be free from the interference, restraint or coercion of employers of labor." Section 7(a) also stated that "no employee and no one seeking employment shall be required as a condition of employment to join any company union or to refrain from joining, organizing, or assisting a labor organization of his own choosing." The inclusion of Section 7(a) in the NIRA represented a substantial shift of economic power to unions. Union membership began to grow, moving from approximately three-and-a-half million in 1935 to over ten million in 1941.

Labor's excitement over 7(a) was dimmed in 1935 when the Supreme Court declared the NIRA unconstitutional. Workers, however, continued to organize and pressured lawmakers to devise a substitute for the labor sections of the NIRA. The result was passage of a bill sponsored by Senator Wagner, the National Labor Relations Act in July 1935, also known as the Wagner Act. The legislation represents one of labor's strongest victories, making illegal a host of management activities that had been previously used against labor. A sampling of unfair labor practices established by the Wagner Act includes:

- threatening workers with job loss for union activity.
- using industrial espionage.
- privately interrogating workers about union membership.
- hiring strikebreakers to engage in violence or create fear in workers.
- using the "Mohawk Valley Formula" (organizing citizens' committees, spreading false rumors, etc.) to break a strike.

Under the Wagner Act, the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) was established as an independent agency to investigate complaints by unions or employees about possible violations of the NLRA. One weakness of the Wagner Act, according to its critics, is that court orders are needed to enforce NLRB rulings—a time-consuming process. It has also been argued that the Wagner Act has resulted in more union bureaucracy and defuses worker militancy and direct action. Nonetheless, the Wagner Act was clearly a step forward for the working class. Another significant triumph for labor on the legal front in the 1930s was passage of the Byrnes Act of 1936, also known as the Anti-Strikebreaker Law, which made it a felony to transport individuals across state lines as a threat against nonviolent picketing or as a measure against organizing or bargaining.

Labor gains in the 1930s were modified following World War II when a period of antilabor sentiment ensued. The Taft-Hartley Labor Act of 1947 was passed over the veto of President Harry Truman—who felt the measure was antilabor. Taft-Hartley retained most of the basic guarantees of workers' rights in the Wagner Act, particularly provisions dealing with collective bargaining. However, it contained a variety of restrictions and amendments and nullified parts of the Anti-Injunction Act of 1932. Significant provisions of Taft-Hartley include:

- outlawing of the closed shop by which an employer can hire only union members.
- banning the union shop in which all workers must join the union within some time period but need not be members when hired.
- outlawing sympathy strikes and secondary boycotts.
- making excessive or discriminatory initiation fees or dues an unfair labor practice.
- prohibiting strikes against the government.

One of the most controversial sections in Taft-Hartley was Section 9(g), which compelled all union officers to sign sworn statements that they were not members of the Communist Party. As a result of this section, radicals and leftists were driven from unions and some unions were destroyed. Section 9(g) was ultimately amended under the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 (also known as

the Landrum-Griffin Act), but Communists were still restricted from holding union office. The amended version of Section 9(g) was ultimately declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

The Landrum-Griffin Act of 1959 was the result of Senate committee hearings into charges of labor management corruption, including the use of violence by labor leadership and the misuse of funds. The act prevented former Communist Party members from holding union office for a period of five years after resigning membership. A similar provision was included for convicts. It also sought to guarantee union members freedom of speech and freedom of assembly, and it called for the use of a secret ballot for the election of union officers as well as tighter regulation of union funds.

The 1960s and 1970s witnessed a variety of gains for workers in the area of employment law. The Work Hours Act of 1962 provided regulations for overtime. Discrimination was curbed in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967. Workplace safety rules and inspections were tightened under the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970, which created the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA). Efforts to protect pension plans were launched in 1974 with the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974. In the 1980s, under the Reagan and Bush administrations, attempts were made to reduce labor regulations in an effort to make America's industries more competitive. Few major labor laws were passed in this timeframe; however, in 1990, the U.S. Supreme Court delivered a ruling making it harder for companies to replace union workers with nonunion workers.

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Cannery Workers Movement

In his 1939 study, *Factories in the Fields: The Story of Migratory Farm Labor in California,* Carey McWilliams posed the question of why it had been so difficult to organize agricultural-related workers. He contended that until organizers understood that agricultural-related work, which included farm workers and cannery workers, was essentially the same as other factory work, they could not make headway. He argued that the myth of the small farmer remained for many years, but agribusiness was the reality. A number of radical organizations understood this myth, and pioneered organizing efforts among farm workers and cannery workers. They had to overcome a conservative trade union movement that held onto the myth. These organizers had to meet the challenges emanating from the immigrant diversity in the workforce and the power of the growers and food processors. Finally, the organization of agricultural-related workers was inherently connected to United States policy on Mexican immigration, which was a revolving door policy.

History

The struggle to organize cannery workers was always closely linked to that of organizing agricultural workers. Organization was especially difficult because many of the workers were Mexican nationals, who were deported when growing season was over or when the United States economy was in a downward cycle. Both areas employed many women; in fact, the canneries consisted of a primarily Latina workforce. Conditions were abysmal, with low wages, seasonal work, unventilated rooms, and no toilet facilities. Workers often lived in makeshift tents with no running water. With the exception of agricultural unions, most mainstream labor organizations did not admit immigrants into their organizations.

Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union

Under the auspices of the Communist Party, one of the earliest attempts resulted in the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union (CAWIU), which was formed during the throes of the Great Depression. Although workers were competing for fewer jobs, CAWIU led many Southwestern agricultural-related workers strikes throughout the 1930s. A major strike occurred in 1938 against the Southern Pecan Shelling Company in San Antonio, Texas. Southern Pecan was one of the few pecan companies not mechanized because it was more cost-effective to pay low wages to their predominantly Mexican workforce than to maintain machines. When the company tried to cut the already low wages, thousands of workers struck and won a favorable settlement. Since the majority of the workers were women, CAWIU recognized that it was essential for women to play a major role in leading and coordinating agricultural strikes. Important leaders were Manuela Solis Sager, Emma Tenayucca, and Luisa Moreno. All three remained committed to integrating Mexican workers into the organized labor movement and working for social change.

By the late 1930s, the union had led dozens of major strikes. CAWIU's successes were met by the wrath of the growers, who utilized police, national guards, and the legal system against them. CAWIU leaders faced prosecution under California's criminal syndicalism law. The resultant legal battles depleted their meager resources. Although the union was destroyed, its impact was extensive and laid the groundwork for future organizing among agricultural-related workers. Wage gains won by CAWIU's successful strikes amounted to millions of dollars, and workers gained important experience and political knowledge based on these unionization drives.

Cannery workers hurl stones and other objects at guards and strikebreakers during a labor conflict in Stockton, California, in 1937.
(© Underwood Photo Archives, Inc.)

La Confederación de Uniones de Campesinos y Obreros Mexicanos

As CAWIU was being crushed, Mexican workers were forming a new independent union, La Confederación de Uniones de Campesinos y Obreros Mexicanos (CUCOM), under the leadership of radicals. The organization grew rapidly, going on to launch successful strikes and win increased wages from the growers. Again, the growers, with all forces of the state at their disposal, sought to destroy the Confederation. To strengthen their position, CUCOM linked themselves to the U.S. labor movement and also joined with labor leaders from the Filipino and Japanese communities to form the Federation of Agricultural Workers Union of America (FAWUA) in 1936. FAWUA's strike efforts met with fierce resistance from the growers, and their efforts to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor (AFL) never came to fruition, due to the resistance of the conservative AFL. In 1938, based on the lessons learned from CAWIU, CUCOM, and FAWUA, radical trade unionists organized the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America (UCAPAWA), which affiliated with the newly organized and more militant Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Through its successful campaigns, UCAPAWA went on to become the seventh largest CIO union.

Luisa Moreno

From its inception, UCAPAWA was dedicated to trade union democracy and believed in promoting the leadership of immigrant workers and women workers at all levels. Luisa Moreno, a Guatemalan immigrant with a long history of involvement in labor organizing, was among the founders of the union and served as vice president for many years. Moreno had extensive trade union experience before helping to build UCAPAWA. She had organized cotton workers in Texas, beet workers in Colorado, and 60,000 cannery workers in California. Moreno was one of the main leaders of the Southern Pecan Strike in Texas. Moreno, as other UCAPAWA leaders, clearly understood the relationship between unionism, civil rights, and social change. She consistently argued for the recruitment of immigrants and women and their inclusion as leaders. She helped found the *El Congreso de los Pueblos de Habla Español* (the Congress of Spanish Speaking Peoples) in 1938. The Congress was nationwide and included workers, educators, politicians, students, and artists. Its purpose was to promote understanding between Anglo-Americans and Mexicans, to improve the economic, social, and cultural life of Mexican people, to actively unionize, and to fight all forms of discrimination. Moreno traveled all over the United States promoting the Congress and arguing for the rights of Spanish-speaking peoples. She explained how Mexican workers were constantly being brought to the United States by large growers' associations as a cheap workforce and then sent back, making organizing difficult.

Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers of America (FTA)

Since UCPAWA had made significant gains among tobacco workers, its name was changed in 1944 to the Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers of America (FTA). The plans of the union continued to be the building of strong cannery units, which would serve as a basis for organizing farm workers. FTA served as a model of social unionism as they actively recruited women and immigrants and consciously

groomed them for leadership. Women recruiting women proved to be pivotal to the union's organizing success.

In 1945, backed by the CIO, FTA took on the challenge of organizing cannery workers in central California. This task was made more formidable as they found themselves competing with the AFL-sanctioned International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT), who had a condescending attitude toward cannery workers. Utilizing their democratic approach, FTA sought to reach the diverse workforce, which included Chinese, African-American, Italian, Portuguese, and Mexican workers. Multilingual literature was distributed, and multilingual meetings were held. Although FTA overwhelmingly won NLRB certification elections, the IBT retaliated by boycotting canneries under FTA contract. The IBT also won over the California Processors and Growers Association (CPG), who preferred their labor/management accord approach over the more radical FTA. The NLRB elections were challenged, and the IBT began to sign "sweetheart" or illegal contracts.

Because of the fierce anti-Communist, anti-Progressive movement of the Cold War years, especially in the McCarthy era, the IBT and the AFL repeatedly attacked the FTA as subversive. As a result of the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act, which eroded many of labor's gains won through the 1935 National Labor Relations Act, FTA, along with other left-led democratic unions, was expelled from the CIO in 1950, weakening the labor federation considerably. IBT became firmly entrenched among the cannery workers in California.

By 1990, a democratic faction won control of the IBT and attempted to transform the union. IBT still held sway over cannery workers, but during the 1990s, before the union could be democratized, thousands of California cannery and other agricultural-related workers found themselves displaced as plants located offshore. Although regions such as Watsonville, San Pedro, and San Diego enjoyed flourishing food processing industries for almost fifty years, by the twenty-first century, most were gone.

Conclusion

The organizing of cannery workers was intertwined with the organizing of farm workers. These workers were predominantly women and documented and undocumented immigrants. Organizing immigrants was difficult since they were vulnerable and always subject to deportation. During the Depression, many Mexicans, including U.S. citizens, were deported or "repatriated" to Mexico. Despite intimidation, harassment, and the severe economic conditions of the Depression, Mexican workers, especially women, were at the forefront of the trade union movement. Women and Mexican workers coordinated organizing campaigns and formed democratic unions in the cannery and agriculture-related industries. Fierce red-baiting campaigns on the part of the government, business, the church, and conservative unions all joined to destroy these unions in the 1940s and 1950s. At the end of the twentieth century, in the search for cheaper labor, the canning and agriculture-related industries moved offshore, leaving thousands of workers jobless.

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Labor Movement 1948–1981

Between the end of World War II and the first Reagan administration, the American labor movement completed a trajectory of growth that began in the 1930s, survived a period of stagnation, and initiated a decline that would continue throughout the end of the century.

After a revival of militancy in the immediate aftermath of World War II, labor retreated from the social agenda it had advanced during the New Deal and accepted the more limited role of bargaining agent for its members. At the labor movements' apogee in the mid-1950s, unions comprised one-third of nonfarm workers. Organized labor was remarkably successful in procuring high wages, pension benefits, and health insurance against the background of Cold War politics and the resurgence of conservatism. These hard-won gains indirectly benefited the whole working class as some nonunion firms followed similar wage patterns.

Looking from the perspective of a steady decline of the labor movement in the past two decades, historians have located the seeds of its downfall in the postwar period. They argue that the labor movement developed into a mainstream institution, which supported corporate capitalism and the Korean and Vietnam wars and abandoned its reformist goals. Critics have also observed that material gains were often achieved only in exchange for increased input on the job—an alienating experience for the average worker on the line.

Labor, during the period under examination, also contended with internal opponents among social groups that criticized its bias toward male and white members. Organized labor accommodated to these pressures in a variety of ways, according to the political inclinations of its various affiliates. However, following the social transformations of the 1960s, discontent also grew among white workers, spurring a series of rank-and-file movements that challenged the industrial order of corporate capitalism.

This agitation diminished in the mid-1970s when the economic crisis and the restructuring of mass production started eroding labor's negotiating leverage and jeopardized millions of jobs. In the 1980s, the Reagan administration put forward a neoliberal agenda that included a direct attack on the prerogatives of organized labor. The managerial offensive that ensued accelerated the decline of the labor movement and eroded its influence in American society.

Labor in the Wake of World War II

The end of World War II opened a period of confrontation between labor and capital that resulted in the refashioning of the system of industrial relations initiated during the New Deal. After VJ Day, industrial unions—mostly gathered under the umbrella of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)—lifted the No Strike Pledge they had underwritten to sustain the wartime production effort. Fear of a renewed depression among workers, which seemed confirmed by cutbacks in production and plant closures, led to a wave of strikes of a magnitude second only to the one of 1919–1920. Thousands of strikes occurred among automobile, steel, electrical, and coal workers, but also in the shipbuilding, telephone, railway, lumber, meatpacking, and other industries. Industrial workers comprised over two-thirds of the strikers.

The CIO, under the leadership of Philip Murray, saw in the reconversion an opportunity to broaden the role of labor and the scope of its influence in government decision making. However, inside the organization different personalities disagreed on the best way to achieve this goal. Although Murray favored a smooth transition through negotiation with corporations and government, others—and prominent among them was Walter Reuther, head of the United Automobile Workers (UAW)-General Motors (GM) department—preferred a showdown, thereby exploiting workers' willingness to strike. Eventually, this second

WALTER P. REUTHER (1907–1970)

More than any other individual, Walter Reuther defined the structure, mission, and outlook of the United Automobile Workers (UAW). Although he was neither the labor union's founder nor its first president, his influence spans the decades from the years of the Great Depression into the twenty-first century.

Reuther was born on September 1, 1907, to a German immigrant couple in Wheeling, West Virginia, the second of five children. They were strong unionists and staunch Socialists who believed that a Socialist commonwealth would eventually replace the predatory capitalist system extant in the United States in the early twentieth century.

In 1927, Walter moved to Detroit to work in the burgeoning automobile business. After a brief stint at Briggs Manufacturing, a supplier of auto bodies, Reuther landed a job at Ford Motor Company and remained there for five years. Victor, Walter's brother, joined him in Detroit in 1930, and they began working together in the election campaign for Socialist candidate Norman Thomas. Although Reuther eventually abandoned the Socialist cause per se, the ideals of economic and social equality remained.

After Walter was laid off, the brothers embarked on a three-year tour of Europe that eventually led them to work in the Soviet Union's Gorki auto plant for eighteen months. Upon their return in 1935, the two brothers worked at organizing industrial workers for the newly formed Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), which organized all workers in a certain industry regardless of skill level or craft affiliation, unlike the long-established American Federation of Labor (AFL). Reuther's skill at organizing and a new weapon, the sitdown strike, brought success to the newly formed UAW. Walter Reuther was elected president of newly chartered Local 174 in Detroit. Organizing successes at General Motors (Flint, Michigan) and Chrysler (Detroit and Hamtramck, Michigan) in 1937 and at Ford in 1941 cemented the UAW as a fixture in the American auto industry. In 1937, Reuther and other organizers were severely beaten by a Ford goon squad in the famous Battle of the Overpass at the company's Rouge River Plant in Dearborn, Michigan. He survived an assassination attempt in 1948 that left him severely wounded.

During the war years, 1941–1945, most unions, including the UAW, agreed to the "No Strike Pledge," which demonstrated union loyalty to the nation while giving up workers' ultimate weapon against employers. Despite the pledge, thousands of unauthorized wildcat strikes took place in the auto plants. The plants had been converted to war production, partially as a result of Reuther's "500 planes a day" plan.

In 1948, Reuther negotiated the "Treaty of Detroit" with General Motors, which gave autoworkers quarterly cost-of-living adjustments and a 2 percent annual improvement factor. An even more generous five-year contract in 1950 expanded healthcare benefits and established a monthly pension plan. The UAW grew in numbers and political clout, especially in the Democratic Party, reaching a peak of 1.5 million members in 1965. In exchange for monetary and benefits packages, however, the UAW gave up control over issues of production, corporate investment, and the nature of the workplace.

In 1955, Reuther helped negotiate the merger of the AFL and CIO. But in 1968, because of personal and organizational differences with AFL-CIO President George Meany, Reuther led the UAW out of the AFL-CIO. Chief among these differences was Meany's conservative views on civil rights and foreign policy, especially the Vietnam War. Reuther had supported U.S. President Lyndon Johnson because of the War on Poverty and Johnson's progressive actions on civil rights and rebuilding the inner cities until late 1967 and early 1968. Reuther's muted opposition to the war alienated both Johnson and Meany, who supported American efforts in Vietnam to the bitter end in 1973.

Reuther was a strong supporter of the civil rights movement and marched alongside Martin Luther King Jr. in Detroit and Washington in 1963.

Walter Reuther died with his wife, May, on May 9, 1970, in a plane crash. They were on their way to view Reuther's final project, an extensive UAW training facility at Black Lake in northern Michigan. Although he can be criticized for his failures, he should be praised for his vision and his attempts to create a just society in which working people could participate in the American Dream.

Frank Koscielski

line proved more popular among rank-and-file workers, who had contended with inflation, wage freezes, and speedups during the war period.

The longest confrontation, and a crucial one for the fate of American labor, was the 1946 General Motors strike led by Walter Reuther himself. The GM strike lasted 113 days and shut all the company's plants. Most were concentrated in Detroit, Flint, Toledo, and Cleveland. The UAW demanded a 30 percent wage increase without a rise in the cost of cars. Reuther claimed that, due to rising wartime productivity and "cost plus" government contracts, GM had the ability to pay, and provocatively asked the company to open its books to a panel of government experts to demonstrate the contrary. Reuther embraced Keynesian economics and argued that only a redistribution of income could forestall another depression by sustaining consumers' spending.

If wage hikes were passed on to consumers, they would undermine sustained growth. He called upon the government to maintain price controls and working-class living standards. President Harry Truman, however, was not going to assume such a role. By not giving full support to the UAW, the president encouraged GM to resist the kind of social ambitions that the labor movement had nurtured during the war. GM manager Wilson, on behalf of the entire business community, upheld the principle that unions should not intrude in management matters such as prices, profits, or organization of work. The GM strike therefore concerned essentially what sphere labor would occupy in the postwar period. Eventually, the UAW's position was also undermined by the settlement of the United Steel Workers and United Electrical Workers—the latter striking against the same employer—who settled with a pay rise of 18.5 cents an hour. Reuther, left with little space for maneuvering, had no alternative but to accept these conditions.

Although the postwar strikes delivered only limited gains in wages, they did show the extent of workers' power and solidarity, even in the face of internal failure to coordinate CIO strategy. The fact that violent clashes with police occurred only in sporadic cases suggested that organized labor enjoyed a greater legitimacy among the general public than before the war. However, subsequent events also showed the fragility of industrial unionism power.

Successes among Southern unions during the war and the desire to revive the organizing spirit of the 1930s led the CIO to announce in 1945 an ambitious drive to unionize the low-wage South—unofficially dubbed "Operation Dixie." With less resoluteness, the craft union–based American Federation of Labor (AFL) also launched its own organizing drive. But wartime success proved ephemeral, and both organizing campaigns faced an entrenched anti-union sentiment not only among employers but among workers too. For the CIO in particular, the failure was upsetting since it had initially committed considerable, though insufficient, resources, together with its credibility. The campaign suffered from dubious strategic choices, which included the privileging of textile industries, the eschewing of the racial question, and the exclusion of left-wing organizers. Operation Dixie dragged on until 1953 when it was discontinued in the face of CIO affiliations dropping out of the drive among the discomfort of the in-field organizers. The AFL had already stopped its drive in 1947.

Taft-Hartley and the Purge of Communists

One circumstance that hindered Operation Dixie was the growing conservative climate in national politics. The onset of the Cold War and the strike wave after VJ Day contributed to create a backlash against labor that gave Republicans the majority in the elections of 1946. For Republicans the repeated strikes exposed the inadequacies of the existing labor legislation, which gave a "monopolistic" power to unions. Employers, too, waited for a chance to reform the Wagner Act. These sentiments resulted in passage of the Taft-Hartley Act. The first major political attack on the New Deal political order, the act marked the transition to the postwar era in labor law. The act sought to restrict unions' influence at a political level and interunion solidarity by banning sympathy strikes, supportive boycotts, and campaign contributions. It complicated the procedure for the union shop and, most important, for the future of organized labor, allowed states to bypass federal law and ban the closed shop. This provision in particular nullified Operation Dixie. Finally, the new law required all union officeholders to sign affidavits affirming that they were not members of the Communist Party. Any union whose officers refused to sign affidavits would lose the protection provided by the Wagner Act and access to the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) mechanism.

The Taft-Hartley Act reinforced the effect of contracts stipulated at industry level in seriously delimitating the union's space for maneuvering both at the national level and on the shop floor. The clause that allowed the U.S. president to seek an injunction end-

No law was more universally despised by organized labor than the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act, which banned sympathy strikes and the closed shop and curtailed union influence nationwide. In this 1953 cartoon, labor leaders John L. Lewis, Walter Reuther, and George Meany ride a horse with an axe head, galloping toward the Taft-Hartley Act in hopes of chopping it down and repealing it. *(Library of Congress)*

ing strikes that "imperil the national health," though never seriously implemented, lowered public support for unions by portraying them as selfish economic actors that were harmful to the nation. The act, by redefining the term *employee* in a way that excluded foremen, impaired the efforts of this category to build up a union in the form of the Foremen Association of America. As historian Nelson Lichtenstein has demonstrated, the foremen's efforts to build a union drove them increasingly into a collaboration with the CIO, thereby depriving management of the fundamental instrument to regiment rank-and-file. Manufacturers' victory in keeping foremen strictly on management's side represented an insurmountable limit for the expansion of unions' rights to other categories. The cumulative effect of the provisions in the new labor legislation was to discourage unions from pursuing a strategy of structural reform of the American political economy.

The Taft-Hartley Act and the announcement of the Truman Doctrine of worldwide containment of the Soviet Union opened a period of internal struggle within the CIO that resulted in the purge of Communist-led unions and Communist officers. Although Communists were only a minority within the CIO, they played a major role in the 1930s in building the organization. They occupied key posts in the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (UE), the Food, Tobacco, and Allied Workers (FTA), and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). Other unions, such as the UAW and the United Packinghouse Workers of America (UPWA), counted staunch Communist locals in their ranks. During the Cold War, the presence of Communists became a central issue. On the one hand, the CIO became increasingly enmeshed in supporting the Truman administration and its foreign and defense policy. On the other hand, genuine anti-Communists like former UE president James Carey and UAW president Walter Reuther used the issue to win factional struggles on their own turf.

In 1947, CIO affiliates followed a divided course in reference to international politics, for instance, in reference to the Marshall Plan. However, during the 1948 presidential election a split became inevitable as pro-Soviet unions and leaders supported third-party candidate Henry Wallace, while AFL-CIO leaders endorsed Truman. The provision of the Taft-Hartley Act that decertified from the NLRB unions whose officers did not sign the anti-Communist affidavit played into the hands of Reuther and the like because it made "Communist" unions more vulnerable in relations with employers and to takeover by other unions. During 1948 and 1949, for instance, the UAW raided UE and Farm Equipment (FE) locals. In the same period, the CIO expelled many affiliates with Communist leadership or orientation, thereby losing hundreds of thousands of members and some of the finest organizers. The AFL, on the other hand, had no record of Communist infiltration, and it had enthusiastically adopted the anti-Communist affidavits. In the Cold War period, in collaboration with the State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the AFL played an important part in undermining Communist unions in Europe and in creating the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. In the process, labor became part of the liberal establishment by consolidating its alliance with the Democratic Party, especially through the activity of CIO's Political

Action Committee and AFL's League for Political Action. The Communist purge therefore defined the character of labor for the next twenty-five years and opened a period that is often called the Corporate Consensus, in which organized labor participated in the American government's program of military spending and Communist containment abroad, reaping the benefits of the economic boom at home.

Collective Bargaining and the Postwar Liberal Consensus

The Korean War can be considered the beginning of a period of maximum fortune for organized labor. In these years the two characters that defined postwar labor ascended to a presidential position in their respective organizations: George Meany in the AFL and Walter Reuther in the CIO. During the Korean War, labor renewed its commitment to the Democratic foreign agenda, but contrary to its stance in World War II it did not consent to a no-strike pledge. Therefore, during the Korean conflict the system of industrial relations developed into its mature form, according to the lines already designated by the 1946 UAW-GM contract.

In that instance, the automobile manufacturer had expressed the employer's concern to limit the scope of collective bargaining to matters deemed not critical to management efficiency. The control of the production process on the shop-floor level was the most important sphere from the managerial point of view, for it invested its prerogative to determine the production output and its cost. The existence of collective bargaining rested on the shared assumption between unions and manufacturers that it would have to be enacted at the expense of shop-floor bargaining. In fact, by specifying workers' rights on the shop floor through a contract, unions and manufacturers also severely limited them. This system, which historians have called workplace contractualism, regulated workers' discontent with a grievance procedure articulated in several steps. At every stage, union and management negotiated to solve the problem according to the contract. Often the way a grievance would be solved depended on a *quid pro quo* between the two sides, and not on conformity to an abstract rule. For instance, management could revoke a disciplinary action toward a worker if the union, in exchange, pardoned an increase in the work pace. If the grievance could not be solved at the lower level of the hierarchy, it would go higher up, until, eventually, it would be submitted to arbitration by a neutral third party with a binding decision.

There is little discussion that the grievance procedure, as it was implemented, aimed at neutralizing potential disruptive conflict on the shop floor. It buttressed management control of the workforce and production process because it left unions with only one legitimate instrument to counter an adverse managerial decision: to file a grievance. This system was also in itself ineffectual in attacking inequalities in the workplace inasmuch as union officials and managers could, in practice, simply ignore a grievance. Finally, the sheer volume of grievances granted that only a small proportion would be submitted to every step of the procedure.

Collective bargaining pursued economic efficiency and orderly industrial relations by rendering most types of job actions illegal during the life of the contract. It transformed shop stewards into guardians of the rank and file insofar as they had to restrain actions that violated the contract. Collective bargaining also affected the internal organization of unions, as only full-time officials could administrate the complex body of contract rules. Officials at the local level were responsible for the application of the contract for the central organizations. A UAW bylaw required three conditions for a strike: that the conflict could not be solved through the grievance procedure; that the strike be voted by a majority of the local members; and that the strike be approved by the International Executive Board. Collective bargaining therefore reinforced the decisional power of the hierarchies at the expense of the rank and file, although always within a system formally committed to internal democracy.

By 1950, unions such as the UAW had completed their trajectory from a catalyst of mass movement to pillars of the social order based on the "Corporate Consensus." The CIO had joined the AFL in definitely abandoning more radical aims in order to co-manage a capitalistic economy base on the assumption of a constant growth of the auto industry and a national prosperity underpinned by the Cold War "military-industrial complex." The CIO slogan "What's Good for America Is Good for the CIO" is telling in this respect. The 1950 UAW-GM contract has been traditionally regarded as the most significant example of this trend. The contract included a $125-a-month pension and a cost of living allowance (COLA) linked to inflation. Most remarkably, the contract ran for the unprecedented length of five years.

The press hailed the agreement as the "Treaty of Detroit," and it was compared to as sweeping an in-

novation as Ford's five-dollar day. Reuther boasted that the contract was "the most significant development in labor relations since the mass production industries were organized." The UAW proved that organized labor was able to provide a high standard of living for the working class, without impairing manufacturers' growth. Indeed, as in previous UAW-GM contracts, the "Treaty of Detroit" was a trendsetter not only in the auto industry, but also in the entire manufacturing sector. COLA soon spread to all major union contracts and, as inflation increased, to Social Security pensions and even some nonunion contracts. However, the contract also marked the end of the union's effort to intervene in the management of the industry—the four-year-old request to "open the books" seemed four decades away—and testified to the end of the liberal hope for an expansion of the welfare state by accepting a company-centered welfare.

Operating in a high-technology and high-profit sector, the UAW broke ground in achieving the material betterment of its workers, but in all the manufacturing sectors, unions successfully expanded health insurance, pension plans, unemployment benefits, and, in particular, wages, which for the average workers rose, in real terms, 31 percent between 1950 and 1965. Outside the CIO, the United Mine Workers, led by the legendary John L. Lewis, negotiated in 1947 a forward-looking medical fund to protect miners from the frequent work-related injuries and diseases. In the 1950s, only a few radical observers contradicted the common wisdom that the American worker had entered the middle class. Suburban residential patterns and the constant growth of consumers suggested that the American worker was integrated into the system. On the other hand, the upsurge of white-collar employment, which in 1956 surpassed blue-collar employment, pointed to a future disappearance of the traditional working class.

Organized labor's successes in collective bargaining concealed its inability to put forward a social welfare agenda at the national level. Labor turned toward firm-based benefits because plans for a public health-care program had plummeted by 1949. By doing so, labor created in the manufacturing sector a privileged working class disinterested in advancing the social legislation liberals sought for lower-income groups in the segmented U.S. labor market. There was an "Other America," in the words of writer Michael Harrington, that did not reap the benefits of the expanding U.S. economy as union workers did. Furthermore, the failure to shift welfare items from the collective bargaining agenda to national politics impeded further gains in wages and working conditions.

Efforts to repeal the brakes imposed by the Taft-Hartley Act were also unsuccessful, and actually labor stood on the defensive during the 1950s against further Republican attacks to union rights. Finally, within the private sector, even the most powerful unions like the UAW and the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) failed to curb employers' resistance to a guaranteed annual wage and a shorter work week.

The 1950s: Labor in the Affluent Society

The 1950s were therefore at the same time years of achievement and years of stagnation for the labor movement. While in absolute terms, the number of unionized workers increased, its proportion in the total workforce actually shrank. In 1954, for instance, union membership stood at about 17 million and represented 34.7 percent of nonagricultural workers. By 1968, although the first figure had risen to almost 19 million, it represented only 27.8 percent of the labor force. Also responsible for this development were the managerial strategies of development and restructuring in key unionized sectors, such as automobile, steel, and meatpacking. Manufacturers consented to the unions' presence only grudgingly and, even if they accepted the unions as bargaining partners, they endeavored to find ways to undermine their clout. At the industry level, this meant mainly experimenting with technology that would reduce the need for human labor while augmenting production. In the late 1940s, the specialized press dubbed this phenomenon "Automation"—a term that soon appeared in virtually every discussion on the future of American manufacturing.

When Ford introduced automation in 1947, it meant the operation of automatic transfer machines that would move material between different lines without the employment of workers. However, automatic devices gradually spread in many industries, substituting for workers in a number of occupations. Mechanization threatened both skilled and unskilled workers but exacted a greater toll among the unskilled as it often concerned labor-intensive operations. Automation changed the American industrial landscape in many ways that affected the labor movement. Since it required an initial large investment for its introduction, automation favored the tendency of American capitalism toward further concentration, as smaller manufacturers who could not afford the

technology lagged behind in productivity and were eventually driven out of the market. Unions in the industrial sector therefore confronted increasingly powerful corporations.

Automation caused the quick obsolescence of plants. The new transfer lines worked best on a large horizontal surface area. Manufacturers always preferred to build new plants on cheap land outside large urban centers rather than to renew the old multistory plants. Furthermore, they used this opportunity to increasingly relocate their operations to areas with low levels of unionization, leaving the old industrial heartland deindustrialized, with terrible social and economic consequences. These developments therefore eroded unions' power precisely in those segments of the labor market in which they were supposed to be strong. In the long run, more than any other strategic or organizational mistake, it would be the restructuring of the industrial economy that would weaken unions' leverage in the political arena.

By the mid-1950s, labor had become an established component of the American polity. Organized labor claimed 18 million members, and of these, 9 million belonged to the AFL, 6 million to the CIO, and the rest to independent unions such as the UMW and the railway brotherhoods (these figures, however, were probably inflated). However, labor would have to overcome its many divisions if it was to countervail in the long term the powerful anti-union forces. Efforts to mend the separation between the different components of the house of labor were in vain during the late 1930s and the 1940s, but in the 1950s the original antagonism between the AFL and the CIO had diminished as the difference between craft and industrial unionism faded in the bureaucratization of the postwar labor movement.

The ascendancy in 1952 of the first Republican president since 1933 prompted the two organizations to look for a greater unity. Truly, Reuther and Meany were two different men: Reuther was committed to pursue a social democratic agenda, whereas Meany was a bread-and-butter unionist who proudly declared that he had never led a strike. However, both fitted C. Wright Mills's characterization of "managers of discontent" insofar as they were instrumental in channeling working-class insurgency into mainstream institutions.

Two obstacles that had precluded the merger in the past—the respective charges of Communist influence in the CIO and the negative record of racketeering in some AFL affiliates—became less conspicuous. As we have seen, by 1950 the CIO had purged its Communist affiliation and was a leading supporter of anti-Soviet politics. In 1953, the AFL moved to attack illegal practices in the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA), especially in its power base on the New York docks (whose underworld was depicted by Elia Kazan in the controversial 1954 film *On the Waterfront*). Failing to meet the requests of the federation regarding the transparent system of paying and the employment of officers with clean police records, the ILA was finally expelled from the AFL later that year.

The AFL and the CIO eventually merged in 1955 after having settled (though not in a definitive way) the thorny matter of AFL raiding on CIO locals and (rarely) vice versa. Since the AFL was the larger of the two, the presidency was assigned to Meany. On the other hand, Reuther contented himself with being a vice president in charge of the Industrial Union Department where he thought he would be in control of the resources necessary to launch a new organizing drive. In fact, he saw in the merger the opportunity to revitalize the campaign to organize the unorganized, which had stalled since the end of Operation Dixie. Reuther thought that the merged federation could amass $15 million and organize up to 4 million workers in a few years.

In the end, the merger did not open the road for such a development, and organized labor did not move forward, but instead continued to stall. The AFL-CIO never initiated the kind of momentum that Reuther envisioned. Meany persevered in the customary AFL skepticism of central organizing. He thought this was best left to single unions or to workers themselves: they would have joined unions if they wanted to. Frustrated by the many obstacles he encountered in the AFL-CIO, Reuther in 1967 temporarily brought the UAW into an alliance with the Teamsters, charging that the federation lacked "the necessary vitality, vision, and imagination, as well as social invention to make it equal to the challenging problems of a changing world."

This coalition was short-lived because the two organizations represented two different types of unionism: the UAW was one of the most forward-looking, democratic, and reformist unions; the Teamsters, though equal, or bigger, in size, had not severed their ties with organized crime that had caused their expulsion from the AFL-CIO in 1957. The Teamsters adopted dubious practices in their organizing raids and were politically on the other end of the spectrum, being close to the Republicans.

THE MERGER OF THE AFL AND CIO

After nearly twenty years of union rivalry between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, organized labor in the United States reunified under the umbrella of one federation with the creation of the AFL-CIO in February 1955. The following is the preamble to the new federation's constitution.

PREAMBLE

The establishment of this Federation through the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations is an expression of the hopes and aspirations of the working people of America.

We seek fulfillment of these hopes and aspirations through democratic processes within the framework of our constitutional government and consistent with our institutions and traditions.

At the collective bargaining table, in the community, in the exercise of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, we shall responsibly serve the interests of all the American people.

We pledge ourselves to the more effective organization of working men and women; to the securing to them of full recognition and enjoyment of the rights to which they are justly entitled; to the achievement of ever higher standards of living and working conditions; to the attainment of security for all the people sufficient to enable workers and their families to live in dignity; to the enjoyment of the leisure which their skills make possible; and to the strengthening and extension of our way of life and our democratic society.

We shall combat resolutely the forces which seek to undermine the democratic institutions of our nation and to enslave the human soul. We shall strive always to win full respect for the dignity of the human individual whom our unions serve.

With Divine guidance, grateful for the fine traditions of our past, confident of meeting the challenge of the future, we proclaim this Constitution.

Source: AFL-CIO, Washington, DC.

LABOR AND THE RACIAL QUESTION

One basic issue that had retarded the AFL-CIO merger was their different commitment to racial equality. The AFL had a negative record on civil rights. Although the federation included about 600,000 black workers and one black-led union—the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters—many affiliates continued to blatantly discriminate against African Americans. All AFL skilled craft unions de facto excluded blacks from their ranks, and so did the building trades unions, musicians, papermakers, and others. Apart from generic statements denouncing racism, the federation never disciplined these cases, nor did it allow an extended debate about the issue. The approach of the AFL to racial matters had not changed much since its formative years in the nineteenth century when blacks were not part of the industrial working class.

On the other hand, African Americans had played an important part in building the CIO in the 1930s. By 1945, over 300,000 black workers were members of CIO affiliates. They were particularly numerous in auto manufacturing and meatpacking, so that the UAW and the UPWA became outspoken supporters of civil rights as well as steel and longshoring workers. Postwar industrial contracts helped narrow the gap between white and black workers' income. In 1950, the average African-American income was 60 percent that of whites, compared to 41 percent in 1939. CIO leaders frequently asserted the need to end racial discrimination, though often in the Cold War context of avoiding negative Soviet propaganda.

Upon closer inspection, however, the positive reputation of CIO unions for civil rights was only relative to the situation in the AFL. Although the UPWA systematically fought prejudicial practices and discriminatory contracts, other CIO unions were vocal supporters of civil rights but did not always consistently live up to their own words. The UAW, for instance, staunchly endorsed civil rights legislation, it generously donated to the NAACP, and it created at its internal core a Fair Practices Committee to consider cases of discrimination within the automobile industry. However, its internal hierarchies remained exclusively white. In 1962, the first African American was elected to its executive, but blacks remained grossly underrepresented among the top officers. Similarly, the UAW never challenged its skilled trades practices of racial exclusivity, thereby contributing to keep blacks in the most unpleasant jobs.

Given these precedents, a merger between the two federations sounded ominous to civil rights activists in the labor movement because it also suggested that the CIO would renounce its timid commitment to the black cause. The AFL-CIO convention in 1955 did ratify an article in the constitution that committed the organization to "encourage all workers, without re-

gard to race, creed, color, national origin, or ancestry, to share equally in the full benefits of union organization." However, in the following years, proposals to implement this clause were frustrated by the fact that white delegates from conservative unions dominated the convention. President Meany personally opposed expelling unions that practiced discrimination. To the insistence of A. Philip Randolph, the combative president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, demanding to expand the power of the civil rights committee, he famously replied "Who in hell appointed you as the guardian of the Negroes members [sic] in America?"

Moving into the 1960s, the AFL-CIO continued to refuse to throw its weight to achieve full racial equality in its ranks. Liberal unions such the UAW worked closely with the civil rights leaders. The civil rights leaders acknowledged the UAW's contribution when they called Reuther to share the podium in the 1963 March on Washington where Martin Luther King Jr. delivered his poignant "I Have a Dream" speech.

Meanwhile, the UAW's internal contradictions were exposed in Detroit by the activists of the Trade Union Leadership Council (TULC), who demanded a stronger black presence in the leadership and in the skilled trades. Other liberal unions also came under attack. In 1962, NAACP labor secretary Herbert Hill denounced the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union for discouraging African-American and Puerto Rican members from running for office. Revelations of discrimination within industrial unions proved even more disturbing than the surveys that showed racial exclusivity among AFL craft unions; the AFL craft unions, after all, had never publicly advanced racial justice. This discrepancy between public statements and private truths increasingly drove a wedge between labor and the black movement.

Women in the Labor Movement

As in the case of African Americans, the labor movement's record in regard to women is mixed. From the outset, trade unions had been male-dominated and male-oriented organizations, and women made inroads into equality only slowly, facing a number of obstacles. The lack of manpower for defense industries during World War II led to increased employment of women, helped question some of the boundaries that defined the gendered division of work in manufacturing, and exposed the arbitrariness of these divisions.

Women adjusted to jobs as welders and assemblers, jobs traditionally reserved for men. As their percentage among the workforce increased many times over, women also entered union politics. In unions such as the UAW and UE, during World War II women represented up to 40 percent of the membership. Their defense production experience prepared women to resist the massive layoffs after the Japanese surrender in 1945. While for men workers layoffs lasted only from the time of reconversion to civilian activities, women workers were often discriminated against and not hired again. In many cases, men with no history of employment were preferred to women with three years of seniority. Employers now asserted that women were not suited for certain jobs.

Although the labor movement acknowledged the problem of sexual discrimination at work, union leadership tended to marginalize women's problems in favor of the demands of the male majority. Verbal commitments to sex equality did not translate into equal access to a position of power in the union hierarchy or in an agenda centered on equal access to jobs for women. As a result of this kind of patriarchal resistance among both managers and laborites, the percentage of women in the industrial workforce shrank to 10 percent by the 1950s.

Thus, women's battle for equality in the workplace had to start inside the unions, with local leadership often proving harder to overcome than national officers. In the UAW, where Walter Reuther sincerely believed in the opportunities for democracy offered by the labor movement, local leaders often ignored recommendations and directives to bargain equal access to jobs or disregarded female workers' grievance against unfair managerial practices. Women's insistence on defending their rights made an impact on the UAW policy. In 1955, the international leadership granted them continuing funding for the Women's Bureau, an independent department from which women could advance their collective bargaining objectives.

In the UE, the largest union expelled from the CIO in the Communist purge, the internal Fair Practices Committee equally fought against sexism and racism, and the union often succeeded in eliminating discriminatory clauses in the contracts. However, few other unions could boast the same commitment to the advancement of women. The ILGWU, a union composed in the majority of women, had a leadership almost exclusively male, and the AFL craft unions did not bother to organize women. Finally, no woman sat on the AFL-CIO executive board.

A breakthrough in the position of women in the labor movement occurred only in the 1970s. The rise

of the feminist movement with its emphasis on gender equality revitalized women's effort inside the unions and gave them greater political leverage. Meanwhile, the unionization of the service sector increased the percentage of women inside the labor movement. In 1974, hundreds of female delegates from all over the country founded the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) in Chicago. CLUW demanded affirmative action in the workplace to end sexual discrimination, pledged to organize women in the labor movement, and encouraged women's empowerment in the workplace and in the union. Although influenced by the feminist resurgence of the decade, CLUW was fully within the tradition of pressure groups in the labor movement and was successful in exerting influence in the AFL-CIO toward women's concerns and in promoting women to leadership inside their unions.

The 1960s: Labor and Its Discontents

Although discontent grew within its ranks, in the 1960s labor enjoyed a return to grace in Washington. Both John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson shared labor's belief in a Keynesian economy, and under their presidencies the decade became a moment of liberal ascendancy. Kennedy chose as his secretary of labor Arthur Goldberg, a CIO man. Goldberg was later elected to the U.S. Supreme Court, thus giving labor an influence at the highest political level. Kennedy's assassination opened the way to his successor's program of civil rights, social legislation, and government spending—exactly the type of welfare state labor leaders like Reuther had demanded for a decade. Johnson routinely consulted with union leaders and enlisted their support for both the Great Society and the Vietnam War.

The Labor-Liberal alliance was, however, destined to collapse under the thrust of a radicalized civil rights movement and the mounting protest against the war. Johnson's War on Poverty could not redress ingrained economic inequalities without infringing the corporate power that had created them, and this was clearly outside the scope of his administration. Poverty programs instead targeted specific aggrieved groups—which came to be identified with poor African Americans—with insufficient funds to ameliorate their condition, but with sufficient publicity to irritate more privileged sections of the working class. White and ethnic voters, so far the bulwark of liberalism, shifted to the right when they began to believe that the expansion of the welfare state had occurred at their expense but not for their benefit. Urban riots and turbulence in the universities contributed to create the feeling that America was "coming apart" and that a shift toward traditional values was needed.

The escalation of the Vietnam War, together with the growth of Black Power and the counterculture, set the emerging New Left apart from organized labor. Young workers in the factories did not recall the CIO militant organizing days or its postwar battles for social reforms. They regarded unions in a different way: bureaucratic organization disciplining the workforce on the account of the employers; mainstream institutions that supported the war and sanctioned American capitalism.

Not surprisingly, in the wake of the urban riots of the late 1960s, black workers were the first to clash with their unions and to create dissent groups in the workplace. In Detroit, a city where the rapid deindustrialization hit mainly the large black population, black workers at Chrysler organized into revolutionary movements, which coalesced in 1969 under the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. Blending Marxism-Leninism and Black Nationalism, the League demanded better working conditions and more black supervisors and union officers. Its methods—wildcats (unauthorized strikes) and "illegal" picket lines—and its aggressive rhetoric challenged the status quo of labor relations developed throughout the postwar period. Unions—the UAW in this case—moved against these groups with all their strength as they undermined labor's principal negotiating resource: the capacity to govern the shop floor.

American unions were potentially losing the support of a whole generation of workers. The late 1960s and the early 1970s were characterized by a wave of wildcats that challenged both management and the union. Rank-and-file agitation demonstrated that the *labor movement* did not always coincide with the *union movement*. On the contrary, in many cases what triggered the wildcats were not only unbearable working conditions or low pay, but also the bankruptcy of the grievance procedure and of the contractual system of shop-floor representation that did not address workers' problems at the point of production.

Toward the end of the 1960s, when the productivity push coincided with a slowdown of the economy and a number of union concessions on wages and benefits, rank-and-file rebellion spread outside the revolutionary groups of Black Nationalist and young hippies. In some cases, the rank and file built organizations at the industry level to challenge union lead-

ership. The most successful of these endeavors was the Miners for Democracy (MFD). Born in 1969 after the assassination of the opposition candidate for the UMW presidency, Joseph "Jock" Yablonski, MFD toppled the corrupt (and murderous) Tony Boyle in 1972 and proceeded to dismantle the centralized and authoritarian structure of the union. In the Teamsters, the Teamsters for a Democratic Union and the Teamsters United Rank and File sought to achieve the same result but with no success. In the UAW, a union with a more sophisticated and democratic leadership, the United National Caucus—after the defeat of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers—was one of the opposition groups behind the series of walkouts that shut Chrysler plants in Detroit in the summer of 1973. The UAW rationalized the accelerated succession of wildcats in that city as the product of pernicious external influence from Black Nationalist or Communist groups.

At the origin of the protests, there were instead the hazardous safety conditions in the aging Detroit plants and the continuous speedup of the lines necessary to produce the same output of the automated plants of Chrysler competitors. The wildcat summer of 1973 famously ended in Detroit with a clash between the UAW "flying squadron" and the militant rank and file on the picket lines, in which UAW officers carrying baseball bats broke the strike of their fellow workers. As historian Nelson Lichtenstein wrote in *Labor's War at Home* (1987), this episode "symbolized to many the distance traveled by even the most progressive unions of the old CIO."

Unions in the Public Sector

Although unionism had lost its vitality in key industrial sectors, the labor movement did ascend in one important domain: the public sector. Public employees had largely remained unorganized during the 1950s. They were excluded from the coverage of the labor laws, and many of them enjoyed a white-collar status that arguably made them less prone to be organized. Two factors favored the growth of unionism in this sector. First, the surge in public unionism reflected the change in the character of public work. In many cases, government workers were as hard-pressed and burdened as factory workers and not paid as copiously. Second, with President Kennedy's endorsement in 1962 of federal employees' right to organize and bargain collectively, public employees found in state and federal governments a more benevolent opponent than workers in the private sector. By the early 1970s, unions like the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), the American Federation of Teachers, and other unions of public employees had organized over 4 million workers.

At its height, in 1975, 50 percent of public workers were unionized. With the degradation of the status of public employment, minorities, women, and African Americans had been recruited; therefore, the growth of public unionism also has to be seen in relation to the social movements that saw protagonists in these categories.

Two examples of public employees' militancy are illustrative here. The postal workers' strike of 1970 was one instance of how workers generally reputed to be passive and loyal turned militant in the face of deteriorating wages and job conditions. The strike spread from New York to other cities in the country, even with the threat of severe penalties for its participants inasmuch as they had taken the oath to stay on the job. President Richard Nixon declared a national emergency and called in the National Guard to deliver New York mail. However, the soldiers lacked the necessary knowledge and often sympathized with the strikers, so that Nixon was forced to enter into a compromise with the strikers, delivering substantial improvements in wages and bargaining rights.

The American Federation of Teachers is another example of a public employee union that became more militant during the 1960s. By the late 1970s, it represented the majority of public school teachers. Often under scrutiny during McCarthyism, through strikes and hard-won collective bargaining, teachers achieved better workplace conditions, pay rises, and guarantees against unfair dismissal.

The 1970s: Hard Times for Organized Labor

The rank-and-file movement exposed the many weaknesses of the postwar model of industrial unionism: the bloated bureaucracy; the centralized organization; the parochial political vision; the connivance with employers. Rank-and-file militancy collapsed during the 1974–1975 recession, the worst since the Great Depression, revealing a labor movement ill-equipped to respond to the declining U.S. economy of the 1970s.

In 1974–1975, the U.S. gross national product shrank by nearly 2 percent, and industrial production fell nearly 10 percent. Unemployment rose to its highest level in the postwar era, 8.5 percent, with even higher rates in manufacturing. A rising inflation drove real wages down. The crisis accelerated the re-

structuring of the American economy. In the 1970s, the United States faced global competition from the European and Japanese economies, whose productivity rates during the 1950s and 1960s had grown faster. Competition spurred at home the further use of labor-saving technology (like numerically controlled machines), managerial requests of higher productivity from workers, and a reorganization of the productive structures through mergers, buyouts, divestment, and downsizing.

U.S. corporations in fact increased their investments abroad and moved their production to right-to-work states and to selected developing countries like Mexico, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. The latter trend has been conspicuously increasing in the last thirty years with corporations taking advantage of the perfect union-free environment offered by the free-trade zones around the globe. The first *maquiladoras*—plants in Mexican free-trade zones near the American border—were licensed in 1969 for 72 U.S. plants; five years later the number had become 655, prompting the Mexican government to open new *maquiladoras* farther south from the border. By reorganizing production on an interregional and international scale, manufacturers were able to shake the very foundation of labor's power.

A growing number of manufacturers found an even cheaper way to do business by stopping producing altogether and instead outsourcing production to subcontractors abroad. In these cases, the core of the companies was no longer constituted by the now nonexistent factories, but by swelling headquarters and marketing departments, the only corporate presence to be located on American soil.

The deindustrialization wave of the 1970s exerted a heavy toll on jobs (some have calculated 3.2 million manufacturing jobs lost per year) and destroyed working-class communities. Basic industries such as automobile, steel, and tires have been the hardest hit by this retrenchment. One of the most famous plant closings was the shutdown of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company in Ohio during the 1970s, once a large and profitable steelmaking firm. In Youngstown, the New Orleans–based Lykes Corporation that had purchased the firm used the cash produced by steel to finance operations in more profitable sectors: chemical firms, shopping malls, and real estate. Lykes's strategy of planning divestment at Youngstown reflected the growing trend toward achieving profits through financial wizardry and eventually led to the failure of the Sheet and Tube Company.

In Youngstown, considerations of capital mobility and short-term profit presented a formerly thriving community with the social costs of thousands of unemployed. For many of these victims of deindustrialization, the domestic side of "globalization" meant long periods of unemployment, the loss of health insurance and pension benefits, and decrease of self-esteem. For the communities, it meant reduced tax revenues and less money available for social spending, leading to rapid urban decay and the rise of crime.

With its clout in the workforce substantially undermined, labor could not oppose the threats of layoffs and plant closings. Nonetheless, together with the strategic choice to shift production abroad, in the 1970s business started to squeeze labor costs at home. The loss of American economic supremacy and the waning of the liberal coalition prompted manufacturers to extract more concessions from unions and to reverse previous arrangements about wages packages and working conditions. Workers were often asked to sacrifice hard-won gains to cover for management deficiencies. When Chrysler teetered on the brink of bankruptcy in 1979, the UAW agreed to grant $650 million in concessions, thereby breaking the custom of uniform contract in the industry and setting a dangerous precedent of retreat. By the end of the decade, wage cuts, unheard of during the 1950s and 1960s in unionized firms, became increasingly frequent as workers accepted a reduction in their standard of living in the vain hope of salvaging their plants.

These developments accelerated the shift in the labor market from industrial, manufacturing jobs to service employment, thereby cutting the strength of the labor movement at its base. With the loss of well-paid manufacturing jobs and the growth of downtown jobs needed to manage, market, and counsel the restructured economy, American society began polarizing between an upper tier of the labor market inhabited by professionals and a lower tier of underpaid workers: cashiers, janitors, waiters, chambermaids, retail salespersons. An overwhelming proportion of these workers were (and are) low-paid, part-time, and temporary and therefore difficult to organize for a new generation of unionists.

Conclusion: The Reagan Era

After a decade of steady decline in the level of unionization, the election of Ronald Reagan to the presidency signaled the business community that the administration would curb the remnant of labor's influence in the nation. The early manifestation of this policy was Reagan's handling of the Professional Air

Traffic Controller Organization (PATCO) strike. The grievances of the air traffic controllers had accumulated under Carter but exploded during the first year of the Republican administration (they had supported Reagan during the presidential election). PATCO went on strike in August 1981 demanding a pay rise and a shorter work week.

Forty-eight hours after the beginning of the strike, Reagan fired the 11,350 air traffic controllers who had not returned to work and drafted the military to keep Americans flying. For the first time since the 1920s, the government directly attacked organized labor and unabashedly discredited unions in the public opinion. However, Reagan's election was itself related to the rise of neoliberal conservatives, and the restructuring of the economy had occurred in the previous decade.

The defeat of the air traffic controllers' strike opened the door, in the 1980s, to a wave of concession bargaining. In 1982, in a reversal of the "Treaty of Detroit," the UAW and GM signed a new contract that included $2.5 billion in union givebacks. Once again their relationship symbolized the changing character of labor relations. In fact, contrary to Chrysler a few years earlier, GM was a still profitable firm, turning hundreds of millions of dollars of profits, but it could now extract these concessions simply by threatening plant closings and outsourcing.

By the end of the Reagan and Bush administrations, union membership in the core industries had collapsed. The UAW lost 500,000 members, and the USW an equal or superior number. But union membership was also to decline among industries free from foreign competition: construction, food processing, and transportation. As a proportion of the entire workforce, organized labor reached the all-time low of 16 percent in 1991.

From its radical origins in the 1930s, labor moved to become a mainstream institution in the 1950s. However, by the 1980s, this development gradually eroded its bargaining power and finally left it without a political strategy in the face of the economic recession and the loss of influence in Washington. In the following decades, an era that has often been labeled "post-industrial," labor had to come to grips with a society that considered it a marginal institution and often held it in low esteem. Whether labor will recover its lost vitality in the future will eventually depend on its capacity to return to collective action and to reintroduce workers' rights into the national political agenda.

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Public Workers Movement

The rise of the public workers movement in the United States is often understood as a product of the social movements of the 1960s. Through that decade, successful organizing campaigns of public sector unions often highlighted a tendency to merge workplace issues with larger community concerns, forging a social movement unionism that transformed labor relations in the United States. Central to the development of this community–labor coalition were the broader demographic shifts in the U.S. workplace, especially expansions in government services, health care, and education, and the increasing numbers of women, African Americans, Latinos, and other groups that had often been overlooked by traditional industrial unionism. Although the growth of public worker unions in the 1960s marked the most powerful moment in the history of these organizations, the origins of this movement have deep roots in U.S. history, with connections to multiple issues such as civil service reform, civil rights, and progressivism.

Nineteenth-Century Public Worker Movements

The earliest movements of public workers in the United States can be traced to the presidency of Andrew Jackson, when hundreds of civilian naval shipyard workers on the eastern seaboard petitioned the federal government for a ten-hour day. Pointing to existing standards in private industry, workers on government contracts lobbied Congress and other federal officials to administer the change in policy, while presenting their cause to the public and organizing isolated strike activity. Through these actions, in 1836, naval shipyard workers succeeded in pressuring federal officials to establish the principle of prevailing wages between government and private shipyards. Four years later, President Martin Van Buren extended this policy, signing an executive order making ten hours the standard in all federal offices. Over the next thirty years, government employees were successful in maintaining these parallel standards in wages, hours, and working conditions. Despite these gains, this early period of government workplace activism did not see the development of permanent workplace institutions, with the causes of government employees represented through the lobbying of national labor federations such as the National Trades Union, the National Labor Union, and regional labor councils.

Government employees were bound in a political environment where job security was linked to the fortunes of political parties and specific political patrons, thus curbing the formation of permanent independent associations. Enactment of the Civil Service Act of 1883 transformed the federal workplace, limiting the power of politics and giving employees a permanent stake in their positions and allowing for permanent workplace organizations. Initial organizing drives came from the federal government's largest service department, the post office. By 1886, numerous branches representing letter carriers were chartered with the Knights of Labor in New York, Brooklyn, Chicago, Buffalo, Omaha, and other cities.

Through their collective efforts, these postal organizations petitioned successfully for changes in hours and wages, leading to the formation of the first national post office union, the National Association of Letter Carriers, in 1890. Other organizations for railroad postal workers and clerks also formed during this time, including the Chicago Post Office Clerks Union No. 8703, the first local made up exclusively of government employees chartered by the American Federation of Labor. By 1900, public worker organizations around the country were expanding to include white-collar federal clerical workers, local schoolteachers, and a wide range of local benevolent societies for police and firefighters.

Government Labor Unions

This rise of government employee labor unions was met with resistance from departmental officers across the federal service. In 1902, President Theodore Roosevelt issued an executive order forbidding federal employees from joining trade associations, an edict that came to be known as the gag rule. For the next decade, this order shaped federal labor relations, curtailing the collective agency of government workers while trickling down to shape anti-union policies in state and local governments. Through these years, federal workers pressed for the overturn of the gag rule through aggressive lobbying efforts and occasional workplace unrest. In 1912, following extensive pressure from the American Federation of Labor, the Lloyd-La Follette Act was passed, overturning the gag rule and assuring the right of federal employees to organize in their own interests. Yet even with this legal precedent, many within the ranks of organized labor understood that the organizational potential of government employees was still far from secure. In 1920, AFL president Samuel Gompers was still cautious about government labor relations, arguing against a platform in support of the nationalization of railroads as a potential threat to the security of railroad union members.

The peculiar relationship of government employees within the ranks of organized labor centered on the question of the legal right of public workers to strike. Standard arguments claimed that, as public servants, government employees did not have the right to strike because their actions would have profound effects by stopping important government functions and threatening the public well-being. This issue came to the fore in 1919 when members of the Boston Police Department, in protest of low wages and excessive work hours, voted to seek AFL recognition. When their demands were not met, 1,200 police officers walked off the job, an act that resulted in several nights of looting and the destruction of millions of dollars of property. In response, Massachusetts governor Calvin Coolidge called out the state National Guard to restore order, issuing the famous declaration that "there is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, anytime." Coolidge's decisive action brought him national prominence, lifting him into the Republican vice-presidential nomination the following year, while the policemen's strike and their union were destroyed.

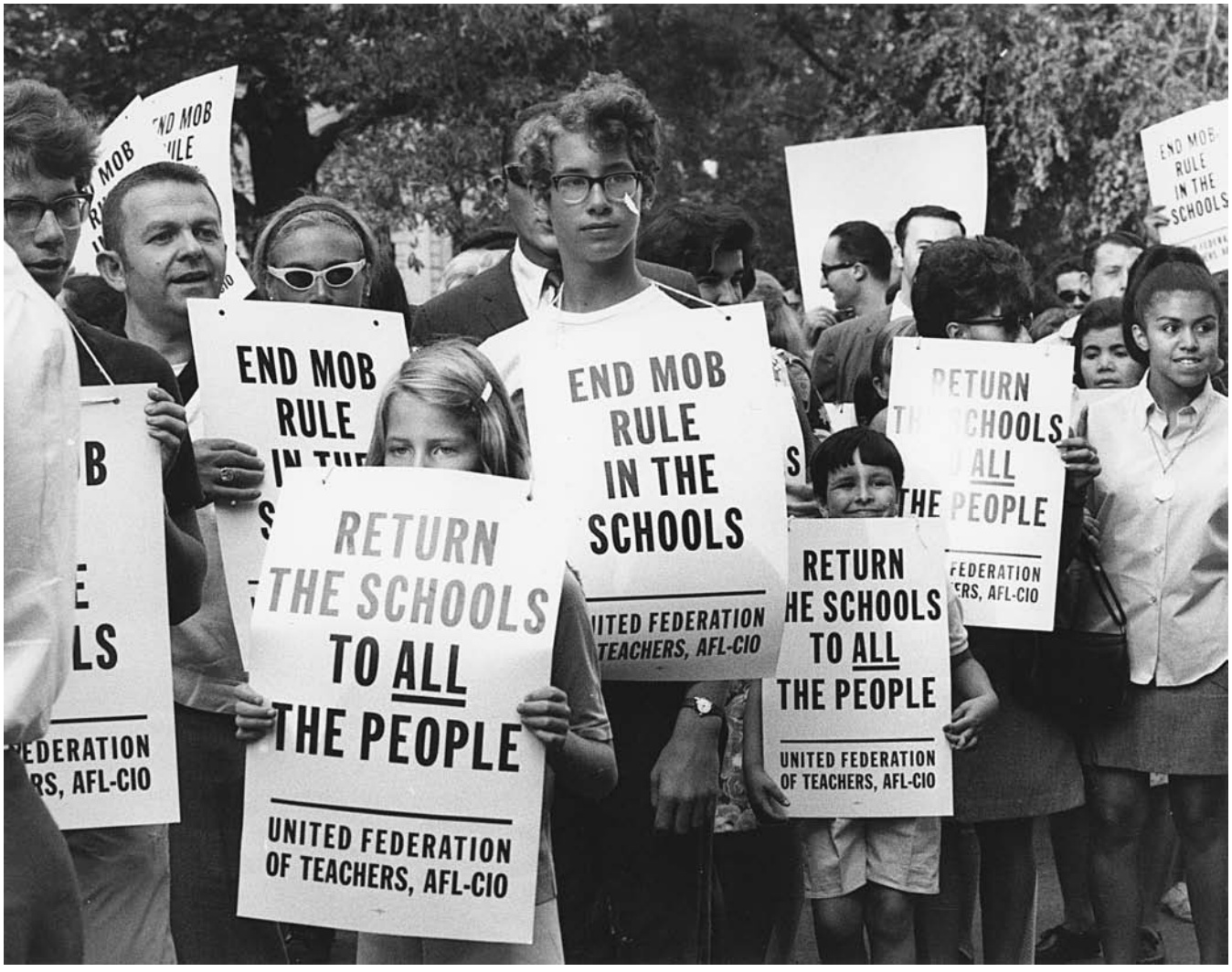
Following the defeat of the Boston police strike, public employee unions across the United States went into decline. However, organizational activities among public workers, at federal, state, and local levels, rapidly increased in the following decade. Although public workers were excluded from the protections of the National Labor Relations Act guaranteeing U.S. workers the right to organize, membership in public worker unions increased dramatically after 1932.

Expansions in federal, state, and local government operations, as a result of New Deal–era initiatives, introduced thousands of young, pro-union workers into government agencies, increasing membership in federal unions such as the American Federation of Government Employees and the National Association of Letter Carriers, as well as promoting rapid growth in the membership of teachers, fire, and police unions. Developments were made in municipal services, with nearly 30,000 workers in New York City's transportation system organized by the Transit Workers Union by 1938, a drive that spread to cities across the United States by the 1940s.

Public Sector Union Organizing

Perhaps the most important development in public sector organizing in the New Deal period came from the rise of local and state organizations into national bodies. The most significant municipal employee union to emerge during this time was the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). Formed in Wisconsin in 1932 following a political upheaval that threatened the state civil service system, AFSCME gained an AFL charter in 1936 and began an aggressive national organizing campaign. Reflecting the divisions in the national labor movement, AFSCME split in 1937, with the similar-sounding State, County and Municipal Workers of America (SCMWA) forming as its CIO rival. Despite this schism, both organizations embraced similar visions based on government reform programs rooted in the Progressive Era that stressed the expansion of the merit system based on a well-regulated civil service. Both organizations succeeded in organizing a broad range of workers, extending from clerical and technical staff to sanitation workers, police officers, zookeepers, and street repair crews. By 1946, AFSCME claimed a membership of 78,164 to the SCMWA's 70,000.

Historians have noted that the primary difference between the rival state, county, and municipal unions stemmed from political divisions. Led by New York City social worker Abram Flaxer, SCMWA's political program was left-leaning, compared to AFSCME's more liberal politics. In 1947, SCMWA merged with



Students and teachers picket City Hall in New York City on September 16, 1968. A divisive teachers' strike closed the city's public schools for weeks. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

the CIO's organization of federal workers, the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE), to form the 100,000-member United Public Workers of America. Openly critical of the United States' Cold War policy, the left-leaning UPW drew considerable attention from the federal government and suffered losses in membership through the late 1940s. In 1950, the CIO expelled the union, on the basis that they were in sympathy with the Communist Party, leaving AFSCME as the primary national union representing state and municipal employees.

Despite the expansions in public worker unions through the 1930s and 1940s, these organizations were still perceived as peculiar within the ranks of organized labor. Lacking the legal rights of industrial workers, public workers were limited in their dealings with the government employer. Also, with political conditions varying from region to region, public sector unions developed as very decentralized organizations, limiting their presence as strong national bodies. Nonetheless, public sector unions made significant advancements in the 1950s. By far the most important development in public worker organization during this period was the rise of hospital unions. Although numerous hospital unions had existed with varying degrees of success in Hawaii, Michigan, Philadelphia, and San Francisco, hospital workers were still rarely represented by unions. This changed in 1957 when workers at New York City's Montefiore Hospital organized and attained formal recognition

the following year, initiating a national union drive over the coming decade. The establishment of Hospital Workers Union 1199 highlighted a new moment in union organizing in the United States, reaching out to a new working class made up of a majority of women, African-American, Latino, and other groups traditionally overlooked by unionization drives. These successful campaigns would provide the groundwork for the new spirit of public sector unions in the 1960s.

Public worker unions grew by amazing proportions after 1960. Encouraged in part by John F. Kennedy's signing of Executive Order 10988 in 1962, which further strengthened the rights of federal employees, government workers gained new confidence in organizing. Successful unionization drives by teachers, sanitation workers, clerical staffs, hospital workers, and other public workers assumed central importance in the labor conflicts of the era. By 1967, public sector unions accounted for 1.5 million members, up from 900,000 in 1955.

Throughout the period, public workers asserted their rights in new, militant ways. New York City teachers conducted major strikes in 1960 and 1962 in defiance of state law, gaining bargaining rights and wage increases with the United Federation of Teachers. In 1964, Jerry Wurf, leader of New York's District Council 37, took over as AFSCME international president, pledging the union to a policy that embraced direct action tactics, strikes, and formal collective bargaining. Strikes by hospital workers, trash collectors, street repair crews, firefighters, and the epic strike of 200,000 postal workers in 1970 revealed the unique ability of public workers to impact the functions of everyday life, marking a significant shift in labor relations.

African Americans in the Public Sector Union Movement

Observers of the new militancy of public workers in the 1960s pointed to the prominent roles played by African-American workers, as both leaders and rank-and-file activists, and their blending of workplace and community struggles. One of the most dramatic examples of the labor–community coalition building by public workers during this period was the 1968 Memphis sanitation strike. Striking for better wages and safety conditions, black sanitation workers identified their struggle with the broader fight for civil rights across the city and the nation, and gained the support of the city's African-American churches and community organizations. Their strike took on national proportions when civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. joined the strikers, embracing their cause as part of the national Poor People's Campaign that he was initiating. While in Memphis, King was assassinated on April 4, 1968, marking a turning point in the national black freedom struggle.

Following King's death and growing national pressure, the sanitation workers won the strike, establishing a new era of workplace relations and community power in Memphis. Using a rhetoric that transcended the workplace and addressed community issues, such as access to health care, police behavior, racial relations, and the position of women, public workers crafted a new organizational approach that transformed labor relations in the United States.

Women in the Movement

The rise of public sector unions in the 1960s and 1970s was in part the result of continuing shifts in the demographics of workplaces across the United States. Increasingly, women made up a larger proportion of the unionized workforce, gaining more power in nationally prominent public sector unions, influencing the policies and programs adopted by their organizations. By 1978, 49 percent of the American Federation of Government Employees were women, with women also making up 60 percent of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) and the National Education Association (NEA). Through their presence as leaders and rank-and-file activists, women asserted new roles within their unions. In the 1970s, the national Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) was formed with support from women in public sector unions, providing an institutional base that has continued to shape official union policies at both the local and national levels. Maxine Jenkins (AFSCME Local 101), Sandra Feldman (AFT), and Mary Moultrie (Hospital Workers Union 1199) have been central national leaders who shaped the successes of their national unions. Since this time, public sector unions have taken the lead in placing women's health issues, job training, and pay equity as central tenets of public sector unionism.

The growing power of public employee unions through the 1960s and 1970s led to unprecedented political power and influence at all levels of government. Both the NEA and AFT have been influential in shaping national education policy within Democratic administrations, leading to repeated attacks against these groups as "special interests" in presidential campaigns through the 1980s and 1990s. Increasingly,

public sector unions came under attack for their power in effecting local and national policies. The most aggressive act against public workers came in 1981 when President Ronald Reagan summarily fired all members of the striking air traffic controllers in the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO), an act that has come to be seen as the opening volley in a period of vigorous anti-union campaigns in both public and private sectors. The political realignment that followed into the 1990s has placed the job security and expansion of government workers and their unions at the center of political debates. Since the 1980s, public workers unions have organized against managerial initiatives that stress increased privatization, a primary concern of all public employee unions.

Present and Future Prospects

At the start of the twenty-first century, public workers and their unions no longer remain peculiar members of the labor movement but have become part of the mainstream, influencing the policies of the AFL-CIO at the highest levels. Public sector union membership, totaling more than 3 million members, far exceeds membership in industrial and manufacturing industries. In 1995, a coalition led by public sector unions succeeded in electing Service Employees International Union leader John Sweeney to the presidency of the AFL-CIO. Sweeney's platform, committed to giving a "New Voice" to labor in the United States, embraces the community spirit and militant tactics that have marked the public workers movement since the 1960s. Seeking to build coalitions with community organizations and academics, and dedicated to the empowerment of women and the organization of non-English speakers through aggressive organizing campaigns, the policies of the AFL-CIO will likely continue to be shaped by the legacy of the public workers movement for many years to come.

Francis Ryan

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Labor Movement and the Vietnam War

The Vietnam War divided the American people in ways not seen since the Civil War. Indeed, in the words of historian George Herring, it was "America's Longest War" and it is the only war that the United States has ever lost. American involvement in Vietnam can be traced from the end of World War II in 1945 to 1975 and beyond, with the actual "hot war" dating from the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution in 1964 to the total withdrawal of American troops in 1973. It was a war that cost over 58,000 American lives and countless casualties. Adding to the controversy of America's involvement is the fact that war was never actually declared by Congress. It was part of the ongoing war on Communism known as the Cold War. The Vietnam War created bitter divisions in American society that have yet to heal. Nowhere were these rifts more evident than in the American labor movement where the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) came into conflict with some of its affiliates, the largest being the United Auto Workers, and with the leadership and rank and file of many union locals across the nation.

Organized Labor's Support for the War

The actions of AFL-CIO president George Meany and his International Executive Board created, in the American mind, the impression of a labor movement solidly supportive of U.S. actions in Vietnam. The reality, however, is that workers and their unions were no more supportive of American actions in Vietnam than the general population. Some survey research concluded that support for the war tended to increase with an individual's educational attainments. Thus, those with a high school diploma or less actually tended to be more dovish on the war. Labor's response to the war was much more complicated and nuanced than many have contended; working people held multiple, diverse, and often divergent views on the war, and these views changed over time.

In 1965, following the commencement of "Rolling Thunder" (the U.S. bombing campaign on North Vietnam), the AFL-CIO Executive Board pledged its "unstinting support" of the Johnson administration's actions. Throughout the ensuing years, the federation's official announcements grew more strident as the public's support for the war dwindled, particularly after the 1968 Tet Offensive. By 1969, the majority of the country, including its working people, had concluded that the war was a mistake. After the election in 1968 of Republican Richard Nixon, Meany and the AFL-CIO continued its support for administration actions in Vietnam. When Nixon chose to expand the war and invade Cambodia in 1970, a wave of disbelief and revulsion spread across the country. Yet Meany congratulated the president, lauding him for his "courage and conviction," while reiterating the federation's support.

Nixon's actions in Cambodia led directly to a resurgence of what had been a relatively quiescent antiwar movement. One demonstration, at Kent State University in Ohio, culminated in the deaths of four students at the hands of National Guardsmen. In New York, as demonstrators prepared to march in reaction both to Nixon's escalation of the war and to Kent State, they were set upon and beaten by a group of construction workers, the so-called hardhats. A few days later, about 100,000 hardhats marched in Manhattan in support of the Nixon administration. But these events have largely been misinterpreted. They were not, for the most part, a manifestation of prowar sentiment. On the contrary, they were the actions of a group of overwrought individuals who saw antiwar protesters as people of privilege who could afford to demonstrate rather than work and who were able to avoid military service because of their class status. In addition, most of the construction workers were paid their day's wages by their employers, contingent on their participation in the march. By 1970, most Americans believed that the country's most

pressing problem was not the war but protest and national unrest.

Although many believed that Nixon had broken his 1968 campaign promise to end the war in short order, Meany and the AFL-CIO felt that Nixon was trying to achieve "peace with honor." They could not countenance the idea that their powerful nation could actually lose a war to the international Communist movement. Thus, as young men, many of them workers, died in the jungles of Vietnam, the federation continued its support until direct U.S. involvement finally ended in 1973.

Meany and the AFL-CIO leadership did represent the sympathies of some in the rank and file, at least in the early years of the war. As time went on, however, and the war fell out of favor with the American people, it did so with workers as well. Meany refused to recognize or reflect the changing sympathies of those he was supposed to represent. In 1974, after the end of direct American involvement, he finally admitted that he had been mistaken in his support for both the Johnson and Nixon administrations on the war.

The UAW Opposes Escalation of the War

Meany and the AFL-CIO were not representative of all union workers or even all national union leadership. The actions of the United Automobile Workers, represented by Walter Reuther and his International Executive Board (IEB), followed a decidedly different path. In 1965, Reuther and the IEB reacted to President Johnson's escalation of the war with some ambivalence. The UAW's IEB did not immediately embrace the Johnson administration's actions. Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey was only the first to express his reservations. Reuther himself urged a more moderate resolution on the war than the AFL-CIO's. He decried further escalation, insisting on negotiations and suggesting that the United Nations step in, but he later revised his resolution to express more support for the administration.

What followed over the years to 1968 was a tug of war within the UAW international that echoed events in the nation more than within the AFL-CIO. The UAW IEB was much more ready to buck its leader. Reuther's own brother, Victor, declared early opposition, as did others on the IEB. Family and friends, and those in the rank and file who were not ready to go along with Johnson on the war, had a profound influence on Reuther. But his struggles were not as difficult as those of some workers, whose children were being sent off to fight.

Reuther chose to support Johnson, almost until 1968, in order to achieve the civil rights revolution and the Great Society. The UAW and the Democratic Party were linked through mutual self-interest. In the end, however, the war split the Democratic coalition and ultimately cost the Democrats the election. Reuther realized that the war served the interests of neither the nation nor his rank and file, but he was reluctant to join forces with an antiwar movement that seemed to be anti-American and pro-Communist. The UAW did support the 1969 Moratorium, a national protest against the war. When Nixon invaded Cambodia in early 1970, Reuther reacted publicly and vocally in horror and disgust. His death in a plane crash shortly thereafter did not affect the UAW International's opposition to the war.

Under the leadership of Leonard Woodcock, the UAW continued its opposition to the Nixon administration's conduct of the war. It promoted a 1970 Detroit referendum against the war, supported George McGovern against Nixon in the 1972 election, and helped organize Labor for Peace.

The Working Class and the War

At the local union level, opposition to the war appeared early, though rarely garnering a large and vocal contingent. Individual unions charted their own courses on nonunion issues, not always adhering to the positions taken by the international organizations. During the early days of the war, opposition tended to be subdued where it existed and varied among different trades. But it was at the local level that people paid the price for America's Vietnam misadventure and so were more apt to react adversely to the war.

Left-leaning unions such as Dearborn, Michigan's, UAW Local 600 (at that time the nation's largest local union), the United Electrical Workers (UE), and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) were among the earliest to protest the war. In 1967, the Labor Leadership Assembly for Peace, which had been formed in 1966 as the Trade Union division of SANE (the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy), drew 523 labor leaders from around the country to Chicago. Both Emil Mazey and Victor Reuther spoke at the assembly. This group considered the war to be immoral, in direct contradiction to George Meany and the AFL-CIO.

Another development that made dissent more palatable to the rank and file was the formation of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) in 1967.

The VVAW operated from the bottom up, for as close to 50 percent of the VVAW was drawn from working-class families, while only 30 percent came from professional or managerial families. According to the VVAW, "We believe that true support for our buddies still in Viet-nam [sic] is to demand that they be brought home . . . before anyone else dies in a war the American people did not vote for and do not want."

It must be noted that the Vietnam conflict was truly, as historian Christian Appy notes, a working-class war. Unlike college students, who held draft deferments throughout most of the Vietnam period, working people were subject to the draft, which often plunged young people directly from the workplace into jungle battlefields. Thus, it was difficult for parents and co-workers to be against the war and still support their "boys" in Vietnam.

Workers did not generally participate in mass antiwar protests. Many working people hated the war and were aware that they were paying its price in dollars and blood. But they also hated the antiwar movement they had come to know primarily through the media. As the movement became more mainstream, especially after 1970, more workers did raise their voices in protest. Thus, the idea of unequivocal labor support for the war and the concept of the average worker as antiwar crusader are incorrect. Though support for America's actions in the Vietnam War was strong among some of the elites of the international unions, local unions and the rank and file were more likely to oppose the war while supporting those who fought it.

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Black Lung Movement

Three medical doctors, a United States congressman, and thousands of West Virginia coal miners were part of the most successful agitational movement in the soft-coal industry in the second half of the twentieth century. The three physicians were Dr. I.E. Buff, a cardiologist of Charleston, West Virginia; Dr. Donald L. Rasmussen, a pulmonary specialist of Beckley, West Virginia; and Dr. Hawey Wells, a pathologist of Johnstown, Pennsylvania. The United States congressman was Ken Hechler, a Democrat from Huntington, West Virginia. The movement, known as the Black Lung Movement, was a campaign on the part of miners in the states of West Virginia, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, and their allies, to gain workers' compensation laws that would provide benefits for miners disabled with the disease.

Beginning early in 1968, the Black Lung Movement grew until, at its peak in the spring of 1969, over 40,000 miners were actively involved in the struggle. With the passage of workers' compensation legislation in West Virginia in March 1969, the movement shifted the focus of its efforts to Washington, D.C., where the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969 was passed by Congress and signed into law by President Richard Nixon in December of that year. In little more than eighteen months, coal miners created the most significant and successful agitational effort the bituminous coal industry had ever seen.

Recognition of Black Lung

Coal workers pneumoconiosis, or "black lung," is the result of inhaling microscopic particles of coal dust during the process of mining coal. Over time, and after considerable exposure to this dust, the lungs cease to be able to transfer oxygen to the blood supply. As the lungs' ability to transfer air fails, the heart becomes enlarged, and massive heart failure produces death. In intermediate steps, the miner is often short of breath and unable to function effectively.

Black lung became an issue in coal mining after World War II as mines made greater use of mechanical equipment that created greater amounts of dust. By the early 1960s, the disease was recognized in Europe as a significant health problem and had received some attention in America.

The early efforts of Dr. I.E. Buff, in 1968, to direct attention to the problem of black lung were largely unsuccessful. The government of West Virginia, the United Mine Workers of America (UMW), and the medical profession all failed to take any action to deal with the disease and its effects. The federal government, under President Lyndon Johnson, had proposed a comprehensive coal mine health and safety act late in 1968, but that proposed legislation did not include references to black lung. All of this changed dramatically in November of that year when a major explosion shook Consol Number 9, a large mine that lay between the communities of Farmington and Mannington, West Virginia.

The explosion trapped some seventy-eight miners underground. After nine days of futile rescue attempts, the mine was sealed. The tragedy of Consol Number 9 received worldwide media attention. Families across America, sitting down to their Thanksgiving dinners, could watch newscasts of the unending vigil of the miners' families waiting for news. Coal mine safety became an overnight issue of importance. Buff took advantage of that attention to attend a series of meetings held throughout West Virginia and eastern Kentucky, trumpeting his message of the dangers of black lung. His two colleagues, Donald Rasmussen and Hawey Wells, joined him in this effort. They styled themselves the Physicians for Miners Health and Safety Committee and held audiences spellbound as they discussed the problems of coal workers pneumoconiosis.

Philip Trupp, in his *Washingtonian* article, described how Buff would bark out phrases like "Black Lung is what's killing all of you. But the company says you're sick in the head, shiftless, or stupid. The

company says you've got compensationitis. You're dying, and the killing will go on . . ." Rasmussen, a redhead with a beard, gave his miner audiences an accurate picture of the nature of the disease itself. Brit Hume, in *Death and the Mines* (1971), described the third member of this "traveling medicine show," Dr. Wells, as a pathologist, who would give speeches "laced with rabble-rousing rhetoric and calls for political action." Wells used a particularly flamboyant device. He would take dried sections from diseased lungs and crumple them to dust, exhorting his audience to action.

Rise of the Black Lung Movement

Considerable attention was brought to the miners' cause at the first Charleston, West Virginia, mass meeting held in late January 1969. Over 3,000 miners from around the state participated in the ninety-minute meeting that included speeches by the three doctors, Congressman Hechler, other state politicians, and a number of miners. Ben Franklin, writing in the *New York Times*, called the miners "strangers to protest," yet they "demonstrated here today that they could be organized to make unexpectedly militant demands upon their union and their government."

Miners who attended this and other meetings held throughout West Virginia in January of 1969 became disgusted with the inaction of the UMW and formed their own lobbying organization, the Black Lung Association. The BLA hired a former member of the West Virginia State Senate, Paul Kaufman, to serve as its chief lobbyist. Attention then moved to the West Virginia legislature, where a number of bills dealing with black lung were introduced, some by the UMW and others by the Black Lung Association.

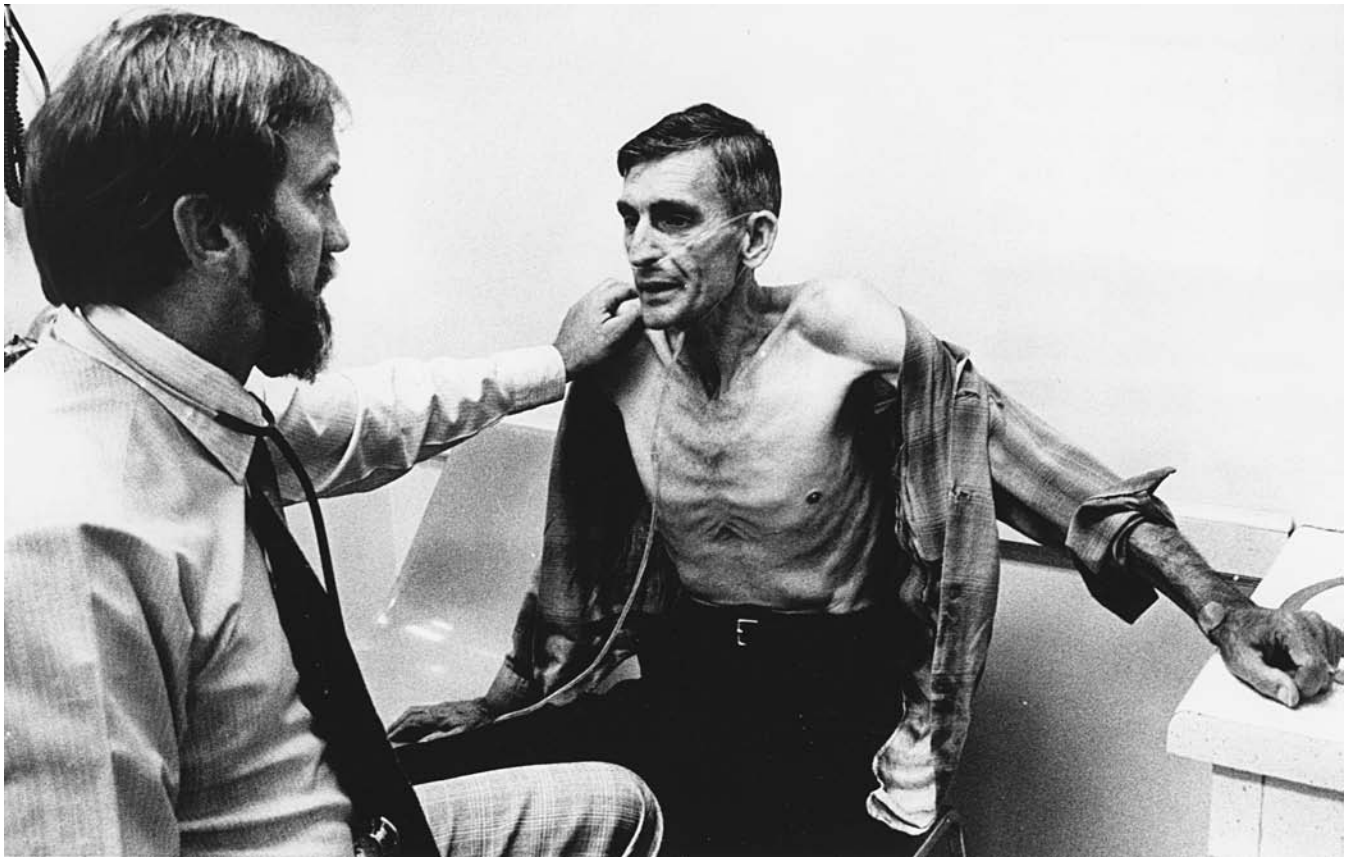
Throughout the early days of the legislative session, coal miners were in attendance, wearing armbands and buttons with the numbers "78/4" referring to recent deaths in mines. On several occasions, they brought a large coffin to the rotunda of the capitol building and held mock funerals for their comrades. The major legislative event was a lengthy joint hearing before the Judiciary Committees of the West Virginia Senate and House of Delegates on February 11, 1969. The hearing brought out the various positions of the proponents and opponents. The major point made by the proponents was that black lung was a distinct and identifiable disease, and not silicosis, and that the disease was not easily diagnosed, particularly not by X rays. The opponents argued that the concept of presumption—assuming that a miner who had spent significant years in mines had the disease as a matter of course—was a dangerous legal concept. They further argued that X-ray evidence was a vital part of diagnosis. Left out of the medical testimony was the earlier claim of the West Virginia medical profession that the ailment was the result of the excessive smoking done by miners when they were off work.

As the West Virginia legislature entered the final weeks of its two-month session, the lobbying efforts of the miners intensified. Many of the lobbyists were disabled miners or widows of coal miners, some of whom belonged to the Association of Disabled Miners and Widows. Many of them had never been to Charleston or the state capitol before. Although the professional lobbyists scoffed at this "grassroots" effort, their presence had an effect.

Rank-and-File Workers, the Union, and the Industry Counteroffensive

There were two essential facts in favor of the coal industry when it came to responding to the Black Lung Movement. The first was the strong tie between the operators and the UMW. If they were both in agreement on a bill, it was highly likely to gain passage into law. The second was the historic and traditional influence of the coal operators with the leadership of the West Virginia legislature. The central attack on the legislation proposed in West Virginia focused on the burden that additional compensation benefits would place on the coal industry. Provisions in federal bills that required coal mines to maintain certain levels of dust in order to reduce the prevalence of the disease aroused concern in the industry.

One of the primary conflicts of the Black Lung Movement was between the leadership of the UMW and the rank-and-file members of the union. The UMW had often proclaimed its interest in fighting for new health and safety legislation but evaded any real action by claiming that current laws were satisfactory. The UMW leadership was caught in a bind: they had strongly proclaimed their intention to fight for compensation laws, yet they didn't want to press for laws that would alienate the coal operators and disturb their long alliance. But the leaders were faced with a growing discontent and activism on the part of their rank-and-file members in a year that was to see the election of top union offices. The union's first response was to discredit both the doctors and Congressman Hechler by asserting that they were just agitators, out to incite trouble. The most significant



In a government-run black lung clinic in Prestonburg, Kentucky, Dr. Ballard Wright examines Oliver Moore, a miner in need of an operation in 1983. The Black Lung Movement persuaded the federal government to enact health and safety measures on behalf of miners. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

union effort to suppress the movement came after the January Charleston rally when several UMW districts ordered their members to support UMW bills and not the one introduced by the Black Lung Association. The implication of this demand was clear: any UMW member who supported or joined an organization that was deemed a "dual organization" was subject to suspension or expulsion from the UMW, losing medical benefits. This threat, though a serious one, had little effect on the movement.

The climax of the struggle came near the end of the session of the West Virginia legislature. By agreement of the legislative leadership, the House of Delegates was given initial responsibility for developing black lung legislation. When the House had passed a bill, the Senate would act. Miners had been promised that a bill would be reported to the floor of the House a week after the February 11 hearing.

When the House Judiciary Committee seemed stalled, and no bill appeared, the miners escalated the struggle. On Tuesday morning of February 18, some 282 men at the East Gulf Mine of the Winding Gulf Coal Co. refused to enter the mine. The miners indicated that they felt that they had to support Dr. Buff and the struggle for legislation. By the following morning, the strike had spread to nine mines in both Raleigh and Wyoming counties. By Thursday, reports had over 4,000 miners idled; by Friday the estimated number was 7,000 throughout the southern West Virginia coal fields. The wildcat strike took leaders of the Black Lung Association by surprise, and the miners were urged to return to work, as a strike was not seen as a solution to getting good legislation. Dr. Buff and his colleagues, however, saw the strike as a spontaneous response from the miners and urged them to continue. Once again national media attention was focused on coal miners, this time in Charleston and in the halls of the West Virginia capitol. By Wednesday, February 26, it was reported that some 30,000 miners had closed the mines in the southern part of the state, and that more than 50 percent of the northern ones were shut as well. The UMW response was to take

out full-page advertisements urging their members to return to work, as the strike was not lawful under their contract.

It was too late. The afternoon of that same day the second giant rally was held in Charleston. Many of the same speakers were heard again—Drs. Buff, Rasmussen, and Wells, and Congressman Hechler. Miners from many parts of the state spoke, expressing solidarity with their brothers. At the end of the meeting, the 2,000 assembled miners poured from the Civic Center and began their march to the capitol, a mile and a half away. They marched down Kanawha Boulevard, a wide, divided four-lane road that runs along the Kanawha River almost the length of the city of Charleston, which lies in the narrow river valley.

As they approached the capitol, they were some fifty abreast, and they turned and marched up the flight of stairs to the central doors of the gold-domed capitol building. Inside, on the third floor, overlooking the stairs, were the members of the House Judiciary Committee in session. They looked out on a sight that none of them had ever seen before—hundreds of coal miners marching up the steps and into the building.

The coal industry tried to bring an end to the strike and sought a court injunction, which was denied. The UMW held meetings at union locals urging members to return to work. That effort failed. By Monday, March 8, the striking miners numbered over 40,000 and had closed down the coal industry in West Virginia, then the nation's largest coal-producing state. When the walkout first began, a UMW official was reported in *The New Republic* to have said: "Don't worry about it. The boys just got a little excited. They'll be back to work tomorrow or the next day." The striking miners stayed out for over three weeks, not returning until after Governor Arch Moore signed into law the black lung bill on Tuesday, March 11. Passage of federal legislation that included support for a federal compensation program followed later in the year, with President Nixon signing the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act of 1969 into law on December 30.

The Black Lung Movement, born in 1968, nurtured by an evangelistic West Virginia physician, rallied by a maverick congressman, joined and supported by over 40,000 striking coal miners, had achieved its goal. America's disabled coal miners—slowly dying from an almost unpronounceable disease—at last had hopes of living out their lives with a measure of dignity.

William N. Denman

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LABOR MOVEMENT 1981–PRESENT

The labor movement in the United States faced enormous challenges in the 1980s and 1990s. A conservative political shift, an employer offensive against unions, and economic restructuring devastated the ranks of American trade unions. Between 1983 and 2001, the percentage of workers in the United States who belonged to unions declined from 20.1 percent to 13.5 percent. The decline of unions had a negative effect on the lives of the American working class. As unions shrank, workers became poorer and faced greater insecurity. In the 1970s and 1980s, workers' income dropped 13 percent, and between 1978 and 1999 average employer compensation for workers decreased by 8.6 percent.

During the same time workers' productivity increased. The labor movement responded in various ways to the crisis that it faced in the last two decades of the twentieth century. In the 1980s, rank-and-file unionists challenged the cautious leadership of the country's largest labor federation, the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) and organized militant campaigns against plant closings and concessions. In the 1990s, a new group of leaders came to power in the AFL-CIO who energized an increasingly militant working class. Despite continued decline in membership, the labor movement sought to return to its roots as a social movement. It committed more resources to organizing, made broader alliances with religious, civil rights, and other community groups, and gradually embraced more militant tactics to improve the lives of all workers.

EMPLOYER OFFENSIVE AND CONSERVATIVE BACKLASH

In the 1980s, the labor movement had to confront declining influence in American society. Between 1980 and 1986, trade union membership dropped from 24 million to approximately 17 million. The percentage of unionized workers also declined, from 27 percent in the early 1970s to just 18 percent by 1986. The country's largest and most powerful industrial unions lost hundreds of thousands of members. The United Auto Workers (UAW) lost close to 500,000 members between 1979 and 1985. Its total membership shrank from 1,499,000 in 1979 to just over 1 million. In the same period, United Steelworkers of America's membership declined from 964,000 to 572,000. Other major unions like the United Rubber Workers, the International Association of Machinists, and the International Union of Electrical Workers lost tens of thousands of dues-paying members in the early 1980s.

A variety of economic and political forces led to the decline of organized labor. Deindustrialization had a significant impact on the fate of American unions. In the 1980s, the United States lost millions of jobs in the heavily unionized manufacturing sector of the economy. Between 1980 and 1985, the country lost 2.3 million manufacturing jobs. Automation and a severe economic recession in the early 1980s that led to plant closings and layoffs fueled deindustrialization. But the loss of manufacturing jobs resulted largely from corporations' decision to relocate their production facilities to low-wage regions in the Third World. Manufacturers that remained in the United States often relocated their plants to the lower wage and less unionized South. Plant relocations to the Southern states contributed to the decline of manufacturing jobs in the Midwest and Northeast.

Many of the workers "dislocated" by deindustrialization were unemployed for long periods of time or did not find new jobs. Unemployment remained high through the late 1980s, particularly for African-American and Latino workers. The laid-off workers who found employment primarily entered the service sector, where most of the country's job growth occurred. These new service jobs were largely nonunion,

part-time, and low-wage. On average, factory workers who had been laid off between 1979 and 1983 and found jobs by 1984 saw their earnings drop by 16 percent.

Unions had to confront an increasingly hostile political climate in the 1980s. In 1981, the newly elected president, Ronald Reagan, began to undermine the power of the labor movement. In August 1981, Reagan sanctioned an aggressive stance against labor when he fired and permanently replaced the striking members of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO). Reagan weakened federal agencies set up to protect workers' rights, like the Occupational Safety and Health Administration and the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). The NLRB became increasingly pro-business and less responsive to union grievances under the tenure of the Reagan-appointed chair of the NLRB, Donald Dotson. The NLRB gave employers the right to exclude plant closings as a collective bargaining issue and more power to fire union members. The percentage of pro-business rulings that the Dotson NLRB issued increased significantly compared to earlier boards, favoring unions in only 55 percent of its unfair labor practices cases and 25 percent in cases involving union-organizing drives.

The conservative political shift bolstered a broad employer offensive to keep unions out of their workplaces. Employers hired labor consultants and attorneys, known as union-busters, to lead campaigns to decertify unions and defeat organizing drives. By the early 1990s, union busting had become a billion-dollar industry employing thousands of consultants. Employers and their consultants used a variety of tactics, often in violation of labor law, to create union-free workplaces. To eliminate existing unions, employers, who are banned from initiating a decertification drive, persuaded pro-company workers to file for decertification or during strikes hired replacement workers who would vote out the union. To defeat organizing drives, employers, ignoring labor law, used threats and intimidation.

During the 1980s, employers often threatened to cut jobs in response to a pro-union vote, fired thousands of union organizers, and spread many more negative rumors about key union activists to undermine their credibility. The pro-business stance, slowness, and low fines of the NLRB emboldened anti-union employers who acted illegally to keep unions out. Employers adopted tactics that less blatantly violated labor law, such as holding captive-audience meetings where employees had to listen to speeches opposing the union and watch anti-union films or slide shows.

Unions faced an increasingly difficult bargaining climate during the 1980s. Employers successfully forced unions to make numerous concessions during negotiations. Since World War II, unions had regularly negotiated three- to five-year contracts that provided their members with wage increases and improvements in their benefits. Often, these contracts were negotiated on an industrywide basis. In the 1970s, employers in various industries such as meatpacking and rubber had forced unions to take cuts in wages and benefits. But concessionary bargaining gained momentum in 1979, when politicians and bankers demanded concessions from the UAW in exchange for massive bailout loans to a financially troubled Chrysler.

The UAW acquiesced and between 1979 and 1981 took wage and benefit cuts worth over $1 billion. To prevent a competitive advantage for Chrysler, soon the other big two automakers, Ford and General Motors (GM), demanded concessions. Concessionary bargaining gripped industry and continued even after the recession of the early 1980s ended and among profitable firms. Union workers in steel, meatpacking, transportation, communications, and many other industries faced wage cuts, reduced benefits, and loss of control over work rules.

The Labor Movement Responds to the Crisis

The labor movement was divided over how to respond to the employer offensive and the conservative political shift. The leadership of labor's umbrella organization, the AFL-CIO, responded cautiously. The AFL-CIO executive board during the 1980s, led by Lane Kirkland, was hostile to grassroots challenges to employers and sought to empower labor through established channels. The AFL-CIO spent much of its energy in the decade building support for the Democratic Party, largely through large financial contributions and electoral mobilizations. The Democratic Party, however, had become increasingly pro-business and offered less to workers in return for their political support.

Business unionists also advocated top-down control of union affairs and a nonadversarial approach with employers. They pressured their members to accept concessions and supported a growing number of labor–management cooperation schemes. In 1980, for example, UAW president Doug Fraser accepted a seat

on Chrysler's Board of Directors in exchange for accepting wage and benefit cuts. The team concept that emphasized cooperation between unions and management became increasingly popular. Unionists joined programs such as Quality of Work Life (QWL) where they exchanged ideas with supervisors about how to improve conditions in the plants. Many workers complained that instead of empowering workers, management used employees' ideas to streamline production and eliminate jobs. The AFL-CIO's leadership also offered very little response to declining union membership, committing only a small percentage of its resources to new organizing.

A segment of organized labor advocated militant challenges to attacks on unions. In some unions, rank-and-file dissidents organized reform movements against the business union agenda. One of the most successful reform movements in organized labor emerged among members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. In the late 1970s, rank-and-file Teamsters, primarily Socialists affiliated with the International Socialists, organized the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU). In the late 1970s and early 1980s, TDU organized to make the highly centralized and notoriously corrupt Teamsters more democratic and willing to challenge employers. The TDU defeated a 1983 contract proposal that included major concessions to the freight industry, supported other striking workers fighting concessions, won internal reforms like the right to directly elect national officers, and took control of the executive board in the 1991 elections.

The UAW's shift toward concessionary bargaining triggered a reform movement called New Directions among unionized autoworkers. In the face of opposition from the UAW's ruling Administrative Caucus, New Directions candidates won important union offices, and through work slowdowns and strikes challenged concessions like faster production lines.

Union workers led dramatic strikes during the 1980s to defeat concessions. In 1985, members of P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers union, in opposition to their international leaders, went on strike against wage cuts, deteriorating safety conditions, and other concession demands by the Hormel meatpacking company at its Austin, Minnesota, plant. A broad community campaign emerged involving numerous labor, civic, religious, and political organizations that lent their support to the striking meatpackers. Strikers and their supporters organized rallies, parades, pickets, blockades at the plant gates, sit-ins at Hormel headquarters, and many other nonviolent direct action tactics to pressure the profitable company to provide decent wages and working conditions.

The Austin workers also hired the pro-union Corporate Campaign Inc., led by Ray Rogers, to launch a "corporate campaign" that involved a media campaign and mobilizing pressure on First Bank System, which financially backed Hormel. Corporate campaigns, developed initially by Rogers in the late 1970s, became a widely used tactic by striking workers in the 1980s. The strike ended in 1986 when the UFCW's international leaders, who had ordered an end to the strike, with the backing of the courts placed P-9 in a trusteeship and agreed to Hormel's concessions. Court injunctions against P-9 actions, arrests of union leaders, and National Guard troops that protected replacement workers had also weakened the strike.

Hormel workers in Austin were not the only unionists to strike against concessions in the 1980s. Although the number of strikes declined in the 1980s from 187 in 1980 to 54 in 1985, workers in steel, communication, paper mills, food processing, transportation, and other industries led important work stoppages to reverse declining wages and working conditions. Most faced the same fate as P-9 in Austin. In 1983, the United Steelworkers and twelve other unions representing workers at Phelps Dodge's copper mines in Arizona and Texas led a year-long strike when the company sought to withdraw from an industry pattern agreement and concessions.

Strikebreakers and a successful company-backed decertification campaign broke the Phelps Dodge strike. Three years later, 22,000 steelworkers struck USX Corporation but were defeated after agreeing to a contract that cut wages, holidays, vacations, and other benefits. An eleven-month strike by 1,700 members of the United Mine Workers in 1989 at the Pittston Coal Company proved more successful. Unlike P-9, Pittson workers had the support of their international, led by the reform-minded Richard Trumka. Through community coalitions, a corporate campaign, and civil disobedience, including blocking coal trucks and occupying a mine, Pittston workers successfully fought the company's demand for concession and its attempt to withdraw from the industrywide contract pattern.

Plant closings did not go unchallenged by America's unionists during the 1980s. Most business unionists rarely opposed plant shutdowns, accepting them as a corporate prerogative. They also tended to share employers' commonly used argument that foreign

competition (particularly from Japan) in industries such as steel, automobiles, and electronics led to plant closings. Labor leaders joined with big business in Buy American campaigns and lobbying for higher tariffs on foreign imports.

The focus on foreign competition often tapped into the racial prejudices of white workers and led many Americans to scapegoat Asians and Asian Americans for their plight. In at least one case in June 1982, a twenty-seven-year-old Chinese-American man named Vincent Chin was killed by two white autoworkers in Detroit during a dispute at a bar. Prior to murdering Chin with a baseball bat, auto plant foreman Ronald Ebens and his accomplice, laid-off autoworker Michael Nitz, misidentified Chin as Japanese, calling him a "Jap" and telling him that he had cost them their jobs. Ebens and Nitz escaped jail time and were sentenced to probation. But the Chin murder and the light sentences Ebens and Nitz received helped trigger the contemporary Asian-American equal rights movement.

Some workers offered more complex explanations for the plant closings and presented militant challenges. A number of unionists charged that plant closings were more likely the result of corporate mismanagement and greed than of foreign competition or, as many employers maintained, of high union wages and government regulation. In numerous cases, plant-closing activists found that companies had refused to modernize profitable plants, "milked" profits from one plant to pay for other investments, set artificially high prices, and sought to move plants to achieve greater flexibility and profits in nonunion environments. Workers and community activists in western Pennsylvania and eastern Ohio organized to prevent the shutdown of steel factories in Youngstown, Ohio. In the late 1970s through the 1980s, activists organized the Ecumenical Coalition of the Mahoning Valley in Youngstown and the TriState Conference on Steel in Pittsburgh to prevent shutdowns. Activists held pickets and demonstrations, occupied U.S. Steel headquarters, and filed lawsuits to prevent plant closings. They also advocated worker or worker-community ownership schemes through community and government financing.

Organized labor also sought to respond to declining union membership. Unionists, however, were divided about how to increase their numbers. Some unionists emphasized militant organizing campaigns among workers in nonunion workplaces, including the growing number of workers employed in the service sector. The Service Employees International Union (SEIU) launched campaigns to organize healthcare workers employed by nursing homes. In the mid-1980s, SEIU organized Justice for Janitors, which led successful campaigns to organize mostly African-American, Latino, and immigrant custodial workers who cleaned office buildings in America's major cities.

But most AFL-CIO unions advocated a more cautious approach, accelerating the trend toward union mergers. Larger unions often absorbed smaller unions that represented workers from different industries, like the Insurance Workers with the United Food and Commercial Workers or the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and the Retail Clerks International Union, which merged in 1979. As many as 2,100 unions merged between 1979 and 1984, consolidating labor's shift away from craft or industrial jurisdictions toward general unionism. Some unionists argued that mergers strengthened unions, particularly the smaller, less powerful locals that might otherwise not survive. Critics charged that smaller unions lost influence in mergers and that mergers led to less internal democracy as unions expanded their bureaucracy to deal with a more diversified membership.

Lean Production and New Challenges to the Labor Movement

In the 1990s, the AFL-CIO adopted an increasingly militant stance that led many observers to pronounce a resurgence of organized labor. The militant shift was connected partly to the victory of the New Voice slate over Thomas Donahue's slate in the 1995 AFL-CIO elections. New Voice was led by its presidential candidate, SEIU head John Sweeney, candidate for secretary-treasurer, UMWA president Richard Trumka, and vice presidential candidate, Linda Chavez-Thompson, vice president of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

New Voice insurgents charged that, under the leadership of Lane Kirkland, the labor movement had become too bureaucratic, cautious, and willing to compromise with management. In an effort to thwart New Voice, Kirkland, who had been AFL-CIO president since 1979, stepped down in 1995 in favor of the secretary-treasurer, Thomas Donahue. The New Voice platform called for a greater emphasis on new organizing and labor solidarity and increased political activism and alliances with progressive organizations and social movements. It also advocated stronger ties with the growing number of women and people

SUMMARY OF THE GREENGROCER CODE OF CONDUCT 2000

The Greengrocer Code of Conduct was New York State Attorney General Eliot Spitzer's effort to enforce national wage and hour laws ignored by a growing number of employers in recent years. In 2000, workers in delis and groceries in New York typically paid new immigrants well below minimum wage, with no overtime, for seventy-two hours a week.

1. Min. Wage & Overtime
   - Pay all employees at least minimum wage, now $5.15 per hour.
   - Pay all employees "overtime"—1½ an employee's regular hourly rate for all hours worked past forty per week.
2. Timely Pay
   - Pay employees in a timely manner.
3. Records & Pay Stubs
   - Keep all payroll & time records required by state and federal law.
   - Give each employee a weekly pay stub of hours and wages (gross & net).
4. Rest
   - Give each employee one full unpaid day of rest per week.
   - Give each employee at least ½ hour uninterrupted for meal break and others as required by law.
5. Rights Poster
   - Post this Code on a wall in an easy-to-see location.
   - Post a notice on a wall about basic wage and hour rights.
   - The Code and notice will be in at least English, Spanish, and Korean.
6. Days off
   - For employees who have worked at the store for at least one year: provide 2 paid sick days and one workweek of paid vacation days per year.
   - For employees who have worked at the store for at least two years: provide 3 paid sick days and one workweek of paid vacation days per year.
7. Seminars
   - Attend at least one labor law seminar by Attorney General's Office.
8. Not Retaliate
   - The Code employer will not discharge or retaliate against any employee for making a complaint to the employer, the government, or the Monitor about violations of the Labor Law or this Code.
9. Organizing
   - The Code employer recognizes employees have legal right to organize and to join labor unions of their own choosing, and that the law prohibits retaliation against employees for organizing or joining a labor union.
10. Monitoring
    - The Code employer agrees to submit to unannounced monitoring of compliance with the Code at least two to three times per year.
    - When monitoring occurs, the Code employer will show all payroll and time records, and make employees available for private, confidential interviews.
11. Consumers
    - A Code of Conduct Seal will be displayed in the store window as long as the Code Employer is in good standing.
    - A list of Code members in good standing is available at the New York State Attorney General's website: www.oag.state.ny.us.
    - Code members no longer in good standing must post a notice stating as such, and will also be listed on the website.
12. Hotline
    - Call 1-800-729-1180 with complaints of violations.

Source: Office of New York State Attorney General Eliot Spitzer. Labor and Employment Rights. Available at www.oag.state.ny.us/workplace/final_ggcode_english_short.pdf.

During the election for president of the AFL-CIO, candidates John J. Sweeney (left) and Thomas Donahue (right) shake hands after a debate in 1995. Sweeney won the election. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

of color in the workforce and in unions. Between 1986 and 1995, the number of white men in unions declined from 55.8 percent to 49.7 percent. In the 1980s and 1990s, the percentage of black, Latino, and Asian Americans in the American workforce increased at a dramatically faster pace than the overall labor force. To connect with these workers, New Voice backed Linda Chavez-Thompson, the first woman of color AFL-CIO executive officer, and after their victory reserved spots for people of color on the AFL-CIO's executive board.

The progressive vision of the AFL-CIO's new leadership benefited from a change in political leadership in Washington, DC. After twelve years of Republican control of the White House, Democrats Bill Clinton and Al Gore were elected president and vice president. Both men symbolically supported labor by appearing with AFL-CIO leaders and publicly defending workers' right to organize unions. The Clinton administration supported some aspects of labor's political agenda. Clinton pushed for an increase in the minimum wage and signed the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993, which gave workers the right to take twelve weeks of unpaid leave after the birth of a child or to take care of a seriously ill relative. He also signed an International Labor Organization treaty against certain kinds of child labor. He strengthened unions by issuing an executive order that prevented firms with federal contracts worth over $100,000 from permanently replacing striking workers. Clinton also vetoed the Team Act, which would have allowed employers to form company unions in nonunion workplaces.

The labor movement and the workers it represented, however, continued to face enormous challenges in the 1990s. Clinton and Gore, political centrists, proved inconsistent allies, often supporting pro-business initiatives at the expense of organized

labor and working people. Clinton signed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which opened up markets among Canada, the United States, and Mexico. Although NAFTA advocates argued that the agreement would create jobs in the United States, the effects have been the reverse, and it has undermined union strength. Between the implementation of NAFTA in 1994 and 2002, hundreds of thousands of high-paying manufacturing jobs, many in unionized plants, disappeared as companies shifted their operations to Mexico in search of cheap labor.

American employers increasingly used NAFTA as a tool to undermine union organizing drives, by threatening to relocate their plants if workers decided to unionize. Clinton supported other free-trade initiatives like the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the World Trade Organization (WTO), which was formed in 1995 to enforce global trade rules, including GATT. The WTO limited the rights of member nations to pass laws that might create barriers to trade and limit the ability of a company to maximize its profits. For example, nations belonging to the WTO can sue other WTO member nations to overturn laws designed to protect labor, environmental, and human rights.

Corporations continued to pursue policies in the 1990s to eliminate unions from their workplaces and to cut labor costs. American firms continued a forty-year trend toward moving their production facilities overseas, favoring Eastern Europe and Southeast Asia, for their low wages and lax environmental and labor regulations. By 2002, many American firms that relocated to Mexico in the 1990s had closed their Mexican plants and shifted once again to Asia in search of even cheaper wages. Companies also developed "lean production" or "Just-in-Time" methods as a way to maximize profits and, in the case of manufacturers, to reduce inventories. Businesses "outsourced" work to nonunion subcontractors.

The Big Three auto manufacturers, GM, Ford, and Chrysler, relied on auto parts firms to supply them with noncore parts that would arrive at their factories as they were needed in the production process. Other employers, like universities and public schools, privatized their custodial services, and the federal government hired a growing number of private nonunion–subcontractors.

A growing number of firms turned toward "downsizing" and part-time temporary labor as a way to boost profits. In January 1994, 108,946 workers lost their jobs as a result of corporate downsizing. General Motors laid off close to 70,000 workers, Sears fired 50,000, and IBM cut 38,500 employees from its payroll. Corporations also began to hire more temporary workers, who often received lower wages and lacked benefits like healthcare, unemployment, sickness, disability, or pensions. Although the number of part-time workers is debated, some estimate that between 16 and 18 percent of the entire workforce is contingent. Part-time employment agencies like Manpower became Fortune 500 companies and by 1996 became the second-largest employer in the United States. In 1997, temporary employment agencies placed 2.5 million workers in jobs.

By 2000, capital flight and lean production had increased the gap between the rich and the poor. In the 1990s, the economy grew rapidly and corporate profits soared, while workers earned less, produced more, and worked longer hours. In 1980, on average, CEOs earned 42 times the pay of workers in blue-collar jobs, which increased to 85 times in 1990 and by 2000 531 times. CEOs of major corporations continued to receive high pay, an average of $20 million in 2000, even as corporate profits fell and as a corporate crime wave unfolded at the turn of the millennium. In 2001 and 2002, investigations into corporate abuses revealed that a number of CEOs attained enormous wealth by selling their stock options just prior to public knowledge of poor earnings for their companies. Investigators also showed that, throughout the 1990s, many corporations led by highly paid CEOs had posted artificially high profits by manipulated their accounting, often illegally and in collaboration with accounting and investment firms and banks.

New Voices and Militancy in the Labor Movement

Organizing

The labor movement responded to these challenges more vigorously than it had in decades. The AFL-CIO committed more resources to organizing new workers. The labor body advocated a more expansive approach to organizing, relying less on professional union staff and more on rank-and-file workers and coalitions with community and student groups. The AFL-CIO expanded its Organizing Institute to train people who wanted to become full-time union organizers. In 1996, it established Union Summer to build support for union drives. During Union Summer, students, workers, and community activists participated in a four-week internship helping to organize picket lines, distributing literature, and demonstrating on be-

MODEL LIVING WAGE ACT

Privatization and the growth of low-wage jobs have prompted a growing number of labor organizations to encourage municipalities to sponsor "living wage acts" to mandate that employers pay workers more fairly. The following is an excerpt of a model living wage act by the Center for Policy Alternatives.

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE

This Act shall be called the "[STATE] Living Wage Act."

SECTION 2. FINDINGS AND PURPOSE

(A) Findings—The legislature finds that:

1. The state of [STATE] awards contracts that result in the employment of thousands of individuals. Many of these individuals, employed indirectly by the state, receive sub-poverty level wages.
2. The creation or promotion of jobs that pay sub-poverty level wages is shortsighted economic and social policy. Such jobs do not lead to a self-sufficient workforce or support sustainable community development. Instead, they increase the need for government services, such as public assistance for food, housing, health care, and child care.
3. The state is not an innocent bystander in the payment of sub-poverty level wages. It is necessary and appropriate for the state to require that contractors working on state business pay at least a living wage.

(B) Purpose—Recognizing that the state is a major contractor for services, this law is enacted to increase the wages of service employees who indirectly work for the state in order to improve public health and welfare, promote the economic strength of our society, and take pressure off state social service programs.

SECTION 3. LIVING WAGE

(A) Definitions—In this section:

1. "Secretary" means the Secretary of the Department of [LABOR], or the Secretary's designee(s).
2. "State" means the state or a principal unit of state government.
3. "State contractor" means a for-profit or not-for-profit entity that has a state contract.
4. "State contract" means: a. A contract for services with the state valued at $100,000 or more; or
   b. A subcontract valued at $25,000 or more for providing part or all of the services covered by another entity's contract for services with the state valued at $100,000 or more.
5. "Basic health insurance benefits" means an insurance plan where an employer pays 100 percent of the premium for individual coverage or 80 percent of the premium for family coverage if the health insurance:
   a. Covers at least 80 percent of the costs of office visits, emergency care, surgery, and prescriptions; and
   b. Has an annual deductible of no more than $1,000.

(B) Payment of Living Wage

1. Any state contract for services must require state contractors to pay an hourly wage rate that is at least the living wage.
2. During the duration of a state contract, a state contractor shall pay to each employee who is working on the state contract an hourly wage rate that is at least the living wage.
3. If a state contract is subject to prevailing wage requirements under [appropriate citation], the state contractor shall pay the living wage or the prevailing wage, whichever is higher.

(C) Calculation of Living Wage

1. The initial living wage shall be $10 per hour without basic health insurance benefits or $8.50 per hour with basic health insurance benefits. . . .

(D) Waivers and Exemptions

1. A not-for-profit entity that is subject to this section may apply to the state agency that is responsible for the state contract for a waiver of the living wage requirement, based on economic hardship. . . .

(E) Enforcement

1. No state contractor shall discharge, demote, harass or otherwise take adverse actions against any individual because such individual seeks to enforce this section, or testifies, assists, or participates in any manner in an investigation, hearing, or other proceeding to enforce this section.
2. No state contractor shall split or subdivide a contract, pay an employee through a third party, or treat an employee as a subcontractor or independent contractor to avoid payment of a living wage. . . .

Source: "Living Wage Act." Center for Policy Alternatives. Available at www.stateaction.org/issues/workcompensation/livingwage/legislation.cfm.

half of unionizing workers. Between 1996 and 2001, Union Summer had over 2,300 interns. The AFL-CIO more successfully built unions among the growing number of low-wage immigrant workers in the United States.

The SEIU continued to build on the successes of Justice for Janitors. In Los Angeles, in alliance with religious and community groups, Justice for Janitors waged militant campaigns that increased the percentage of unionized custodians in the city from 10 percent to 90 percent between 1987 and 1995. In 1999, in one of the largest union victories in fifty years, 74,000 mostly Latina and African-American women home-healthcare workers gained the representation of SEIU.

A significant movement to unionize graduate students employed as teachers and researchers at American universities gained momentum during the 1990s. Teaching assistants at the University of Wisconsin formed the first graduate student union in 1966, the Teaching Assistants' Association, followed shortly by graduate students at the University of Michigan who formed the Graduate Employee Organization. In the 1990s, public attention turned toward a growing number of successful organizing drives among graduate employees at America's major public and private universities, including the University of Iowa, the University of California, New York University, Temple University, and Wayne State University. Graduate unions affiliated with various international unions, including the UAW, the United Electrical Workers (UE), the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), the Communication Workers of America, and the National Education Association. By 2002, twenty-seven graduate employee unions existed representing 20 percent of the graduate employee workforce, and many graduate employees at other universities were leading union campaigns.

Graduate employees argued that by the 1990s universities functioned increasingly like corporations. They cut costs by turning toward cheap labor, in this case graduate students and part-time adjuncts. At some universities, graduate students taught as much as 40 percent of the undergraduate courses with little compensation. Graduate employee unions demanded and won contracts with higher pay, health benefits, and grievance procedures.

Despite the energy and dynamism of the new organizing, union membership continued to decline due to job loss, the growth of nonunion service sector jobs, and continued corporate attacks on union rights. Between 1990 and 2001, the percentage of union workers dropped from just over 15 percent to 13.5 percent, or 16.3 million workers. Government workers, particularly teachers, firefighters, and police, remained the most highly unionized segment of the workforce at 37.4 percent. By 2001, however, the labor movement represented just 9 percent of private nonagricultural workers. As in the 1980s, much of the union growth that occurred during the 1990s was a result of mergers. Two of the larger mergers occurred in 1995 when the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union joined with the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers to form the Union of Needletrades, Industrial, and Textile Employees (UNITE), and the United Rubber Workers affiliated with the United Steel Workers. Some continued to argue that mergers increased the union's bargaining power, and efficiency critics claimed that mergers lacked strategic focus. Critics argued that instead of merging with writers and university employees, the UAW and UMWA should focus on organizing the numerous nonunion workers in their industries.

Strikes

Workers continued to lead militant and successful strikes to improve their conditions in the 1990s. Although the number of strikes of at least 1,000 workers dropped to a ten-year low in 1995, strike activity increased in the following years. In 1996, the number of strikes rose to 37 from 31 in 1995 and involved 273,000 workers compared to 192,000 the previous year. In 1997 and 1998, these figures jumped to 339,000 and 387,000 workers on strike, respectively.

The strikes of the 1990s focused less on wages and benefits and more on fighting a growing corporate trend toward "lean production," a trend that involved downsizing, outsourcing production to nonunion subcontractors, and increasing workloads. Between 1990 and 1998, UAW local unions led twenty-two strikes against General Motors, in large part to protect jobs and prevent outsourcing.

In 1998, two strikes by the UAW at two key GM parts plants in Flint, Michigan, the Flint Metal Center and Delphi parts plants, virtually shut down GM and forced the company to retreat from its plans to outsource jobs. The strikes cost GM over $1 billion in profits, forced the company to close twenty-seven of its twenty-nine assembly plants, and idled close to 200,000 workers. The success of the strike was partly the result of corporations' shift to Just-in-Time production, which reduced its parts inventory and dispersed its production facilities, which allowed workers at strategically located plants to disrupt the entire chain of production.

The year before the Flint autoworkers struck, the Teamsters led a dramatic and successful strike against United Parcel Service (UPS). UPS, like many corporations in the 1980s and 1990s, had shifted toward part-time temporary labor and had moved toward outsourcing. Close to 60 percent of its diverse workforce of women, men, blacks, and Latinos worked part-time, and the company planned to subcontract the work of its full-time drivers. The starting part-time pay of $8 per hour had not increased since 1982, and many part-time employees worked over the thirty-five hour maximum for part-time work but were denied full-time pay and benefits.

The work was fast, with sorters handling around 1,200 packages an hour. In August, 180,000 UPS workers struck for higher wages and sought to force the company to turn 10,000 of its part-time jobs into full-time jobs. The strike was widely supported by Americans who responded to the Teamsters' demand for decent jobs. After fifteen days, UPS settled, promising to create more full-time jobs and to increase full-time pay by 15 percent and part-time pay by 37 percent.

Not all unionists struck or organized traditional unions to improve their conditions. A number of Latina and Asian immigrant women who labored long hours in sweatshops around the country built innovative labor organizations to challenge exploitation. In 2001, thousands of mostly immigrant women worked in 22,000 garment shops in the United States. Subcontractors often manufactured the clothes for retailers like K-Mart, Wal-Mart, Dayton Hudson, and Nordstrom.

Sweatshop workers sometimes earned less than $2 per hour, worked more than 100 hours per week, and suffered injuries from hours of back-bending labor on sewing machines. The women's immigrant status made them especially vulnerable to abuses. In New York, the community-based Chinese Workers and Staff Association (CWSA), formed in 1979, became an important vehicle for Chinese women to improve their conditions. The CWSA provided a welcome alternative to traditional unions that sometimes either ignored or misunderstood immigrant workers or treated them disrespectfully. The CWSA offered language, citizenship, and women's empowerment classes and in the 1990s led a growing number of campaigns against sweatshop abuses. In the early 1990s, the CWSA started a back-wage campaign to reclaim unpaid wages and in 1996 led a campaign against workplace injuries. Other community-based labor groups emerged around the country to advocate for immigrant workers such as the Korean Immigrant Workers Advocates, the Asian Immigrant Women Advocates, La Mujer Obrera, and Fuerza Unida.

Politics

The labor movement increased its level of political activism. In 1996, the AFL-CIO launched a high publicity campaign spending $35 million to reelect Clinton and Gore and elect pro-labor candidates. At the same time, the labor movement proved more willing to challenge their Democratic allies. In 1995, labor lobbied to defeat the Clinton-backed NAFTA and in 1997 helped build a broad-based campaign to defeat a fast-track trade proposal to give the president broader authority to negotiate trade agreements. Fast track did not require the president to include any labor or environmental protections in the trade agreements. In 1999, the AFL-CIO and several affiliated unions joined a wide coalition of religious, student, environmental, gay and lesbian, animal rights, and human rights groups to protest the World Trade Organization at its meeting in Seattle at the end of November. The labor movement was particularly concerned about the WTO's effect on labor rights abroad and its role in facilitating capital flight from the United States.

AFL-CIO leaders Linda Chavez-Thompson and John Sweeney addressed protesters in Seattle and led a march of 50,000 trade unionists. Other trade unionists, in the face of police batons and pepper spray, joined in nonviolent sit-downs that prevented WTO representatives from entering their meetings. The "Battle of Seattle," as it became known, revealed a growing dissatisfaction with unregulated globalization and the willingness of diverse social movements to make alliances. Labor's concern with the effects of globalization led unions in the United States to strengthen their ties with progressive activists and unions in other countries who were leading campaigns to improve workers' lives.

Conclusion

The last two decades of the twentieth century were some of the most difficult years in U.S. history for the labor movement. Union membership declined dramatically, strike activity slowed, and union members accepted reductions in their wages and benefits. The conservative political environment, free-trade policies, and the loss of manufacturing jobs and growth of nonunion service jobs made it increasingly difficult to build the labor movement. Workers earned less and worked harder as corporate profits soared. Unionists

also had to confront increased diversity in their ranks as women, immigrants, and people of color began to make up a majority of organized labor. But the labor movement survived and met these challenges creatively. Rank-and-file reform movements, strikes against concessions, campaigns against plant closings, grassroots organizing methods, political mobilizations, and community and labor alliances provided important alternatives to economic exploitation and offered hope for an equal and just society.

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PATCO and Replacement Workers

On August 3, 1981, over 12,000 air traffic controllers left their jobs with the U.S. Federal Aviation Administration (FAA), staging a walkout in defiance of a law that prohibits federal workers from undertaking strikes. President Ronald Reagan warned the disgruntled members of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) that he would permanently replace them if they did not return to work within forty-eight hours. When roughly 11,300 controllers remained on strike, Reagan authorized their permanent replacement on August 5, 1981, banning them from reemployment with the FAA. PATCO, the controllers' union, was subsequently decertified and broken. As the most significant union-busting event of the post–World War II era, the PATCO debacle represented a turning point in U.S. labor history. It marked the end of a half-century during which employers rarely attempted to break an established union during a strike.

The Use of Replacement Workers in Strikes Prior to 1981

Prior to the advent of the New Deal in the 1930s, U.S. employers regularly exercised their common-law right to permanently replace workers on strike. Blacklists were common during this era, and employers enforced them through private employment bureaus and labor spies. But the passage of the National Labor Relations Act, also known as the Wagner Act, in 1935 altered this situation, granting workers the right to organize and bargain collectively, spelling out unfair labor practices that employers were forbidden to undertake. By the end of World War II, employer efforts to break unions on strike by operating with replacements were increasingly rare events.

The use of permanent replacements to break strikes became rare even though the law continued to recognize private employers' rights to use this tactic. In the midst of labor's resurgence in 1938, the U.S. Supreme Court issued a decision in the case of *NLRB v. Mackay Radio and Telegraph* that clarified these rights for employers. In its opinion in the case, the Court held that the Wagner Act allowed management to permanently replace strikers in economic strikes in cases where the conditions of employment rather than unfair labor practices were at issue, as long as employers could prove that legitimate and substantial business interests were served by this strategy.

For many years after World War II, employers generally did not attempt to make use of their *Mackay* rights. Employers' reluctance (or inability) to exercise those rights was one of the hallmarks of what some call the era of "labor–management accord" following World War II. On those occasions when employers did use replacement workers, union members usually reclaimed their jobs after strikes were settled (sometimes working side by side with replacement workers) and a union contract usually still obtained. In the 1960s, the courts issued a series of decisions that regulated the treatment of replacement workers and returning strikers, protecting the rights of union members from management discrimination in favor of replacement workers in the aftermath of a strike settlement. Operating under such decisions, employers who did make use of replacement workers usually did so to gain bargaining leverage against a union in a negotiation that assumed that the union itself would survive.

By the 1970s, however, labor–management relations deteriorated, and a variety of developments gave employers both the opportunity and the incentive to consider aggressive tactics to break union power. The weakening of the labor movement's allies on the national political stage; the growth of global trade; the comparative high costs of union labor in the United States; the refinement of management tactics of union avoidance; and the possibilities of dramatically increased profits in nonunion environments—these were among the factors that both prodded and enticed private sector employers into an increasingly

hostile stance toward unions. Yet while private employers grew increasingly anti-union by the 1970s, they did not embrace the tactic of permanent replacement of strikers until the 1980s. Had not the federal government led the way, private sector employers may not have used striker replacement as a tactic as early and as effectively as they subsequently did.

The PATCO Strike

The 1981 PATCO strike was a turning point long in the making. PATCO formed in 1968, six years after President John F. Kennedy issued Executive Order 10988, which allowed federal employees to organize and bargain collectively. Since its formation, PATCO had emerged as one of the most aggressive government employee unions in the United States. PATCO initiated slowdowns in 1968 and 1969 that snarled air traffic around the United States to dramatize the poor working conditions that characterized the nation's air traffic facilities. In an effort to secure its organization, PATCO staged a massive sick-out in March 1970 that curtailed air travel across the nation. Despite the FAA's vow that it would terminate the thousands of 1970 "strikers," no such threat was carried out, and PATCO won official recognition as the bargaining unit of air traffic controllers. Over the course of the 1970s, PATCO initiated several more slowdowns to advance its agenda. These were usually successful, though the FAA grew increasingly determined to battle PATCO as the decade wore on. By the late 1970s, the FAA's increasing intransigence led to a growing sentiment among PATCO members that the union would never get a satisfactory contract that addressed pressing issues of workplace stress and underpay until it could effectively shut down the nation's airports by a walkout. If that walkout was successful, PATCO activists reasoned, its illegality would be inconsequential. Just as the government rehired controllers following the 1970 sickout, the government would be forced to rehire controllers after a successful national strike.

Beginning in 1978, PATCO leaders began planning for that strike. PATCO created a network of local union activists to coordinate the walkout. Dubbed "Choirboys," the activists generally did not come from the ranks of elected union officers. Their identity was not publicized so that they could coordinate a walkout even if the government arrested elected union officials for striking in defiance of legal injunctions. Over time, the Choirboys became a powerful faction within the union, pushing for a strike in 1981 behind the slogan "Be One in '81." The Choirboys' influence helped shake up PATCO's national leadership in January 1980. At that time, PATCO's executive board delivered a no-confidence vote to the union's president, John Leyden, who had held the union's presidency since 1970. Union militants saw Leyden as too moderate to lead a major illegal strike against the government. Leyden promptly resigned and was succeeded by the union's vice president, Robert Poli, who had been in charge of formulating the 1981 strike plan. Under Poli's leadership, the strike preparations gathered momentum.

That momentum only temporarily subsided when PATCO endorsed Ronald Reagan's successful campaign for the presidency in 1980. Reagan sought this endorsement by promising PATCO that if elected he would work to address controllers' grievances. When PATCO's contract expired in March 1981, however, the union found the Reagan administration to be a tough negotiating partner. After months of contentious bargaining, a near strike in June 1981, and the failure of PATCO's membership to ratify a tentative contract offer in July 1981, PATCO finally voted to strike on August 3, 1981.

The FAA had been planning for this strike for many months. The agency immediately implemented a contingency plan under the direction of FAA administrator J. Lynn Helms, a former aviation industry executive who prided himself on his ability to deal forcefully with unions. Helms's plan saw airlines cancel thousands of flights, supervisors step in to take on controllers' duties, and the Defense Department assign hundreds of military controllers to the jobs of strikers. Meanwhile, the full force of the government came down on the PATCO strikers even as replacement workers were hastily trained. Around the country, U.S. attorneys sought injunctions and costly fines against PATCO officers, and several strike leaders were arrested for contempt of court for refusing to obey injunctions. Most important, President Reagan strode into the Rose Garden hours after the strike began to warn controllers that if they didn't return to work they would be permanently replaced. Although less than 10 percent of the strikers heeded Reagan's warning, the president followed through on his threat.

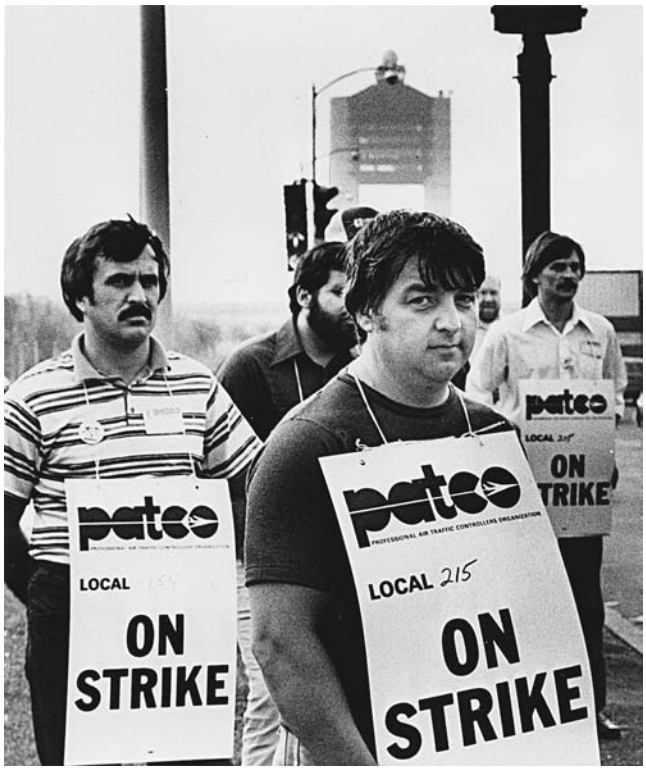
Public opinion polls showed that most Americans initially backed Reagan's response to the strike. Attempting to sway public opinion in a more favorable direction, the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) immediately expressed support for PATCO. Yet national union leaders were privately outraged that PATCO never consulted with other aviation industry unions or the AFL-CIO prior to calling its walkout. In the end, the

AFL-CIO rejected calls for sympathy strikes or mass pickets to close down airports. Instead, the AFL-CIO confined its support for PATCO to fundraising for strikers' families, issuing public statements in favor of a negotiated solution to the strike, and making Reagan's intransigence a major theme of the September 19, 1981, Solidarity Day demonstration, which drew hundreds of thousands of unionists to Washington, D.C. Grassroots support for PATCO among union activists around the country was strong, as many activists saw Reagan's stand against PATCO as signaling the onset of an aggressive new anti-union drive in the United States. Yet grassroots support for PATCO was unable to force the Reagan administration to back down, and PATCO was successfully broken.

Striker Replacement and the Diminishing Effectiveness of Strikes since 1981

It is doubtful that any private sector employer could have engaged in such a costly effort to replace union strikers. By some estimates, it took years for the nation's air traffic system to recover from the firing of PATCO strikers and cost taxpayers billions of dollars, although it is difficult to assess the strike's ultimate cost. Significantly, the permanent replacement of thousands of striking air traffic controllers, whose technical skills had led many to assume that they were irreplaceable, shocked trade unionists and galvanized many private sector employers. In the years immediately following the PATCO strike, a number of highly visible private sector employers followed Reagan's lead. Hormel, International Paper, Greyhound, and Phelps Dodge were among the corporations that employed permanent replacement strategies during strikes in the decade following the PATCO walkout. Although strikers' ability to regain their jobs in these strikes was limited, the Supreme Court strengthened the hands of replacement workers in 1983 by finding that they could not be legally dismissed in favor of returning strikers if their employer had recruited them with the promise of retaining them.

Employers' willingness to permanently replace strikers in the aftermath of PATCO dramatically eroded the effectiveness—and hence the incidence—of strikes in the United States. Between 1947 and 1980, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported at least 180 strikes each year involving more than 1,000 workers each in the United States. Since 1982, the number of such strikes has never once reached even half that level. Rather, figures showed a sharp decline from the 235 strikes involving a total of one million workers in 1979 to a record low of 17 walkouts, involving only 73,000 workers, two decades later in 1999. Between 1947 and 1980, the United States averaged 300 major strikes annually. In the years between 1981 and 2000, the annual average was 47 major strikes.



At Logan International Airport in Boston, members of PATCO, the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization, picket on August 3, 1981, the day 12,000 union members went on strike. President Reagan hired replacement workers—or "scabs," as strikers called them—and broke the strike, dealing a major blow to the American labor movement. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

In the 1990s, several unsuccessful efforts were made to prohibit employers from permanently replacing strikers. H.R. 5, passed by the U.S. House of Representatives in 1991, would have eliminated the permanent replacement tactic, but labor could not muster the sixty votes required to bring the bill to a vote in the Senate. In 1993, a similar bill failed to survive a Senate filibuster. Since the Republican takeover of the House of Representatives in 1994, there has been little prospect of altering the law on this issue. When President Bill Clinton signed an executive order in 1995 prohibiting the federal government from doing business with firms that permanently replaced strikers, court decisions effectively gutted the order

and left the *Mackay* doctrine intact. Meanwhile, courts made clear that the votes of replacement workers could be counted in efforts to decertify unions after strikes. The failure to alter such legal doctrines greatly diminished workers' practical right to strike in the United States.

The result was that in the years after 1981 credible strike threats by U.S. unions became increasingly rare. Significantly, the effective use of the strike weapon failed to improve even during the economic boom of the mid-1990s, even though unions have traditionally used strikes more effectively during periods of economic growth. Although the outcome of the PATCO strike alone was not responsible for organized labor's diminished power, the precedent that the 1981 strike set for the permanent replacement of striking workers was undeniable. Ultimately, no single event better symbolized the declining fortunes of U.S. trade unionism as the twentieth century drew to an end.

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United Parcel Service Strike

During the summer of 1997, the Teamsters waged a fifteen-day strike against the Atlanta-based United Parcel Service (UPS), garnering overwhelming public support and winning wage increases along with a promise of 2,000 new full-time jobs. This was ultimately a promise on which the company did not deliver, and UPS workers continue to struggle for secure full-time positions. However, the 1997 UPS strike was the largest ever waged by the Teamsters against a single employer. It brought public attention to the problem of job casualization—the increasing reliance on low-paying, part-time workers who are given neither benefits nor job security.

At a time when the weakened labor movement struggled to deal with a new, increasingly casualized service economy, the Teamsters waged a very public struggle that attempted both to highlight the labor demands of this new workforce and to redeem the Teamsters themselves from the internal political corruption for which they had become so famous.

At the time of the strike, UPS was America's third-largest private employer, with more than 300,000 workers, two-thirds of whom were Teamsters members. The company delivered about 12 million packages each day, carrying 80 percent of the country's ground delivery. The Teamsters walkout brought UPS trucks across the country to a standstill, ultimately costing the company more than $750,000. It also allowed UPS's main competitor, Federal Express, to double its ground delivery business at the expense of a long-time UPS monopoly on ground transport of goods.

UPS strikers had the support of the public from the early days of the strike; at times the public favored the strikers two to one over the company. The conflict was highly visible, both in the press and on front porches and doorways across the country. The Teamsters' clear victory in the arena of public opinion served as a catalyst for effective organizing campaigns across the country, from corrections officers on the West Coast to fast-food employees in the Midwest and Canada. Part-time workers nationwide benefited from new public awareness of their position in the workforce and the extent to which they were exploited by large corporations.

A Show of Labor Strength at a Time of Labor Weakness

The years leading up to the UPS strike were difficult for the labor movement. Depressed wages, increased hours, and poor access to affordable housing and health insurance had plagued American workers since the 1970s. Weakened unions, bad contracts, and what labor historian Robert H. Zeiger called "general antagonism toward unions" set the backdrop for the UPS struggle. In 1981, the Reagan administration stifled a strike of 13,000 air traffic controllers, ushering in an era of labor defeats both on the picket line and in law and public policy. One legislative blow after another hindered workers' attempts at halting casualization, improving wages and benefits, and strengthening both contracts and membership rolls.

Between 1978 and 1991, the Teamsters union—like its counterparts in the building, auto, and steel trades—saw membership losses of more than a half-million members. This loss has been credited to a combination of the loss of manufacturing jobs, generational distrust of unionism, and the labor movement's inability to organize the growing ranks of service and clerical employees. Whereas public sector unions experienced measurable growth, private sector unions suffered dramatic losses. At the same time, a trend toward the permanent replacement of striking workers raised the stakes for work stoppages. The 1981 air traffic controllers' strike ended with permanent replacements. Greyhound Bus Company permanently replaced its striking drivers in the spring of

1990, and in 1992, management at the Caterpillar Tractor factory in Peoria, Illinois, permanently replaced 13,000 strikers.

In the 1980s and 1990s, union-busting law firms flourished as corporations took advantage of a management-friendly National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), often dragging labor grievances through the courts for up to and exceeding three years. Although there were laws to protect the rights of workers, employers could break them without much fear of reprisal. The proceedings required to hold management accountable for such violations were too costly and time-consuming for most weakened unions to endure. The adverse conditions for labor during the years leading up to the Teamsters strike at UPS underscore the intensity of the union's fight and the magnitude of its accomplishment.

Issues

The 1997 UPS strike involved three major contract issues: the hiring of part-time workers and its resultant two-tiered wage structure, job safety, and control of worker pensions. The Teamsters' pension plan, often the subject of highly publicized tales of Teamsters corruption (culminating in a 1989 lawsuit that led to outside supervision of the funds), required UPS to pay into a pension fund that supported both Teamsters members in UPS jobs and those who drove for other employers. UPS wanted to terminate its involvement with the Teamsters plan and support its workers independently, which they claimed would increase pension payment to workers by more than 50 percent. UPS asserted that the part-time issue, for which the Teamsters enjoyed such overwhelming public support, was simply a smokescreen for the pension concern. Management charged that the Teamsters drivers were essentially striking to maintain corrupt financial practices by protecting their right to retain control of worker pensions.

Although the Teamsters' reputation for corruption and shady financial dealings was no secret, those who drove for UPS faced serious wage and job security issues that were anything but a smokescreen. By the time of the strike in August 1997, nearly 60 percent of UPS employees were part-time workers earning an hourly wage of approximately $9. By contrast, full-time workers doing the same jobs made approximately $20 per hour. Between 1993 and 1997, UPS filled 40,000 to 45,000 new union jobs, and more than 80 percent of these were of the part-time variety. These part-time employees, most of whom received no benefits, often put in full-time hours at their second-tier salaries.

Fighting "to save the American dream," thousands of United Parcel Service workers—including these members of the Teamsters in Chicago—went out on strike in August 1997. The strike proved largely successful, as workers won wage increases and promises of new jobs. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

Fighting for Job Safety and Security: Countering Management's Contract Campaign

In the years leading up to the strike, drivers continued their ongoing fight for job safety. In the winter of 1994, in an attempt to increase productivity, UPS management raised the package weight limit from 70 pounds to 150 pounds without consulting the union and without increasing safety standards or precautionary measures. Full-time and part-time employees joined forces to mobilize for a February 1994 safety walkout in protest of the new weight limits. A few months later, the Teamsters' International launched what would turn out to be a three-week strike against a number of

major trucking companies in response to the proliferation of $9-per-hour part-time positions. Although this Teamsters attack on corporate exploitation of part-time drivers predates the 1997 UPS strike that garnered so much public attention, it wasn't until the familiar workers in their brown uniforms moved from trucks and front porches to picket lines that the general public, by a two-to-one margin, expressed support for the Teamsters.

Following the 1995 three-week strike, UPS intensified its "Team Concept" campaign, an initiative taken by many large corporations in the early 1990s to undercut worker organizing and assert company control over worker concerns. For UPS, this meant preventing coalitions between part- and full-time workers. The goal was for employees to feel as though they had a voice in the decision-making process through participation in "work teams" organized by management to consider workplace issues; the upshot was the undermining of workers' right to collective bargaining. The Teamsters responded with its own campaign that included a widely circulated video, "Actions Speak Louder Than Words," in which they pressed issues of job safety, wages, benefits, and increased reliance on part-time labor.

Over the next few years, as contract deadlines approached and negotiations commenced, stalled, and started again, part-time workers across America grew increasingly frustrated. Movements like Jobs for Justice, women worker rights groups, and Occupational Safety and Health coalitions gained steam as UPS workers across the country prepared to walk off the job, giving up salaries of up to $50,000 per year for strike pay of about $55 per week.

UPS management launched a number of contract campaigns in the months—and even years—leading up to the August 1997 strike, most of which served only to fuel rank-and-file organizing. Although the company was making more than $1 billion a year in profits, it expanded subcontracting, granted lower wage increases, and continued to hire part-time workers. Management's required "pre-work communication meetings" attempted to undercut union organizing, but the 206 Teamsters locals with UPS employees countered with strong member-to-member networks. The international union immediately assigned nineteen field staff to boost organizing efforts and take on UPS's expensive and extensive contract campaign. By contrast, the union's campaign, based on networking and worker and community unity, spent nothing on advertising or promotion.

From Negotiation Table to Picket Line to Headline

The Teamsters' strategy centered around uniting part-time and full-time workers to support more full-time positions and better contracts for all. Their video, "Make UPS Deliver," emphasized the common interest of all UPS workers. As the first round of contract negotiations approached, the union organized workplace rallies in seven cities. Before the next round of negotiations, the number of rallies doubled. Tens of thousands of workers participated in job security rallies, blowing high-pitched whistles outside of UPS office buildings. Efforts to unite part- and full-time workers proved fruitful, and six weeks before contract expiration, 100,000 Teamsters signed a petition for the creation of more full-time positions.

On Thursday, July 31, 1997, UPS contracts expired. For the next few days, heated and intense negotiations ensued at which UPS offered one "final offer" after another. Each offer was followed by a union counterproposal reflecting the union's three principal demands: more full-time positions, control of the pension program, and greater attention to job safety. When UPS management refused to concede, Teamsters officials walked out on negotiations at 10 P.M. on Sunday, August 3, marking the official start of the strike.

The following morning the story broke with reports that 2,000 UPS pilots would honor the Teamsters' picket line. UPS announced that, while operating at 30 percent capacity, they were prioritizing the delivery of medical supplies, which would be delivered by nonunion drivers and management. President Bill Clinton expressed concern for the scale of the walkout and voiced vague sentiments of support for the hundreds of thousands of employees, stating he would not intervene in the dispute.

Despite public support for UPS management on the sparsely publicized pension issue, Americans saw their UPS men and women as a part of their community. This was partly the result of the company's own emphasis on customer service. The courteous, conscientious service that UPS demanded of its employees made its delivery men and women friends and neighbors to their customers. That summer, *Time* magazine listed UPS workers among "Elvis impersonators and telecom execs" as the top "winning" American occupations. "Americans don't like strikes," the author proclaimed, "but they love their delivery guys." Only ten days into the strike, a Gallup poll

showed 55 percent of the public supported the strikers, while only 27 percent supported the company.

Organizing Door-to-Door and Coast-to-Coast

The strikers' public support did not come without considerable effort. Local unions held family days to bring community members into rallies. Strikers went door-to-door in local communities to explain the strike issues. Rank-and-file workers—familiar faces in the cities and towns to which they delivered—served as central and highly visible media spokespeople. The Teamsters personally carried surveys and fliers to UPS members around the country. Just as their UPS delivery drivers brought door-to-door service to UPS customers, Teamsters organizers launched a community-based campaign relying on close personal networks and face-to-face communication.

Support from workers of all kinds throughout the country brought more media attention to the strike. In Manhattan, 2,000 telephone workers marched in support of the striking UPS workers. High-profile political leaders, including Jesse Jackson, also joined the picket line. The strike became an international effort as UPS workers in Europe wore stickers, passed out leaflets, and blew whistles outside company headquarters. German employees wore white socks, drawing attention to their usually dark ankles to demonstrate their support for the American UPS strikers. With Congress on vacation and the summer news characteristically slow, the UPS strike was a national front-page story.

The Teamster Image: Internal Union Politics and the UPS Strike

Increased media attention forced the Teamsters to prioritize their public image at a time when a strong, united body of leadership was most vital. Internal reform initiatives such as UPSurge and Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) dated back to the 1970s and worked to democratize the leadership while improving the image of a union that was historically fraught with allegations of corruption. This reputation for scandal predated both the "disappearance" of Teamsters boss Jimmy Hoffa Sr. and the 1957 expulsion of the Teamsters from the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) for its alleged unsavory dealings with the mob. Since the 1970s, these reform movements within the union have variously divided, weakened, united, and strengthened the Teamsters, but one thing remained constant for UPS drivers: management's continued attempts to casualize the workforce and depress wages. The TDU's reform efforts culminated in 1991 with the first direct election of the Teamsters' international leadership. Newly elected Teamsters president Ron Carey was a twelve-year veteran driver who rode to victory on an anti-corruption platform.

Often, union politics compromised both the strength of contracts and the loyalty of workers to their union leadership. In 1982, the "old guard" Teamsters higher-ups approved an $8 per hour wage freeze for part-time workers. This settlement laid the groundwork for the two-tier wage structure that the company cultivated throughout the years by dividing part- and full-time employees. This division further weakened the internally strained and increasingly member-poor union, sapping worker loyalty to a leadership often seen as unresponsive to worker needs and overly responsive to company recommendations. Even reform leader Carey's anti-corruption platform would eventually prove ironic following the post-strike reversal of his 1996 reelection in light of charges of campaign finance improprieties.

Political unrest and allegations of corruption within the Teamsters only exacerbated the tensions in the rank and file's relationship with its union. In 1989, following charges of corrupt financial practices, the courts ordered independent supervision of the Teamsters' pension program. It was this same pension system that would become one of the major contract issues during the 1997 strike.

The Outcome

In retrospect, UPS seems an unlikely corporation to battle successful union mobilization. A close eighty-two-year relationship between the Teamsters and UPS management, and a low 4 percent job turnover rate, suggest that a walkout would have been unlikely. UPS drivers were among the highest paid in the country. But UPS's reputation as a "good employer"enabled it to mask its exploitative hiring practices and wage structure, and it was this two-tiered wage system that set the company up for attack. By fostering such a divided workplace, UPS made the inequalities more visible, illuminating for both its workers and the general public its own attempts to transform its payroll into a fully casualized workforce.

The effective community and network-based organizing carried out by new Teamsters leadership and rank-and-file members gave UPS what one magazine

writer called a "public relations thrashing," and the contract that was settled on August 18, 1997, brought an increase in hourly salaries of $3.10 for full-time employees and $4.10 for part-timers. UPS also promised thousands of new full-time positions to reverse the casualization trend. Despite worker gains and company embarrassment, the limitations of the 1997 UPS strike illuminate two of the challenges facing labor: internal union politics and the uncooperative nature of American law and legislation when it comes to labor relations. Just as the outcome of the strike ultimately proved to be a disappointment when UPS failed to deliver on many of its promises for new full-time positions, the progress toward Teamsters union democratization was ultimately mired in charges of inappropriate financial practices during Carey's reelection campaign.

Repercussions: Corporate Recovery and the Return of the Old-Guard Leadership

Shortly after the strike, Carey's 1996 reelection was overturned in response to financial corruption charges levied against some of his campaign staff (although not against Carey himself). UPS stalled on its contract promises, while the reinstated old-guard union leadership, led by James Hoffa Jr., instituted a nonaggressive course of action, following normal grievance procedures to address the company's inaction.

UPS struggled to recover from the financial damage caused by the strike, emphasizing more profitable services like next-day air, cutting back ground service, and laying off more than 100,000 workers, many of whom were full-time employees. Ground service suffered substantially because Federal Express had picked up much of UPS's lost business. UPS attempted to bounce back through a new computerized management system by which drivers were expected to make up to twenty deliveries in an hour based on computerized productivity calculations. This "Taylorization" of the delivery process severely compromised the customer service that had made UPS so successful.

The company's public image and business reputation also felt the effects of cutbacks in truck cleaning and maintenance. UPS stonewalled on its promises to create more full-time positions, claiming it could not do so until it had more ground business, while at the same time cutting back on ground delivery services. A year after the end of the strike, many UPS employees were still filing grievances about management harassment and retaliation, despite company claims that morale remained high.

The Fight Continues

The tensions that surfaced five years later, as the 1997 contract neared expiration, showed that the struggle for more full-time positions, improved wages, and stronger contracts had not ended. In May 2002, Teamsters nationwide voted by a 93 percent margin to approve another strike. The rocky relationship between UPS and the union was only further disrupted by what the Teamsters saw as newly elected Republican president George W. Bush's close alliance with UPS management. Indeed, the company's top executives donated more than $300,000 to the campaign to elect a leader whose record, unsurprisingly, was not union-friendly. Between the 1997 strike and the year 2001, UPS increased its revenue by 36 percent while increasing the starting wage of part-time workers by only 50 cents per hour.

With a contract expiration date of July 31, 2002, UPS and the Teamsters hoped to avoid a work stoppage by beginning contract negotiations in January of that year rather than waiting until June as they had in 1997. The climate for negotiation was different this time in a number of ways. The shipping giant that had once controlled nearly 80 percent of the ground delivery market now could claim only 55 percent. Furthermore, its share faced new threats from the U.S. Postal Service, which planned to release a new "delivery confirmation tracking service" that summer to compete with private shipping companies.

Sixteen days before the contract was set to expire, Teamsters officials conditionally (upon ratification of its membership) approved a much stronger contract than they had won with a strike five years earlier. In what was, at the time, the largest private sector contract negotiation of 2002, Teamsters won a 22 percent pay increase over six years and a guarantee of 10,000 new full-time positions. This amounted to a $5 hourly increase for full-time workers and a $6 increase for part-time workers over the course of the six-year contract. The new contract also offered improvements in health insurance and benefits for retirees and part-time workers, as well as limits on excessive overtime. This 2002 settlement narrowly averted a repeat of the protracted 1997 conflict. The gains won in 2002 would have been impossible without the massive organizing efforts of those who struck five years earlier.

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Hotel and Restaurant Workers Movement

The Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union (HERE) emerged in the latter part of the twentieth century as one of the most progressive unions in the United States. This change from a relatively conservative history was based on the election of young militant leaders, like Maria Elena Durazo, president of Local 11 in Los Angeles. The new philosophy of the union was based on the importance of rank-and-file involvement; the necessity to include documented and undocumented immigrant workers in the union movement; the need to build strong labor–community coalitions; and organizing as a priority to provide a quality life for working people.

By the mid- to late twentieth century, the hospitality industry had changed as a result of mergers and takeovers, resulting in firms that did not honor previous contracts and the influx of immigrant workers, many undocumented. Although the industry was growing, the union was faced with a declining membership. The conservative leadership did not see organizing as a priority and were resistant to the idea of organizing immigrant and women workers. The union leadership was not responsive to the needs of its members, many of whom were Spanish speaking. The union leadership operated on the mistaken idea that labor-management accords would build the union. By the 1980s, young organizers came to the fore and began a struggle to wrest control from the entrenched leadership. Since they were closely tied to the rank and file and attuned to their needs, they eventually won control and changed the nature of the union by making organizing a priority, especially the inclusion of immigrant workers. HERE collaborated closely with unions holding a similar philosophy. It built strong labor–community coalitions, fought for amnesty for immigrant workers, launched bold and creative organizing campaigns, and set an example for all working people. In the modern era, the union represented more than 300,000 members in over 120 local unions in the United States and Canada.

Union History and Organizing Drives

HERE began in 1891 as an American Federation of Labor (AFL) union for bartenders, porters, cooks, maids, waiters, and waitresses. The union grew from 10,000 in 1901 to 300,000 in 1945. As was true of all AFL unions, for many years the international union was organized along craft lines, with locals representing waiters, bartenders, cooks, and waitresses. In 1973, international president Edward T. Hanley sought to merge all locals to represent members by industrial affiliation rather than craft.

A Las Vegas, Nevada, strike in 1984 proved a major landmark for the international union. The casino owners made a concerted effort to destroy the union, but the union waged a successful strike. After sixty-seven days, in one of the longest, most violent and bitter strikes in Las Vegas history, a number of hotels, including the MGM Grand, the Tropicana, and the Sands, settled. Then, in 1991, members of the Culinary Workers Union Local 226 and Bartenders Union Local 165, both HERE affiliates, struck the Frontier Hotel and Gambling Hall in Las Vegas. This strike lasted six years. Not one of the 550 striking workers crossed the picket line. Although the Frontier was bought by Bellagio Resort Hotel and Casino in 1998, the new owners accepted the union contract. Creating an organizing environment for other casino workers, HERE's membership grew to 20,000 in Las Vegas. By the twenty-first century, Las Vegas was one of the most unionized cities in the nation.

The experiences of Los Angeles's Local 11 serves as an example for the history of the union in the mid- to late twentieth century. Local 11's president, Maria Elena Durazo, provided leadership that revitalized the Los Angeles labor movement. Coming to HERE in 1983 from a long involvement in labor–community

After a six-year-long strike, picket signs fill a garbage can at the Frontier Hotel and Casino in Las Vegas on October 28, 1997. The strike by the Culinary Workers Union and Bartenders Union forced owners to sell the property, spelling the end of the walkout. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

organizing in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU), Durazo was shocked by the racism in Local 11. Despite the fact that the majority of members were Latino immigrants, the white male union leaders refused to translate the meetings into Spanish and were not attuned to members' needs.

HERE workers saw wages and benefits deteriorate as the hospitality industry was taken over by multinationals, who engineered decertifications of the union. A radical change was needed that would take into account the changing face of the workforce and industry. Backed by Latino groups, community, religious, and academic groups, and sympathetic unions, Durazo undertook a campaign to win the presidency and control of Local 11 in 1987. The campaign was ugly. Ultimately, the international intervened and placed the local under its trusteeship for two years but with Durazo as a staff director. Working with the international strengthened her support in the local. Two years later, in 1989, Durazo was elected president with little opposition and began to put her plans into practice.

Under her leadership, Local 11 set an example for all working people by utilizing a variety of street and media tactics to publicize its cause. Backed by the international, the local undertook extensive research and community outreach both to maintain its membership and to organize the nonunion workers in the industry. The local recognized the necessity to organize the immigrant workforce, including the undocumented. Members staged sit-ins in hotel lobbies, committed civil disobedience in busy intersec-

tions, and engaged in many visible, lively demonstrations and rallies. The public demonstrations won much support for the workers' cause.

The union produced a controversial video, *City on the Edge,* showing the social inequities and class stratification of Los Angeles. The video portrayed how low-wage jobs were contributing to the overall decay of Los Angeles's infrastructure and why the tourist industry had a responsibility to reverse this trend. Ironically, the video was released at the exact time of the civil unrest, which took place throughout Los Angeles in 1992. Responding to the publicity, the Hotel Employers Council agreed to settle health and pension benefits, which covered 5,000 Local 11 workers.

Organizing nonunion workers was a much more difficult challenge. But Local 11 argued that the city of Los Angeles could not recover or be rebuilt from the 1992 civil unrest, unless workers received a living wage. Coming from an immigrant farmworker family, Durazo understood well that it was vital to include immigrant labor as part of the organized labor movement. Most unions prior to the 1980s were resistant to this idea, but the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) was openly organizing immigrant labor and working with community groups to teach immigrant workers their rights. Durazo, who received her initial union organizing experience in the ILGWU, applied this training to HERE and won major contracts for Hyatt Hotel workers, some airport hotel workers, and downtown hotel workers. Local 11 firmly believed in making house visits to workers, building labor–community bridges, and generally getting workers involved in their own battle for unionization.

HERE Local 2 represented 13,000 workers in the San Francisco Bay Area by the twenty-first century. Similarly to other areas, more than half the members were women and over 70 percent people of color, mainly immigrants from all over the world. Until the 1970s, the leaders were older white males. In the mid-1980s, women of color ran for office, and one won the presidency. The union staff consisted of members of every race, nationality, sex, age, and every workplace department. The local argued that immigrant issues and women issues were concerns for all workers. Similarly to other areas, Local 2 worked closely with community groups, especially immigrant worker groups, to educate their members about their rights.

Conclusion

By the twenty-first century, HERE consisted of immigrant workers taking the lead in revitalizing the labor movement. HERE collaborated closely with the ILGWU, now UNITE, as sister unions to coordinate efforts; the two unions made plans to merge in 2004. HERE recognized the need to make organizing a priority, to build on the untapped reservoir of immigrant workers, and to ensure that workers were involved in the building of their union. HERE not only organized immigrant workers, but also set examples in their strategy and tactics for all organizing campaigns to fight for a quality life for all working people.

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Wildcat Strikes

A "wildcat" action is a strike waged by workers without the instruction or endorsement of union leadership. A possible origin for the term is the word "wildcatter," used to describe nineteenth-century oil drillers who went out on their own, without company knowledge, to dig for oil. The exact definition leaves room for interpretation; the term also sometimes applies to any strike that is illegal, goes against a union contract, or is aimed at eliciting responses from a union rather than an employer.

During wartime, "no-strike pledges" made work stoppages illegal in many industries. Strikes waged by auto workers, machinists, or other necessary wartime labor during that era were called "outlaw strikes" in that they defied both the law and the official union position. Very little academic attention has been devoted to the examination of wildcat strikes. Although much has been written on the story of individual wildcat actions, less has been studied about the plant and workplace conditions, worker grievances, and the national labor climate that generally instigated and fostered such "outlaw" strikes.

Workers often organize wildcats on short notice to protest an official union decision not to strike, or in response to disciplinary actions taken against a fellow worker or group of workers. Wildcats illuminate the limitations and challenges of unionism—particularly in the presence of racism and corruption—and under the pressures of capitalism. As a strike against the concessions of official union leadership or a strike in the absence of official union endorsement, the wildcat marks the point at which a labor union fails to serve its membership.

The line between official and unofficial (wildcat) strikes is often blurred by both the dynamic nature of labor unrest and the complex power relationship between union leaders, management, and workers. Sometimes a formal union-sanctioned strike will spin out of the union officials' control, perhaps as a result of union concessions or the failure of union leadership to recognize the demands of the rank-and-file. In such cases, an official strike could become a wildcat when workers ignore union officials' orders to end the strike and return to work. Another form of ambiguity comes from a phenomenon called the "pseudo-wildcat" in which the union leadership maintains concealed influence in orchestrating a strike that masquerades as an act of defiance against the union. Union officials may also be quick to assert that all strikes—even those planned and led by union officials—are "spontaneous" or "unsanctioned" in order to absolve themselves of responsibility in the eyes of management.

Motivations

Historically, wildcat strikes are seldom motivated strictly by wage demands, but rather by rank-and-file discontent with official union negotiations or settlements. Another common motivation is the disciplinary repercussions of work actions. Some labor historians blame poor economic times for upsurges in wildcat strikes, arguing that when the economy is bad, unions are forced to accept wage cuts and other concessions that anger union members and eat away at rank-and-file support for union leadership.

During World War II, labor unions agreed to a "no-strike pledge" in support of the war effort, effectively making any strike a wildcat. Nonetheless, workers waged unofficial strikes throughout the war to protest frustrating bureaucratic delays caused by the newly established War Labor Board (WLB, now the National Labor Relations Association—NLRA), which oversaw all labor grievances and disputes. Under WLB procedures, even the gains that unions had already won through negotiations, such as back pay, could take more than six weeks to reach the pockets of frustrated workers. In such cases, a wildcat strike often came before the rulings made their way through the bureaucratic WLB process. Many workers staged

wildcats in protest of WLB rulings. Neither the Board nor the courts tended to be favorable to workers, the courts often ordering strikers to "go to work or go to jail," as in the case of a 1969 miner's strike in West Virginia, which sought to call company attention to high rates of black lung disease.

One frequent cause of wildcat strikes is union and company reaction to other wildcats; for this reason, they tend to reproduce themselves. For example, a drill press operator might walk off the job in protest of dangerous and destructive speedups, and subsequently be disciplined by the company in the form of a dismissal or a dock in pay. In response, a wildcat strike might ensue, and the company might respond by firing those who led that unsanctioned walkout. If the union does not demonstrate its loyalty to workers by responding with criticism of the company's actions, workers might stage another wildcat strike in protest of their union officials' failure to act. At each step, the number of workers involved tends to increase dramatically.

Wildcat Trends and the Changing Workplace

A company's productivity is ultimately beneficial to the worker, so union leaders must work with both management and rank-and-file to achieve it. However, in that negotiation process unions risk losing the support of workers when concessions such as wage cuts, loss of benefits, speedups, and mandatory overtime become "necessary," either for union-management politics or for company survival. Often employees perceive such concessions as indicative of union leadership loyalty to management rather than to the worker. The result is often worker discontent, loss of faith in the union leadership, and, ultimately, unsanctioned job actions ranging from slowdowns and small acts of sabotage to massive wildcat strikes.

Until the late 1950s, wildcat strikes were even more common than official, union-sanctioned strikes in many industries. Before that time, workers in any given plant did very different kinds of work under one roof and one body of management. It was difficult for the particular grievance of one worker to get the support and backing of a union that was responsible to a very large and diverse group of employees. As a result, most work stoppages during this period were orchestrated on a small scale and were organized by occupation without the consent of the union leadership.

By 1959, changes in the organization of industry and the workplace created a work environment in which similar kinds of workers did similar kinds of work under one roof. One union represented these occupationally organized workers, making it easier to get union support for strikes. Consequently, more union-sanctioned strikes occurred, while the number of wildcat strikes decreased. However, unsanctioned strikes continued to flare up when workers became frustrated or impatient with either their union leadership or the bureaucracies that delayed strike authorization.

Labor historians are often skeptical about government statistics on strikes—and on wildcat strikes in particular—because they rarely reflect the frequency or severity of job actions. Sources like newspaper coverage fail to register less obvious or publicly visible acts of worker resistance waged in the absence of union consent, such as slowdowns, group "sick days," sabotage, unofficial and clandestine "parties" on company time in company facilities, and worker redistribution of labor. Many wildcat strikes, according to one historical account, are "nothing but group absenteeism." In both government records and media representations, such collective and complicated acts of resistance often fail to register.

Historical Perspective

Although wildcat strikes have always had a consistent presence in the labor movement, three particular periods in U.S. history have seen a high occurrence of unofficial strikes. In 1919, a wave of wartime wildcats struck the railroads and coal mines. During World War II, a second intense wave of defense–industry wildcats responded to "no-strike" pledges, mandatory overtime, speedups, and increased bureaucratization of labor grievance procedures. Finally, in the 1960s and 1970s, an increasingly diverse and divided workforce waged wildcats against employers and a union leadership that seemed increasingly alienated from its rank-and-file and increasingly allied with management. Wildcat strikes returned to the coal mines in 1969. Cargo, correspondence, and packages across the country sat idle that same year while both U.S. postal workers and the Teamsters waged wildcats.

Wildcats of World War I: Railroads and Coal Mines

An 1894 strike by the American Railway Union (ARU) demonstrated the extent to which railroad employees could control the fate of American commerce. The

Pullman strike, named after the Pullman Palace Car Company and the Illinois company town it controlled, ended only with the full force of the U.S. Army. In the years that followed, government intervention in the railroad industry intensified. By 1920, the rails remained under government control, and the right to strike remained suspended.

Between 1914 and 1920, consumer prices rose 100 percent in the United States, while railroad worker wages increased by only 50 percent. Without the right to strike, this caused highly combustible discontent among railroad employees. When a Chicago Yardsmen Association leader was demoted in April of 1920, 700 switchmen on his line—already angry about their lack of power and diminished economic viability—needed little more incentive to walk off the job. Within a few days, every Chicago rail line had become involved in the wildcat strike that ultimately brought 9,000 switchmen to picket lines across the country.

Within a few more days, the strike had spread to engineers, firemen, and conductors from coast to coast. So had the union's anti-wildcat drive. Railway union leaders claimed that the strike violated union rules and contracts; in fact, there actually was no contract that spring because the railroads had just recently been released from government control. Nonetheless, union leaders and railroad management accused strikers of being "Bolsheviks" and threatened them with termination. Tens of thousands did lose their jobs and were replaced by strikebreakers brought in by the union leadership.

To mount this offense against their employers, their government, and their own union leadership, striking workers formed what labor historian Jeremy Brecher calls temporary "outlaw" organizations, such as the United Railway Workers of America. Throughout the month of April, newspaper headlines reported raids and arrests at these "outlaw" meetings throughout the country. Ultimately, it was the arrest of more than twenty strike leaders for violation of the Lever and Sherman Acts that put an end to the strike. Weakened wildcat leadership could not sustain the struggle in the face of the newly established Railroad Labor Board, appointed by President Woodrow Wilson in response to the work stoppage. The board asserted the authority of the official union leadership and refused to acknowledge the demands of "outlaw" groups, but it did negotiate a wage increase for all railroad employees that summer.

Meanwhile, wildcats in the coal mines demonstrated how organized worker actions opposing their own union leadership can extend beyond mobilizing a work stoppage or walkout to creating an alternative union platform. During the week of July 4, 1919, as many outlaw railroad strikers returned to the job, workers throughout the country struck to protest the imprisonment of Socialist Party leader and railroad union organizer Tom Mooney on implications in a 1916 bombing at a rally in San Francisco.

Like workers in other industries and regions, coal miners in the Belleville subdistrict of Illinois had their pay docked for taking part in that strike, which was itself illegal. Miners at Nigger Hollow Mine No. 2 called a "spontaneous mass meeting" after protesting fruitlessly to management about their loss of pay. They drew up a petition asking the union chairman to call an official union meeting on the topic. When that petition was ignored, the miners selected their own chairman and held their own meeting, at which they voted that the collection of fines was illegal. They also voted for a work stoppage and sent word to the miners at a nearby mine to join in their strike. That same night, at a joint meeting of the strikers from both mines, a union official showed up and demanded that the miners return to work. The official was promptly booed and ejected from the meeting, and soon word had spread throughout the region.

Effectively, these wildcat strikers had rejected their official union leadership and had reformed their goals, grievances, and strategies with leaders from among their own ranks. Contradicting the common perception of wildcats as unplanned, disorganized, and caustic, these miners drafted statements in which they called their union leaders "apologists" and criticized the "futility" of reforms such as wage increases and shorter working days. The Bellville miners sent delegates to other mines in the region to increase their numbers. Not only did they petition the union for a state convention, but they also planned their *own*, which was, in effect, a wildcat convention.

Meanwhile, the UMW hired strikebreakers to suppress (and often harass) their own members. With the union dues paid by the striking miners, union leaders hired some of their own men as "deputy sheriffs," who then arrested wildcat strikers. Ultimately, the union spent $27,000 to repress their own membership. Their strikebreaking efforts only further alienated rank-and-file workers and brought more miners to the picket line. President Wilson criticized the strike and sent federal troops into the mines. On November 8, more than four months after the start of the strike, federal courts ordered the workers to return to the mines. While acting UMW president John L. Lewis declared, "We are Americans, we cannot fight our

government," the strikers proved him wrong and ignored the court order.

For another month—as the weather grew cold and the demand for coal became more urgent—the miners continued their strike, and coal rations grew increasingly severe. Schools closed for lack of heat. The railroads scaled back, and factories fell quiet. Federal troops drove scabs past the picket lines into Montana coal mines. In North Dakota, the governor declared martial law. What began as clandestine meetings of a few workers in an Illinois mine had, in a matter of months, left the entire nation out in the cold. After President Wilson proposed a 14 percent wage increase and an arbitration commission, many went back to work, but not for long. With miners dissatisfied with results, the summer of 1920 was also fraught with coal-mine wildcats.

Wildcats of World War II

Throughout World War II, consistent government and industry efforts to silence labor and increase production in the name of the war effort led to frequent labor unrest. In March of 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt created the National Defense Mediation Board to keep labor disputes from interfering with war production, and across the country, union leaders signed "no strike pledges." Nonetheless, by April of that year, wildcat strikes began to flare up in defense-related workplaces across the country.

War demands sped up production, forcing workers to put in more hours at a faster work pace. In September 1942, in response to a war economy, Congress froze wages with passage of the Stabilization Act. Union recruitment grew increasingly difficult as workers began to see the unions—stripped of the right to strike and weak in numbers—as powerless against management. In response to this problem, the passage of "maintenance of membership" provisions automatically signed up new employees and prohibited the termination of union membership during the duration of a contract. Unions relied on this provision to protect their numbers, and it was common for management to threaten its revocation to strong-arm union officials into making concessions. This forced unions into closer alliances with management in order to protect the provision, which contributed to a growing sense of abandonment among rank-and-file workers.

Expanding bureaucracies made this a frustrating time for both union leadership and rank-and-file members. Throughout the war, augmenting this rank-and-file distrust of union leadership was the sense that management and union leadership often used the existence of the War Labor Board to avoid dealing with grievances. Claims sent to the government agency were subjected to great delays and considerable dilution. All labor grievances had to go through the War Labor Board, and they often took years to process. The result was many unsanctioned work stoppages in protest of both specific grievances and the slow, unresponsive manner by which they were processed. These wildcats, often called "quickies" because of the speed with which they were organized and executed, reflected increasing worker frustration with wartime labor bureaucracies and unresponsive unions. For many skilled workers putting in seventy to eighty hours a week, these strikes were also much-needed breaks in the grueling work routine. Sympathy strikes—those in which workers in one plant or department walk out in support of other striking workers—were very common during the war.

During the World War II era, wildcat strikes became part of the initiation into the work culture for a new generation of industrial workers. Contrary to the perception that the high number of World War II-era wildcats was a result of a young, unruly workforce, long-time employees encouraged many new workers to defy the unreasonably high production rates that wartime industry demanded. These "old timers," as one labor study called them, would lead new, younger workers in organizing defiance of both management and the union.

Although the 1940s were frustrating for many workers, they were also—for those who were skilled, white, and male—a period of unprecedented labor strength. A wartime labor shortage gave workers leverage, often allowing them to demand higher wages and to pick and choose among jobs and plants. This was not the case for African-American workers, who continued to face job discrimination and unequal wages when working alongside white laborers in the same job. The wartime era also brought with it a new awareness of discriminatory practices and job inequalities as a result of this more diverse workforce.

Workplace diversity brought racial unrest, and many of the era's most severe wildcats—like those of a generation later—were racially motivated. During World War II, 80 percent of black workers were not unionized, either because they were excluded by racist union members and leadership or because, perceiving unions to be part of a white America fraught with racial hostility, they doubted a union would fairly represent their interests. Black workers often waged wildcats in response to wartime hate strikes in

which white workers walked off the job to protest having to work alongside black workers. Black workers also often staged wildcats to protest union or management acts of racism.

In 1944, nearly 5,000 recorded "quickies" nationwide baffled management and union leadership and resulted in massive losses of man-hours. Each of these five-to-six-day wildcat strikes played its part in forcing improvements in industrial working conditions. Government reactions to wildcat strikes provide much fodder for the image of labor conflict as armed, militaristic, and disorderly. Uniformed military officers were a common sight at war production plants during the wildcat year of 1944, but not for the purpose of controlling unruly strikers. The military presence was often to ensure that employees returned to work and stayed on the job. Soldiers also served as armed escorts for strikebreakers and sometimes even took the place of striking workers so that production could continue.

In determining the effectiveness of wartime wildcats, it is important to note that during the wildcat year of 1944, "labor efficiency" was down by anywhere from 20 to 50 percent, depending on the industry and workplace in question. If labor's aim in mounting a strike is to withhold valuable services from management, then this drop in efficiency indicates a labor victory.

Auto Workers, Teamsters, and Postal Workers in the 1960s and 1970s

If 1944 was the year known for wartime wildcat strikes, then Detroit was the place. As the heart of the auto industry and a wartime destination for large numbers of black migrants from the south, it became the center of the United Auto Workers (UAW) labor conflicts—from hate strikes to wildcats—each of which took on complex and intense racial and class dimensions. This was also true a generation later, in 1973, which one historian of Detroit's labor history called "Wildcat Summer."

For Detroit workers, the second half of the 1960s brought a steady decline in the real income of industrial workers. At the dawn of the 1970s, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development reported that only half of these workers could afford a "decent home." For auto workers in Detroit, a growing number of whom were African American, the UAW's tendency to ally itself with management left employees struggling for a voice in the plant to win improvements in working and living conditions. As production sped up, management at the General Motors plant forced workers to put in overtime by depressing wages. Speedups led to unsafe working conditions, and accidents became more frequent and more severe.

In order to get the attention and support of its own union, Detroit's black workforce waged one wildcat strike after another, in forms ranging from highly publicized work stoppages to more subtle and covert forms of resistance like sabotage, group sick days, and slowdowns. This wave of wildcats in Detroit grew both into and out of a revolutionary social movement based at the Dodge plant known as the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM); this movement organized outside the plants, advocating mass political education through its publications and demonstrations. As historians Dan Georgakas and Marvin Surkin point out in *Detroit, I Do Mind Dying: A Study in Urban Revolution* (1998), the media's emphasis on the role of this revolutionary movement ultimately distracted from working conditions and striker demands.

Wildcat strikers of the 1960s and 1970s, whether they were postal workers in New York, coal miners in West Virginia, auto workers in Detroit, or Teamsters in Illinois, were often portrayed negatively in the media. The mass-produced image of disorderly renegades resorting to warlike tactics is best exemplified by coverage of the 1970 Teamsters' wildcat. During that conflict, Ohio's governor called in more than 4,000 national guardsmen and ordered another 13,000 to remain on "standby" while "open warfare" took place on Ohio highways. The 145th Infantry, which had gained notoriety in the last few years by its responses to urban riots, descended upon West Akron. Meanwhile, police officers staked out known Teamster bars waiting for the rebels to emerge.

The Teamster wildcat began following the settlement of a national contract that offered drivers a raise of $1.10 over a period of thirty-nine months. Outraged, drivers in sixteen cities halted their vehicles and launched mobile wildcat pickets. Companies tried to reroute drivers, but their attempts to avoid the pickets only resulted in widespread violence and the loss of a half-million jobs. Eventually, the teamsters' resilience won them a two-thirds raise and elimination of the unsatisfactory contract.

Postal workers demonstrated that same resolve in their own 1970 strike, which became the first nationwide strike of government employees and ultimately forced President Richard Nixon to declare a national emergency. After 200,000 postal workers in fifteen

states walked off the job, the president sent 25,000 troops to post offices across the country, proclaiming, "the mails must go through!" On St. Patrick's Day of 1970, 25,000 postal workers honored a picket line in New York City, even though striking was a felony offense for government employees, carrying a penalty of a year and a day in prison, along with a $1,000 fine.

Such fines would have been particularly difficult for New York City postal employees to pay, according to a 1968 government study showing that many of the city's postal employees were forced onto public assistance to make ends meet. The study uncovered mass discontent among U.S. Postal Service employees in New York, citing poor working conditions, high cost of living, and limited job mobility. "Sick-outs" among postal workers had been fairly common since 1967, but it was ultimately their 1970 wildcat that brought the country's circulatory system to a halt. Soldiers sent in as scabs to push the mail through expressed solidarity with the strikers by deliberately creating even more chaos behind post office walls. Ultimately, the postal workers won wage increases of 6 percent for all government employees, along with an additional 8 percent for themselves.

Examining labor history by emphasizing only official strikes, or by discounting those actions taken by workers against or without the consent of their labor unions, ignores not only a large part of the story, but also a large portion of the actors. Many workers who constitute the "labor" in American labor history were neither recognized nor supported by official unions. Inclusion of wildcat strikes accounts for the hardest-fought labor battles and holds union leadership accountable for its acts of exclusion and omission. Wildcat strikes mark the visible eruptions of the labor fringe, at which the demands of rank-and-file workers oppose the politics (and often the economic realities) of official union negotiations and settlements.

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Organized Labor, Consumption, and Boycotts

The relationship between consumption and social and political change has a long history in the United States. Indeed, consumer actions like boycotts date back to the years before the nation was born, to the colonial era. Before the first glimmers of a revolution were at hand, colonial craftsmen persuaded elite and ordinary colonists alike to boycott imported British goods in favor of domestically produced goods. The nonimportation movement, as it was called then, signified the beginning of a long tradition of consumer actions in the United States. Nearly a century later, the labor organizations that developed in the decades after the Civil War sought to revive that history with boycott and label movements of their own.

The connections between consumption and the labor movement have focused on the ability of unions to influence consumers' shopping habits and thus favor union-made goods. Labor activists sought to harness the economic power behind consumption and transform it into a source of political and negotiating strength. Whether through union labels or boycotts of nonunion goods, union leaders hoped that they could convince consumers to choose union-produced goods over nonunion-produced goods and thus gain additional influence and power at the negotiating table. However, the process of convincing consumers to consider labor conditions and issues of solidarity over price was often a difficult one. The most popular consumer actions of the late twentieth century relied on sophisticated advertising appeals to get the message out. But, even then, consumers tended to be fickle and focused on the bottom line; thus, the connection between consumption and the labor movement proved difficult to maintain over long periods of time. Nevertheless, the moments in history in which labor unions did succeed in influencing consumer choice yielded benefits that were profound for organized labor.

The Labor Movement and Consumption Campaigns

The earliest link between consumption and the labor movement dates back to 1875, when members of the Cigar Makers' Association of the Pacific Coast in San Francisco began to consider ways of persuading consumers to choose their cigars over nonunion-made cigars. The union devised a conspicuous white label that would be placed on each box of cigars to help consumers identify the source of manufacture. The label read, "CIGAR MAKERS' ASSOC'N. The cigars contained in this box are made by WHITE MEN." The label's specific and intentional identification of white men as the producers was an important part of the design. For in addition to seeking to increase their power by increasing consumption of union-produced cigars, this first union label also functioned as a tool of racial exclusion.

Chinese and Chinese-American cigar makers posed a threat to white men's control of the cigar industry in San Francisco, and thus the union devised a label to act not only as a tool of solidarity, but also as a way to discredit Chinese laborers. Rather than attempt to include Chinese and Chinese-American workers in their union, white cigar makers used the white label to signify not only a union-made product, but also the racial origins of the product. Cigar makers in other cities soon adopted the label technique for themselves. Four years after the pioneering efforts of the Cigar Makers' Association of the Pacific Coast, cigar workers in St. Louis reported that local manufacturers were "unable to sell cigars without [our] union label." In 1881, the national organization of cigar workers, the Cigar Makers' International Union of America, issued its first union label, bringing the technique to a national audience.

Other trade unions soon followed the cigar workers' lead and developed their own union label campaigns. A few decades later, near the turn of the twentieth century, can makers similarly sought to un-

dercut a group of workers through the use of a union label. This time the excluded workers were women, whom male unionists viewed as a threat because of their apparent willingness to work for lower wages and their perceived weak union loyalty. In addition to the availability of cheaper female laborers, male can makers worried that increasing levels of mechanization in the can-making industry would undermine their hard-won union wages. So, male can makers created a stamp that was placed on the bottom of each can, assuring consumers of the "hand-made" quality and sanitary conditions of each can's production.

Gender and the Union Label

At the same time, the stamp was intended to persuade consumers to pay more for goods in the preferred cans and thus increase the marketability of goods in cans made by men unionists as opposed to those produced by women workers. In addition, the organized can makers wanted consumers to associate good quality with masculine production. In these very early union label campaigns, ethnicity, race, and gender were central issues of union solidarity.

Gender posed an interesting conundrum for the labor movement at the turn of the twentieth century, in terms of both organizing and consumer activism. Women were specifically excluded from the union label strategy in much the same way that they were often excluded from trade unions. Despite the fact that working-class women were typically responsible for determining a great percentage of their family's consumption, one study of the efficacy of the union label strategy in 1910 complained that in order for the label strategy to be successful, the labeled goods needed to be purchased by men consumers.

Women consumers lacked a sense of solidarity and industrial experience and were thus unable to maintain consistent support for union labels, or so the argument went. The reasoning behind working-class women's wavering support for union labels actually had more to do with the reality of small budgets and higher-priced union goods. It was the working-class woman's responsibility to stretch her meager dollars to the maximum, which often meant choosing lower-priced nonunion goods over labeled union goods. The consumer actions favored by trade unionist husbands and leaders often conflicted with women's need to stretch their husband's (and often, their own) working-class wages to meet their family's needs.

Still, not all union label activists dismissed women. As the label technique grew more sophisticated in the early twentieth century, some union leaders eventually turned to women and demanded their support for union labels. They had finally come to understand that women of all economic classes, as the arbiters of household consumption, wielded a substantial amount of power in the marketplace. Seeking to harness that power, many unions and even the American Federation of Labor (AFL) decided to target their union label campaigns at women. In 1909, the AFL established its own Union Label and Service Trades Department. Eventually, organized labor came to realize that the success or failure of the union label strategy depended, in large part, upon the support of women.

Middle-class women reformers in the Progressive Era took the union label technique and made it their own. In 1898, a group of reform-minded activists, most of them women, joined together to harness the power behind consumption as a force for improving working conditions and created the National Consumers League (NCL). The early NCL used the standard techniques established by trade unions to advocate for their goals. For instance, like the cigar makers, the NCL devised a white label to designate goods produced in favorable circumstances. In addition, they developed a "white list" that identified department stores with good working conditions. From the very beginning, women played a central role in supporting such label efforts by labor unions and coalitions of activists working outside the realm of organized labor. The NCL was not, strictly speaking, a division of organized labor; however it was part of a larger movement that sought to improve working conditions, eliminate sweatshops, and create minimum standards in industry. In that way, trade unions and the NCL were working toward the same goals.

As the ready-to-wear apparel industry and its accompanying sweatshops flourished at the turn of the century, organized labor found new uses for the union label strategy. By 1900, the two primary apparel workers' unions, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) and the United Garment Workers (UGW) had developed their own distinctive labels to be sewn into garments produced by union workers. The initial label campaigns of the ILGWU and UGW suffered, however, from spotty regulation. Labels were sometimes granted to substandard shops, even sweatshops and nonunion shops, thus undercutting the efficacy of the strategy.

The onset of World War I in 1914 had the effect of increasing the number of Americans on union rolls as women, African Americans, and even unskilled workers found temporary positions in industries that

had previously spurned them. But immediately after the war's conclusion, the Red Scare swept the nation. Labor unions scrambled to purge radicals from their rolls, and, in the process, the movement became more conservative and less demanding of American business and industry. It was in this environment that organized labor greeted the Great Depression. Some leaders of the AFL supported an extension of the union label strategy to a "Buy American" movement, arguing that consumption of American goods, in addition to union goods, would increase the availability of jobs in the nation. During the Great Depression, the AFL's Union Label Department expanded its endorsement of union goods to include goods made in America by Americans, enveloping its appeals in a patriotic veneer. Union goods were, by definition, American goods, and what was good for organized labor was good for the millions of unemployed Americans. In addition, the AFL could earn some political advantages by appearing as if it was working to solve the Great Depression.

In 1941, America's entry into yet another global conflict once again swelled the membership rosters of labor unions in the United States. Because of the mobilization effort for World War II, both the trade-oriented, conservative AFL and the more progressive Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) fared well during the war. The number of unionized workers grew from 10.5 million at the start of the war to 14.7 million by the end of the conflict. After the war, unions turned once again to their label campaigns. By this time, there was a general consensus about the importance of women consumers to the success or failure of label campaigns. This was particularly true in the apparel industry. Apparel was one of the most frequently purchased of union-labeled goods, and the men's clothing workers union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA), wasted no time in reviving its label campaign. This time, however, the union directed its appeal to trade unionists as well as to the general public through radio promotions and advertisements in both trade and popular journals. In the 1950s, cities and towns across the nation, even in the notoriously anti-union South, sponsored union label weeks that often included essay contests and raffles of union-made products. Many of the postwar union labels, especially those initiated by the apparel unions, were directed at women consumers. Union label advocates recognized that women purchased not only their own clothing, but also the clothes for their husbands and children.

The post–World War II union label campaigns also employed sophisticated advertising techniques. The ILGWU, for instance, hired a well-known advertising firm to lead its label campaign in 1958. Mary Rockefeller, then the First Lady of New York State, kicked off the campaign by sewing the first ILGWU label onto a garment. A few years later, Eleanor Roosevelt stitched the one billionth label into another union-made garment. Photographs of these two promotional events appeared in union advertisements in women's journals. With the help of such prominent women and sophisticated advertising that targeted women consumers, the union label appeared to have staying power.

"Buy American" Campaigns

The flood of cheaper, imported goods that began in the 1960s with the Kennedy Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade's (GATT's) massive tariff reductions posed an enormous threat not only to domestic industries like apparel and auto manufacturing, but also to their respective unions. The threat was real and substantial. From the early 1960s to 1976, the percentage of imported apparel in the United States grew from a mere 2.5 percent to over 30 percent. In the 1970s, the ILGWU sought to bring its label campaign to the forefront of the battle against imports. The national offices of the ILGWU worked steadily, often with participation of its sister union, the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU; created by a merger of the ACWA and the Textile Workers Union of America in 1976) to enforce label standards and to make the connection between union-made and American-made apparel. Then, in 1975, organized labor's use of the label as a weapon against imports reached its high point. In November of that year, the ILGWU's famous "Look for the Union Label" television commercial first hit the airwaves, bringing the pro-union "Buy American" message into living rooms across the nation. The commercial's catchy jingle, "Look for the union label, when you are buying a coat, dress, or blouse," soon caught on. Within a few months of its initial broadcast, most Americans were familiar with the tune and its pro-union, "Buy American" message. The song's lyrics linked the pro-union agenda with the "Buy American" campaign, claiming that the ILGWU's label was good for America. The AFL championed the commercial's success and its message, calling it the "cry of the modern trade union movement."

The appeal of this particular label campaign extended beyond that of earlier versions. This time, the union's strategy envisioned women as workers,

unionists, and consumers. The mostly female signers in the "Look for the Union Label" commercial were an ethnically and racially diverse group. African-American, Latina, and Asian women all had a prominent place in the commercial, thus broadening its appeal. The success of the commercial is difficult to measure, but without doubt it did succeed in getting the message out. Versions of the commercial appeared on television shows like *Jeopardy* and *The Merv Griffin Show*. The very popular *Saturday Night Live* program even poked fun at the commercial in one of its more memorable skits. It was clear that the commercial succeeded in making consumers aware of the union label. However, it did little in the long run to stem the ever-increasing flood of imported apparel.

Consumer Boycotts

Where the union label campaigns sought to gain influence by urging consumers to spend money on particular goods, boycotts functioned in exactly the opposite way. Boycotts demanded that consumers withhold their money. By not purchasing certain specified products, unions hoped to compel employers to negotiate more fairly over issues such as union recognition, wages, and working conditions. Both boycotts and union labels were strategies designed by organized labor to increase the power and influence of labor unions in America. However, union-sponsored boycotts suffered under much stricter governmental supervision and legislative restrictions than label campaigns.

In the four decades before World War II, the right of organized labor to initiate boycotts was the focus of several court decisions and federal legislation. One of the most famous early boycotts initiated by organized labor in this time period was the subject of the famous 1908 U.S. Supreme Court decision *Loewe v. Lawlor,* or the Danbury Hatters case, as it was more commonly known. After Dietrich Loewe, the company owner, refused to recognize the United Hatters, the union organized a boycott of all scab-manufactured hats. The United Hatters' organizers and rank-and-file unionists attacked any establishment across the nation that sold hats made by Loewe's scab workers. The AFL supported and popularized the boycott when they added Loewe hats to their "Don't Patronize List."

The boycott ran into trouble when the American Anti-Boycott Association (AABA) joined forces with Loewe and filed suit against the hatters. The AABA amassed a powerful lobby of attorneys who argued that boycotts across state lines constituted a violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act because, just as certain combinations of employers were illegal because they constituted collusion, so were combinations of workers. The courts agreed and ordered the hatters to pay three times the actual damages sustained by Loewe. Subsequent federal court decisions extended the boycott limitations provided in the Danbury Hatters case, and eventually, virtually all boycotts of retail establishments were prohibited by the federal courts and their broad interpretation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. The courts claimed that unions and other combinations of workers had no right to boycott retail establishments because they were secondary to the complaint itself. That is, the stores that sold scab-made products were not, in fact, the subject of the workers' or unions' complaints and therefore should not have to suffer the consequences of a union-organized boycott.

In the 1930s, boycotts enjoyed a reprieve from the limitations that federal courts imposed in previous decades. With the passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act in 1932, Congress expressly gave unions permission to use the secondary boycott strategy. Three years later, passage of the Wagner Act reinforced a wide range of freedom with respect to secondary boycotts. But the reprieve was to be short-lived, and few unions were willing to venture into the legal quagmire, fearing lawsuits and devastating monetary fines such as the one suffered by the United Hatters as a result of the Danbury Hatters case. The passage of the 1947 Taft-Hartley amendments to the National Labor Relations Act once again banned secondary boycotts in most industries. As a result of the long history of legal restrictions of boycotts, organized labor has used this type of consumer action cautiously and infrequently.

The United Farm Workers

Of the unions that attempted to use the boycott strategy, the United Farm Workers (UFW) was one of the most successful. Under the charismatic leadership of Cesar Chavez in the 1960s and 1970s, the UFW launched and executed several boycotts. The UFW first adopted the boycott strategy in 1965 and targeted wine grapes produced by a large and well-known agricultural corporation. A few years later, the union broadened the target to include all table grapes. Then, in the 1970s, lettuce was added to the list of boycotted agricultural products. The UFW successfully avoided court injunctions by extending their appeals beyond unionists to include the general public. In this way, the boycott was not specifically a union action and therefore not subject to the wide variety of legal re-

Carrying a "Don't Eat Grapes" sign, United Farm Workers leader Cesar Chavez joins a march in Pittsburgh in 1969 urging consumers to boycott grapes. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

strictions. Chavez publicized the plight of the largely Latino farm workers in California. He passionately campaigned for union recognition, better wages, and improved working conditions. Television interviews further illustrated the terrible plight of Latino farm workers. Chavez fought against long hours, terrible pay, anti-union intimidation, and unsafe and unsanitary working conditions. He urged the consuming public, especially housewives, to boycott wine grapes, table grapes, and lettuce until improvements were achieved. The UFW went beyond targeting fellow trade unionists and included religious organizations, student groups, and nonaffiliated consumer organizations in their boycott appeals. Nevertheless, other branches of organized labor threw their support behind the UFW's efforts. For instance, in 1974 a local branch of the Coalition of Labor Union Women organized a picket line in front of a Newark, New Jersey, grocery store in support of a UFW boycott. The national media also paid close attention to the UFW's boycotts. The *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal* both chronicled the ongoing struggle in many editions of their newspapers over the years. Eventually, the UFW's boycotts faded from national attention, and by 1978, the union transferred several boycott administrators back to California for union elections and contract negotiations. The transfer of resources signified a measure of success for the UFW, for the union did succeed in gaining several election victories. But the availability of undocumented workers willing to

work for low, nonunion wages and the passage of several laws in Congress allowing companies to hire temporary immigrant workers limited the achievements of the UFW boycotts.

The ACWA also employed the boycott strategy in the 1970s. In March of 1972, twenty-six workers walked off their jobs at the Farah Manufacturing Company in El Paso, Texas. The mostly Latina group of workers initiated the walkout to protest their low wages, lack of job security, and oppressive work environment. Within a month, that strike led the ACWA to begin an impressive national boycott of all Farah's products. The boycott was one of the most successful in the history of the American labor movement as evidenced by its widespread popularity and the attention of the national media. Many observers point to the boycott as the critical factor in the union and workers' victory over Farah. Once again, the ACWA used advertisements that targeted women consumers and included pictures that portrayed the overwhelmingly female strike force in militant and strong stances.

The union solicited support from a wide range of sources. The Catholic Church provided important institutional support for the boycott, allowing union meetings to take place on church property and publicizing the boycott through its own communication network. Politicians, academics, and celebrities joined the Citizens Committee for Justice for Farah Workers and allowed their signatures of support for the boycott to be published in newspapers with national readerships. Although the National Labor Relations Board issued an injunction against union picketing of stores that sold Farah garments, in effect saying that such action constituted a secondary boycott, the boycott continued. Although there is controversy over the lasting effects of the strike and boycott, one thing is certain: the boycott dealt a serious blow to the financial health of the Farah Manufacturing Company and figured prominently in the company's decision to sign a union contract with its workers in 1974.

Exact figures vary, but according to the company's own financial report, Farah suffered an $8.3 million loss for the fiscal year of 1972 alone. As successful as the ACWA's boycott strategy may first appear, the long-term results were quite different. For although the boycott did result in a union contract and numerous NLRB decisions in the workers' and union's favor, the end result was that most of the Farah plants in the United States closed by the 1980s. The Latina workers who had struggled so hard to achieve union recognition and better working conditions ultimately lost their jobs.

Conclusion

Although the labor movement's many attempts to control consumption have yielded a record of both success and failure, the lingering desire to instill a moral dimension in consumers' marketplace choices lingers on the horizon even today. The AFL-CIO continues to publish a list of union products and retailers and to support a widespread "Buy Union" and boycott campaign. Most recently, an antisweatshop movement has captured the attention of a small but vocal minority of college students and has brought new attention to the labor movement. Boycotts and union labels are, in effect, different sides of the same coin. Although one strategy urges consumers to withhold their money, the other encourages them to spend it. Either way, it is a contest over the very significant power of consumption.

Michelle Haberland

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Labor Culture

The American labor movement has been strengthened considerably by its multifaceted culture. Strike novels, industrial songs, union banners, picket-line chants, workplace narratives, union-sponsored films, labor plays, and working-class poetry are just a few of the art forms that have been used to promote union causes. Some labor art may not have attracted a wide audience; however, images of labor, workers, and unions in the arts continue to play an important role in the struggle for social change.

The earliest cultural images of the American worker offer an emphasis on the individual worker rather than the collective, organized laborer. In the early nineteenth century, depictions of work were often tied to the American work ethic and reflect rural, small-town society dominated by self-employed craftsmen, shopkeepers, professionals, or farmers. Positive images of the worker prevailed as the working class was celebrated as the builders of the nation in poems such as Walt Whitman's "A Song for Occupations" (1855) and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's "The Village Blacksmith" (1841). Songs were also a popular genre for relating the exploits of heroic workers like Paul Bunyan, the Minnesota logger, Casey Jones, the engineer, and the steel-driving man, John Henry. The song remained a popular form as labor organizations grew in the postbellum period, frequently appearing in political or labor journals that were seeking to rally workers. Reese E. Lewis's "March of the Rolling-Mill Men" was published in the *National Labor Tribune* in 1875:

> Rouse, ye noble sons of Labor,
> And protect your country's honor
> Who with bone and brain and fibre
> Make the nation's wealth.
> Lusty lads, with souls of fire
> Gallant sons of noble sire,
> Lend your voice and raise your banner
> Battle for the right.

The use of music to promote the cause of labor would continue as activist songwriters put pen to paper to address issues of working conditions, fair wages, and employment security. A popular song of the 1870s was Felix O'Hare's "The Shoofly." The tune was written in response to the closing of a Pennsylvania coal mine and is just one of many union songs and legends compiled by George Korson. The genre probably reached its height in the early twentieth century with the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). Described as the "singingest union" America ever had, the IWW would hand with every union card a copy of a book, *IWW Songs: To Fan the Flames of Discontent* (also known as the *Little Red Songbook)*. The tunes in the *Songbook* were often parodies of well-known hymns and popular songs, and the music would ring out at union meetings, on the picket lines, and in jails. Some of the most popular selections, like "The Preacher and the Slave," "Casey Jones, the Union Scab," and "Pie in the Sky," were written by the nation's first well-known labor troubadour—Joe Hill (1879–1915). In the same year that Hill was executed in Utah on questionable murder charges, another IWW poet and artist, Ralph H. Chaplin (1887–1961), penned what has been considered labor's national anthem. "Solidarity Forever," which is sung to the melody of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," can still be heard in union halls today:

> When the Union's inspiration through the workers' blood shall run,
> There can be no power greater anywhere beneath the sun.
> Yet what force on earth is weaker than the feeble strength of one?
> But the union makes us strong.

Solidarity forever! Solidarity forever!
Solidarity forever! For the union makes us strong.

When the Great Depression prompted labor militancy, musicians like Woody Guthrie, Huddie Ledbetter (Leadbelly), and Aunt Molly Jackson were ready to continue the tradition established by Hill and Chaplin and give voice to the struggles of workers and the unemployed. Aunt Molly Jackson, while expressing the benefits of union representation, also injected a feminist perspective into the struggle in such songs as "I Am a Union Woman":

I am a union woman,
Just as brave as I can be,
I do not like the bosses,
And the bosses don't like me.
Join the CIO, come join the CIO.

Between 1941 and 1942, CIO organizing campaigns were also supported by the Almanac Singers, a group founded by Pete Seeger. Following World War II, People's Songs emerged—an informal group of folk musicians who worked to establish a library of protest songs, many of which could be used by trade unions. Songs that were traditionally utilized by unions played an important role in the protests of the 1960s. "We Shall Not Be Moved," an adapted spiritual that could be heard at civil rights protests and freedom marches in the turbulent decade, was first used in the 1920s by striking African-American textile workers in North Carolina. Similarly, "We Shall Overcome" was originally a Baptist hymn titled "I'll Be All Right" and was developed as a protest song by unionized tobacco workers in the 1940s. Labor has also been addressed by rock and roll artists who have used the guitar to explore their working-class backgrounds.

Members of the Women's Auxiliary Typographical Union proudly display their banners—along with the union label—in New York City on Labor Day, 1909. Since the early 1880s, workers have paraded in Labor Day celebrations to promote unity, build solidarity in the labor movement, and raise public awareness of their contributions to society. *(Library of Congress)*

WOODROW WILSON "WOODY" GUTHRIE (1912–1967)

Woody Guthrie was born on July 14, 1912, in Okemah, Oklahoma. He was the second-born son to Charles and Nora Guthrie. His father was a cowboy, land speculator, and local politician who constantly made and lost money and the family home in the oil booms. His Kansas-born mother profoundly influenced Woody by teaching him songs that he would later adapt. Guthrie learned harmonica as a boy and guitar as an adolescent. The death of his sister in a fire followed by the financial and physical ruin of the family and the institutionalization of his mother around 1923 devastated the young boy's family and home. These incidents helped give Guthrie a uniquely wry and rambling outlook on life. From the age of thirteen, he was an itinerant musician and laborer, and by age twenty-one he wound up in Texas, where he married and started a family.

Unable to find work, Guthrie took to the road during the Great Depression, singing for his meals, and wrote hundreds of songs that praised migrant workers, pacifists, and underdogs of all kinds. He headed west with other migrant workers to California in 1937, where Guthrie experienced the intense hatred and antagonism of resident Californians who were opposed to the influx of outsiders. His identification with outsider status would become a major part of his political and social positioning, one that gradually worked its way into his songwriting. It is especially evident in his Dust Bowl ballads such as "I Ain't Got No Home," "Goin' Down the Road Feelin' Bad," "Talking Dust Bowl Blues," "Tom Joad," and "Hard Travelin'."

Guthrie was always deeply involved in union and left-wing politics, and he wrote many of his over 1,000 published songs on themes of social injustice, poverty, and politics. In 1939, he moved cross-country to New York City, where he befriended such artists as Huddie Ledbetter, Pete Seeger, and Ramblin' Jack Elliott. Together they took up such social causes as union organizing, antifascism, and strengthening the Communist Party, all of which they supported through their political songs of protest. In 1940, folklorist Alan Lomax recorded Guthrie in a series of conversations and songs for the Library of Congress. Also during the 1940s, he recorded extensively for Moses Asch, founder of Folkways Records. The recordings from this period, which have been reissued under the Smithsonian Folkways label, have remained influential for young folk music singers/songwriters everywhere. He published his first novel, *Bound for Glory*, in 1943. A semiautobiographical account of his Dust Bowl years, *Bound for Glory,* generally received critical acclaim. His second marriage to Marjorie Mazia in 1946 produced four children, including son Arlo, who later followed his father into the music business as a singer-songwriter.

Guthrie's best-known songs are "So Long, It's Been Good to Know You" and "This Land Is Your Land," which is actually a Socialist anthem. He helped to form the Almanac Singers in the late 1940s, a group that advocated public power at workers' rallies. Some members of the group would later re-form as the Weavers, the most commercially successful and influential folk music group of the late 1940s and early 1950s. Guthrie's solo and group work exerted a strong influence on younger performers, notably Bob Dylan. In 1952, he was hospitalized with Huntington's chorea, and after fifteen years of suffering, Guthrie died on October 3, 1967. By that time a new generation, including Joan Baez and Dylan, had learned his songs and adopted his causes.

James G. Lewis

Key examples include Bruce Springsteen, who brings union imagery into such songs as "Youngstown" from the album *The Ghost of Tom Joad* (1995). Billy Joel hit the charts in the 1980s when he tackled the deindustrialization of America in the song "Allentown."

In comparison with labor songs, fiction was a less successful genre for promoting the cause of labor. Prior to the Civil War, prose writers did not totally ignore the factory system and working-class life. For example, the textile mills of Lowell, Massachusetts, are addressed in an early strike novel, Day Kellogg Lee's *Merrimack: or Life at the Loom*, and a hint of protest can be found in some of the selections in the *Lowell Offering* written by the young women who labored in the mills. In Elizabeth Turner's "Factory Girl's Reverie," published in the *Offering* in 1845, a sad sense of pastoral longing is offered by a young woman in a noisy factory:

> When the bell calls I must go: and must I always stay here, and spend my days within these pent-up walls, and this ceaseless din my only music?
>
> O that I were a *child* again, and could wander in my little flower garden, and cull its choicest blossoms,

> and while away the hours in that bower, with cousin Rachel. But alas! that dear cousin has long since ceased to pluck the flowers, and they now bloom over her grave.

The novel, however, was not yet the venue for working-class themes since the form often dealt with matters of property and inheritance. Even as industrialization increased in the aftermath of the Civil War, full-scale industrial narratives failed to appear in great numbers. Rebecca Harding Davis set the American precedent for the subject in 1861 when her novella *Life in the Iron Mills* appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly.* Forty years would pass before the appearance of what many consider the next landmark novel of industrialization appeared—Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* (1906). Within these perimeters, most novels that address factory life handle working-class themes in a subliterary, cursory fashion, reflecting the fact that professional novelists of the time often came out of the upper echelons of society and wrote with middle-class readers in mind.

Gradually, however, more authors would offer treatments of the conditions of the American working-class—Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Edward Bellamy, Stephen Crane, Theodore Dreiser, Jack London, and Mary Wilkins Freeman. These novelists drew on the major labor struggles of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era to provide insight into the industrial scene and union activity. Works like Theresa Serber Malkiel's *The Diary of a Shirtwaist Striker* (1910), which richly documents the New York Shirtwaist Makers' Strike of 1909–1910, and Ernest Poole's *The Harbor* (1915), a highly successful novel that draws on the Chicago Stockyard Strike of 1904 and the Paterson Silk Strike of 1913 also offered insight into the gains made by the Socialist Party and the IWW during this period.

The Great Depression brought renewed interest in working-class issues and problems, and editors and publishers looked for works dealing with labor struggles. The period witnessed the rise of the worker-writer and the proletarian novel. Novels such as Mary Heaton Vorse's *Strike!* (1930), Grace Lumpkin's *To Make My Bread* (1932), Jack Conroy's *The Disinherited* (1933), John Steinbeck's *In Dubious Battle* (1936), and William Attaway's *Blood on the Forge* (1941) are just a few examples of the successful integration of labor themes into fiction.

In the genre of popular film, organized labor has not fared well. A majority of silent films were highly antilabor, often linking union members and strike leaders as agitators. Films like *Gus—the Anarchist*, *The Dynamiters*, *Murderous Anarchists*, and *Lazy Bill and the Strikers* depicted the strike as a worthless form of protest that only results in death, destruction, and lost jobs. Such films were often supported by employers' associations in their fight against unionization. In 1910, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) addressed the image of unions in films at their convention and passed a resolution encouraging members to protest at theatres where such movies were shown.

The labor union also pressed for the production of "moving pictures depicting the real life and ideology of the working class." Such films would be few in the subsequent decades as Hollywood filmmakers often failed to follow the lead of the proletarian novelist of the 1930s. The film version of John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940), for example, offers insight into the struggle of workers but minimizes the political message of the novel. Other noteworthy films provide a hint of the possibility of social progress through organized labor but also show the darker side of corrupt unionism. In *On the Waterfront* (1954), Terry Malloy (played by Marlon Brando) takes a stand against a corrupt, violent, dictatorial labor union; however, he continues to believe in the organization of workers—as long as it is not built on intimidation and fear.

Another film released the same year as *On the Waterfront* is considered one of the finest radical films ever made—*Salt of the Earth*. Director Herbert Biberman, writer Michael Wilson, and producer Paul Jarrico (who were all on Hollywood's blacklist) were inspired by a strike by mostly Mexican-American zinc miners at Silver City, New Mexico, and made the film with the cooperation of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers. The Mine-Mill trade unionists in the film are portrayed as victims of police who are controlled by the company. An important theme of the film is also sexual repression as the strikers' wives play a pivotal role in the ultimate union victory. The filmmakers overcame a host of obstacles to complete the project—including intimidation from vigilante groups that opposed the production. The director used actual strikers for leading and supporting roles in the movie. Anti-Communists worked hard to suppress the film, and those who did opt to see the movie at the few sites it was shown were greeted by protesters and Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) agents. The film, of course, was a financial failure; however, it began to be shown in the late 1960s as interest in radical feature filmmaking intensified, and it now plays an important part in filmmaking classes as well as studies of the blacklist period.

In the decades that followed the production of

Salt of the Earth, pro-labor films would be rare. Director Martin Ritt addressed labor struggles from a working-class perspective in *The Molly Maguires* (1970) and *Norma Rae* (1979). Similarly, writer-director John Sayles tells the story of union organizing in West Virginia coal country in *Matewan* (1987). Sylvester Stallone played a teamster organizer in *F.I.S.T* (1978). *Hoffa* (1992), with Jack Nicholson in the title role, offers a less than positive portrait of union activity.

Labor issues have been more successfully addressed in the genre of documentary filmmaking. Union Films was formed following World War II and produced a series of films in cooperation with the CIO and United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America. In 1964, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers marked its fiftieth anniversary by producing a film, *The Inheritance*, a history of labor beginning in 1900. The 1970s can be considered a high point in labor documentaries. Barbara Kopple's *Harlan County USA*, dealing with a strike by Kentucky mine workers, captured an Academy Award in 1977. In addition, films like *Union Maids* (1977), *Eugene Debs and the American Movement* (1977), and *The Wobblies* (1979) captured labor's past through extensive use of archival photographs and film.

Theatre has also played a significant role in labor culture. A prime example occurred during the Paterson Silk Strike of 1913 when over 1,000 workers dramatized the labor struggle in the "Pageant of the Paterson Strike" at Madison Square Garden. The pageant successfully gave expression to the struggles of the strikers, but it failed to generate much-needed strike funds. Beginning in the 1920s, workers' education leaders and labor colleges recognized theatre's ability to instruct and inspire. Labor unions like the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and Local 65 of the United Wholesale and Warehouse Employees produced their own shows to "entertain" both workers and the public. Labor issues were also the focus of political theatre in the 1960s through 1980s: In Detroit, for example, Unstable Coffeehouse Productions produced *Sitdown '37* for an audience of United Auto Workers to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the sit-down strike that unionized General Motors. Emmanuel J. Fried, a former labor organizer with experience with Group Theatre in New York, turned to writing labor plays in the 1960s, including *The Dodo Bird* and *Drop Hammer*. Alternative theatres in most major U.S. cities performed these plays. More recently, two plays by John Schneider, *The Line*, dealing with a strike by Milwaukee area meatpackers, and *Out of the Darkness*, focused on a 1898 woodcutters strike in Oshkosh, were performed by Theatre X in Milwaukee.

Photography has also played a key role in raising awareness of American working conditions. Sweatshop and child labor conditions in New York were captured in the work by Jacob Riis, *How the Other Half Lives: Studies Among the Tenements of New York* (1890). Another example of a photographer who worked to capture working-class people was Lewis Hine, who produced inspiring pictures of workers in Pittsburgh as well as at the construction of the Empire State Building in New York. The 1930s were a particularly strong period for documentary photographs, with many photographers working on projects sponsored by federal agencies such as the Farm Security Administration. Excellent photographs of workers were also produced by members of the radical Film and Photo League, which completed a host of documentary projects during the Great Depression. A noted photographer of anthracite coal miners is George Harvan of Pennsylvania whose pictures have been widely displayed.

A number of organizations, including labor unions and historical societies, have recognized the ability of computer websites to preserve and promote the culture and history of the American labor movement. A large number of sites addressing labor arts is now available online, giving viewers the opportunity to tour labor art exhibitions. Collections include a wide range of buttons, badges, ribbons, cartoon art, murals, photography, songbooks, and sheet music. Some websites examine specific episodes in labor history such as the Haymarket Affair and the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire. Web pages also include audio files of labor songs. Some sites also offer information on labor theatre groups, plays, labor festivals, and public arts projects.

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5

Native American Movement

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Introduction

Most people have come to accept the theory that there were contacts with the so-called New World before 1492. There is evidence of contact with peoples from the South Pacific, North Pacific, Africa, the Mediterranean, as well as other European countries. Recently, some have speculated that China had been a source of exchange. And many are familiar with Leif Eriksson, the Norse explorer who sailed west from Greenland and visited parts of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. Yet many still choose to date the North American experience from 1492 as if there was nothing—or no one—in this region before the explorer Christopher Columbus came and "discovered" this landmass and claimed it for the Spanish crown.

When Columbus came upon these shores, the first thing he did was rename the islands that he encountered, even when he knew the name given to that place by those who lived there. Of course, in that process of naming was the process of taking possession of the islands—and the native peoples—who lived on them.

While taking possession of the islands and the peoples of the Caribbean, Columbus wrote about the indigenous peoples whom he had encountered: they had no religion, they could not speak, and they were naked (and without shame). He stated that, because of their ignorance of steel weapons, with a hundred men he could conquer them all. It was not long before the Spaniards were doing just that: raping, kidnapping, and pillaging the indigenous communities they encountered.

The Europeans who arrived in North America acted as they did because they had the might to do so, possessing the military technology they needed to impose their will. Moreover, the Europeans believed they had a mandate from God to alter the cultures that they encountered. Thus, armed with steel weapons, the Bible, and an unswerving sense of self-righteousness, the early colonizing Europeans set in place a monumental apparatus of social engineering.

At the very beginning of this massive undertaking, which occurred in the time immediately following Columbus's discovery, the debate in Europe was over whether or not the beings that were encountered in the Americas were actually humans. If they were human beings, then Christian charity demanded that they be treated with respect; conversely, if they were something other than human beings worthy of God's charity, they could be forced under the yolk of European dominance—for the Bible gave man "dominion" over the beasts of the earth. This belief led to a debate in Europe over whether or not the indigenous peoples of the Americas were "naturally inferior" and therefore "naturally" fit for slavery and exploitation by their Spanish "superiors."

One side of the debate argued that the native peoples of the Americas should be treated with respect and Christian charity; the opposing view was that they were fair game for extermination if they refused the "civilizing" influence of the Spanish. Both sides defended the right of the Spanish to convert the peoples of the Western Hemisphere to Christianity and lead them to a more "civilized" life. Unfortunately, the end result of this social debate had little practical effect on colonial depredations. Indeed, in what is today Central America and Mexico, anywhere from 90 to 95 percent of the native population was lost either through disease, maltreatment, suicide, or outright genocide in the century following first contact.

But one should not assume that the native peoples of the Western Hemisphere were defenseless in the face of these depredations. For example, because the Caribbean islanders were in no position to match Columbus militarily, their immediate resistance consisted of what can only be called a rather sophisticated wild goose chase whereby one community would simply tell the Spanish that they were misinformed—the gold they

sought was really not on this island, but if they left and went to some other distant island they were sure to find lots of gold *there*. By reading Columbus's journal of his first trip, you can readily see that this "resistance" was very effective, with Columbus racing from one island to another in search of gold that turned out to be more illusory than real.

Resistance to the Spanish followed them to the mainland as well, as the Aztecs fought a six-month war against Cortez and his native allies. Here the resistance was broken, not so much by the force of arms as by the incredible destruction wrought on the residents of Tenochtitlan, the Aztec capital, by a smallpox epidemic that ravaged the city. In what is now the United States, the Spanish northward advance suffered a serious blow in 1680 when the Pueblo, under their leader Popé, led a resistance that drove the Spanish from their territory. In large part, the Pueblo "revolt" was a response to the Spanish imposition of Christian ritual throughout their "Empire" in the Western Hemisphere.

Of course, many native peoples were reluctant to give up their way of life and the religions of their culture, and realized that the underlying message most often was either to convert or be killed. Thus, the Europeans' religious proselytizing throughout the Western Hemisphere became the biggest experiment in social engineering that the world has ever seen.

Although much of this discussion is focused on the Spanish, other colonizing powers behaved similarly, with one notable North American exception: the French. Early on, the French adopted a more benign attitude toward the native peoples they interacted with, treating them more as equals than as slaves. As a result, the French often intermarried with the indigenous population and adapted themselves to a more thoroughly indigenous lifestyle. In fact, the French/Native American mixing gave rise to an entirely new and unique cultural group called the Métis, whom the Canadian constitution recognizes as "Aboriginal people." Although the French came to dominate this cultural grouping, many Métis arose out of other (non-French) European/Native American mixtures.

After the defeat of the French in 1760, the British sought to impose many restrictions on the native peoples of North America. This led many to resist the new British overlords. One of the most notable and successful of these efforts to reverse the imposition of British cultural values was "Pontiac's Rebellion" in 1763. With the aid of many warriors, Pontiac enlisted the support of Neolin, a Delaware prophet, who called for a return to traditional ways as far removed from the influence of Europeans as was possible. For example, Pontiac and Neolin allowed for the continued use of European firearms in order to reverse the advances of the British.

Following the same principle as Neolin, we see the prophets Tenskwatawa (brother of Tecumseh), Handsome Lake, Wovoka, Smohalla, and many others, all preaching for a return to more traditional ways. These leaders all saw the revitalization of traditional life as a way to preserve their culture and heritage and represented one of the most resilient forms of social resistance to European efforts to "civilize" the native peoples wherever they were encountered. The one constant (as mentioned earlier) that Native Americans resisted was the demand by Europeans that they give up their "pagan" religions and adopt some form of Christianity, all in the name of "civilization." Often, this religious proselytizing came with the additional demands for monogamous marriage, private land ownership, and a settled way of life based on farming (which, of course, meant an abandonment of the hunt).

Indigenous "social movements" should all be examined through a lens of resistance; Native Americans were never passive actors whenever Europeans attempted to impose imperial hegemony over them. Native peoples all over the world have vigorously resisted those who would impose Western culture upon them, while defending their way of life with that same vigor. As the essays in this section unfold, we will see just how deep-seated the resistance to this European compulsion to assimilate the indigenous peoples of the world has been. Quite possibly, this culture clash—the attempts by the Europeans to "civilize" all they meet and the resistance to these attempts—will prove to be *the* dominant "social movement" that has occurred since the late 1400s.

Phil Bellfy

Native American Movement

Colonial Era–1800s

After the first English settlers landed at Jamestown in the seventeenth century, they and other colonists who followed were preoccupied with "civilizing" the indigenous population. In the century that followed, the English, following the example set by the Spanish, assumed the responsibility of reform by imposing Christianity and Western values in an attempt to create a race of "red Christian farmers." After the Revolutionary War, some reformers argued that citizenship in the new nation was an additional requirement for civilization. During the course of these various reform movements, resistance by the native peoples varied. Some Native Americans adopted European lifeways, others rejected them outright, and still others synthesized parts of those lifeways into their own cultures. As a consequence, the lifeways of native peoples in the United States have been severely altered since European contact.

When English colonists referred to efforts to "civilize" natives, they usually meant Christianizing them as well, for most Europeans believed that Christianity was a prerequisite for civilization. Consequently, most of the colonies relied on missionaries to spread the Gospel to the native peoples and bring them into the fold of European society. In the beginning, these missionaries were Puritans (now called Congregationalists), Presbyterians, and Anglicans, though Quakers and Moravians sent out their own missionaries to natives in the eighteenth century. In 1631, John Eliot, a Puritan minister called the Apostle to the Indians, began to found "praying towns" for Native Americans in Massachusetts, arguing that newly converted natives should live separately in godly communities to keep them from falling under the influence of their pagan brothers and sisters. The outbreak of King Philip's War in 1675 effectively ended Eliot's efforts. In 1754, Eleazar Wheelock, an itinerant New England preacher, founded the Moor's Charity School, a coeducational institution that emphasized manual labor as an integral part of native students' instruction and conversion.

For the most part, Eliot, Wheelock, and other missionaries did not believe that native peoples had any religion at all. It is not surprising, then, that some groups chose to ignore the missionaries entirely. As colonization continued, it became harder for natives to stay free from contact with whites, whether through trade, displacement, or war, and native groups began adopting some of the material and intellectual aspects of the white lifestyle, although they still generally resisted religious conversion. Elite members of Native American communities, along with some "mixed-bloods" who were the children of native and white parents, had more contact with colonists and were most receptive to missionaries' conversion efforts.

Using similar religious themes, many of the prophetic movements associated with native wars during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were actually movements to reform native cultures from within, although these reforms were designed to undo the missionaries' efforts. Pontiac, an Ottawa Indian chief who allied with the French to drive out British colonists squatting on lands belonging to the Ottawa tribe in 1763, acted in accordance with the religious practice preached by the Delaware prophet Neolin. Neolin argued that native peoples were losing their lands and succumbing to alcoholism and disease because they had forsaken the ancient ways given them by the Great Spirit. Only through reforming their lives could Native Americans regain what they had lost. Although most of what Neolin preached grew out of indigenous spiritual traditions, he included the Christian notions of heaven, hell, and a punishing deity in an apparent attempt to appeal to those already under the influence of Christian ideology.

Immediately after the Revolution, the newly

Unita Bailey keeps a lookout over Ute territory in the Wasatch Mountains, 1873. *(Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma)*

formed U.S. government signed a series of treaties with native groups who ceded vast amounts of land to the government in order to feed the land-hunger of colonists. Because many of those treaties had been negotiated with Native Americans who had no authority to do so, some native groups went to war to reclaim their lands. Ironically, some of the leaders of these groups were the same mixed-bloods and elites who were educated by missionaries. For example, Alexander McGillivray, a mixed-blood Creek political leader educated in Charleston, South Carolina, encouraged his people to keep fighting after the Revolution when Georgia expanded onto Creek lands.

In order to end this series of costly frontier wars, Henry Knox, secretary of war under George Washington, suggested that the government return to the British colonial practice of purchasing rather than conquering Native Americans' lands. This tenet was made firm in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, and it, along with the policy of providing for the "civilization" of native groups in treaties, formed the basis of the U.S. government's Indian policy for many years. For example, in exchange for land cessions, the 1790 treaty with the Creek gave the tribe the animals and tools it needed to become settled agriculturalists. This treaty was also the first to state that a native group was under the "protection" of the government, essentially making Native Americans wards of the state.

This wardship policy expanded under the presidency of Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson and his officials believed that with changes in their environment and proper education, Native Americans could assimilate with whites, become productive citizens, and be convinced to give up tribal lands that, as republican farmers, they no longer needed. Thus, the Jeffersonian presidency saw attempts to reform Native Americans through legislation. The end result of these reforms would not just be civilized native peoples but more land for white settlers. The legislative reforms therefore proved very difficult to force upon the native peoples since the government still assumed that whites should advance at their expense.

These reforms also led to a new round of missionary activity among native peoples. Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists all ministered to various native groups, establishing schools and preaching their own versions of Christianity. Native Americans, as was their reaction previously, did not always respond favorably. Not surprisingly, indigenous revitalization movements emerged in some of the tribes of the Old Northwest under tremendous pressure by settlers. One of the most notable movements was that of the Seneca prophet Handsome Lake, who preached a message of purification and resistance to white influence similar to that of Neolin. His movement also selectively accommodated some white influences, encouraging the adoption of white methods of farming, for example, so that the Seneca could survive in an increasingly white-dominated area.

Other groups, especially those in the Southeast, seemed to at least outwardly accept the "civilization" program imposed by the dominant society. By concentrating their efforts among the elite and mixed-blood members of these groups, missionaries were able to "convert" a significant number of the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole to the Christian cause. In fact, they were so successful that these Southeast tribes became known as the "Five Civilized Tribes." In an odd twist of irony, the Cherokee, who were considered the most acculturated of these groups, took the ideology of civilization to its next logical step and adopted their own national con-

stitution in 1827. The document and its assertion that the Cherokee alone had sovereignty over their lands alarmed the Georgia state government, which then extended its own legislative authority over the Cherokee in an attempt to keep the tribe's land open to white settlement.

Consequently, the Cherokee action stood in stark contrast to Georgia law and the federal policy of encouraging land cession to facilitate white expansion. The result of this clash was the passage of the Indian Removal Act, signed into law in 1830 by President Andrew Jackson. The Act provided for the removal of the Five Civilized Tribes from their land in the Southeast to Indian Territory, which encompassed parts of the present states of Arkansas and Kansas and all of Oklahoma.

The debate over the provisions of the Removal Act pitted reformer against reformer and native against native. Many abolitionists, including Lydia Maria Child and Wendell Phillips, spoke out strongly against removal. Congregationalist missionaries Samuel A. Worcester and Elizur Butler went to prison for their efforts to show solidarity with their indigenous constituents. In Native American communities, those who still followed traditional ways staunchly opposed giving up their ancestral lands, while many of the mixed-blood converts came to understand the danger inherent in armed resistance and became advocates of removal. Consequently, removal had proponents and opponents in white and in Native American communities.

The main humanitarian argument espoused by pro-removal reformers was that it would take native peoples away from the influence of "bad" whites who had a tendency to get natives drunk in order to rob them blind. Missionary Isaac McCoy thought of removal as a chance to establish an ideal native Christian community in the West. Some mixed-blood natives, such as Cherokees John Ridge and Elias Boudinot, favored removal because of increasing harassment from local residents and state governments in the Southeast. The removal arguments won the day, and in 1836 the Cherokee were the first to undertake the forced march west along the Trail of Tears. Other tribes east of the Mississippi, from south to north, were also removed.

After removal, the government, still believing that eventually Native Americans would assimilate into the mainstream, continued to funnel aid money through missionary organizations. This government aid was essential to the Native Americans' own survival; consequently, many native tribes reluctantly allowed missionaries to establish religious and educational institutions in their territories. At the same time, they often openly resisted the proselytizing reforms that were an integral part of missionary efforts.

As white settlement spread across the continent in the period between removal and the Civil War, government officials became more interested in finding a permanent solution to the perennial "Indian problem." By the 1850s, commissioners of Indian Affairs such as Luke Lea and George Manypenny were advocating fixed homes for native peoples in the Far West along the lines of a reservation system. The reservation system was presented as a way to protect natives from the ever-present problem of squatters and "bad" whites.

In the two and a half centuries following the arrival of English colonists, the ultimate goal of reformers remained the same: the "civilization" of the indigenous peoples through Christianity and education. After the Revolution, reformers added citizenship in the form of republican land ownership as the third requirement for civilization. The civilization project, however, was always subordinate to white settlers' desire for land. The degree to which native peoples adopted white ways also depended on both the press of white settlement and the ability of the natives to fight it off. Adoption of civilization, however, did not mean that native peoples would likewise subordinate their interests to those of whites. In this way, white reformers' efforts were always doomed to failure.

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Native American Movement
World War I to the Indian New Deal

After 1890, with the "settling" of the American frontier, the last of the Native American resisters were sent to prison and the remaining natives were confined to reservations. No longer able to hunt freely and without access to riverbeds, Native Americans witnessed the disintegration of the economic basis of tribal life and became increasingly dependent on the federal government for their subsistence. In the 1880s, reformers were convinced that to solve the "Indian problem," Native Americans must assimilate into the greater society as individual property owners, farmers, laborers, and, above all, English-speaking Christians. Communal lands were broken up, children were sent away to Indian boarding schools, and traditional gender roles were severely threatened. From the Progressive Era to the New Deal era in the mid-1930s, reformers and policymakers continued their efforts to "civilize" Native Americans. During President Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration, federal Indian policy took a drastic turn. Allotment ended, and the segregated boarding schools were closed as revitalization of Indian rights and lands began under the "Indian New Deal."

Americanization and Allotment

Reformers and policymakers from several fronts attacked tribal life. Native cultures were suppressed through legislation and policy forbidding religious ceremonies, dancing, and group feasting. "Americanization" efforts were applied uniformly to all native peoples, with complete disregard for differences in lifestyles and living environments. "Friends of the Indian" advocated dismantling the reservations as the best way to push Native Americans into the modern world where they would learn habits of thrift and industry. In 1887, Congress passed the General Allotment Act, sponsored by Senator Henry Dawes (R-MA), to abolish reservations and allot land to individual American Indians as private property. This new policy terminated communal ownership of land, pushed the native peoples into mainstream society, with the underlying assumption that they wanted and had the capacity to be farmers.

Reservations were surveyed, and tribal rolls were prepared prior to allotment. Those who refused to come in and be listed on the rolls did not receive allotments. Supposedly, listed tribal members were allowed to select their own allotments (160 acres to heads of families, 80 acres to unmarried adults and orphans), but often reservation agents made the selections for them. "Surplus" lands were then sold to anxious settlers and investors, creating a "checkerboard" effect on reservations. Allottees who proved themselves to be "civilized" farmers were to be granted citizenship at the end of a twenty-five-year period, during which time the federal government held title to the land.

Protections provided these native allottees were steadily eroded. In 1902, Congress allowed heirs to sell inherited land without approval from the secretary of interior. In 1906, the Burke Act declared that those American Indians whom the secretary of interior deemed "competent" to manage their own affairs could be granted land patents in fee simple without waiting out the twenty-five-year trust period to sell their allotments. Nationwide competency commissions were especially devastating, easily subject to fraud and manipulation.

On the White Earth reservation in Minnesota, powerful lumber interests bought up timber-rich allotments for a fraction of their value. Senator Moses A. Clapp (R-MN) attached a rider to the annual Indian appropriations bill, which automatically deemed "competent" any "mixed-blood" adult. According to Melissa Meyer in *The White Earth Tragedy: Ethnicity and Dispossession at a Minnesota Anishinaabe Reservation, 1889–1920* (1994), the Clapp rider "brought grief" to White Earth. Speculators hired witnesses to "sub-

scribe to affidavits that the Indian in question had white blood in his veins and in many cases the white blood ran through the branches of the family for many generations to some remote Canadian Frenchman." At White Earth and other allotted reservations, as resources and lands dwindled, social and political conflicts arose. Until allotment officially ended in 1934, over 90 million acres—two-thirds of the Native Americans' land base—were lost.

Assimilation through Education

In addition to breaking up the communal land base through allotment, reformers and policymakers also attacked the family unit by putting children in Indian boarding schools. It was believed that by "civilizing" the children while turning adults into Christian farmers and housewives, the goal of assimilation would be met within a generation. The following excerpt from an *Atlantic Monthly* article entitled, "How Shall the American Savage Be Civilized?" aptly describes society's attitude. "The kind of education they are in need of is one that will habituate them to the customs and advantages of a civilized life . . . and at the same time cause them to look with repugnance on their native state."

First attributed to Captain Richard Henry Pratt, founder of the Carlisle Indian School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, the phrase, "kill the Indian and save the man," came to represent the philosophy behind the assimilationist movement. Between 1879 and 1902, the federal government opened twenty-five boarding schools for Native American children. Pratt's model of education differed from the existing modes of educating native children in reservation day schools and reservation boarding schools. Children were forbidden to speak their native languages and were immersed into the daily routines of academics combined with training in husbandry and domestic skills. With shortly cropped hair, boys were dressed in military-style uniforms, while girls were forced to wear tight, Victorian-style dresses.

Many students quickly excelled in other areas of the early boarding school curricula such as athletic competitions and debate. The Carlisle bands frequently toured the country. Select students regularly accompanied Pratt to Washington, D.C., where their academic and handcraft achievements were showcased. Although many children were very homesick as well as physically ill from the change in diet and climate, their new common language created the base for the first modern Pan-Indian movement that arose in the second decade of the twentieth century. "Returned students" were usually anomalies on their reservations, often serving as interpreters. Many did take up farming, but the majority worked for the Indian Bureau and became teachers and clerks. The plan for complete assimilation within a generation proved to be a failure.

"Red Progressives" and Citizenship

The circle of college-educated Native Americans in the early twentieth century was small. Several first-generation Indian boarding school students and other educated natives became part of the first modern Pan-Indian movement. In 1911, the Society of American Indians (SAI) was founded. Executive board members were all Native Americans, including Arthur C. Parker (Seneca anthropologist), physicians Charles Eastman (Santee Sioux) and Carlos Montezuma (Yavapai Apache), Angel DeCora (Winnebago), and Arapaho minister, Sherman Coolidge, to name a few. Many of the members' paths crossed through Carlisle at some point in their lives either as students, teachers, or staff members. While leadership was restricted to Native Americans, the bulk of the associate membership was made up of noteworthy reformers, such as Richard Henry Pratt and Fayette McKenzie. McKenzie, professor of sociology at Ohio State University, was instrumental in bringing the group together, providing the initial forums for their meetings.

SAI members were proponents of tribal values as well as advocates of complete assimilation. Their common cause was social progress and a better image for Native Americans across the country. The SAI published the *American Indian Magazine*, a quarterly journal that featured editorials, reports of Indian policy, literature, historical essays, and self-publicity. The SAI represented the first instances of an intellectual, activist movement. Native intellectuals came together for a specific project, to promote their race.

In 1916, the SAI declared "American Indian Day" to be a national holiday. The handbook published for the national event included guidelines for the "second Friday in May for schools, Saturday for field day, and Sunday for Religious Exercises." American Indian Day was endorsed by the Commissioner of Education, governors, historical societies, and patriotic societies.

The Society of American Indians campaigned vigorously for citizenship for Native Americans. They supported the United States in World War I, encouraging enlistment of native men in the armed forces and Red Cross activities for native women. Eventually, disagreements within the leadership over peyote usage on reservations and the degree of involvement

of the Indian Bureau caused factionalism that split the group apart in the early 1920s.

Native Americans in World War I

At a time when few Native Americans held citizenship status, the majority of natives supported the war effort as Americans. Native American men began enlisting in the army a full year before the United States officially entered the war on April 6, 1917. The federal government initiated a nationwide draft registration for Native American males in June 1917. Protests arose on a number of reservations, especially where American Indians were not "citizen Indians," such as the Navajo in Arizona and the Goshutes in Utah. The draft proved unnecessary however, for over 12,000 Native American men enlisted in the U.S. armed forces during the Great War, with 1,000 of them serving in the U.S. Navy. These figures represented approximately 25 percent of the adult male Native American population.

Reformer and expedition photographer Joseph Dixon along with Secretary of the Interior Franklin Lane were proponents of all-native units within the army. They prompted several congressional bills calling for the creation of special American Indian regiments. The Society of American Indians, the Indian Rights Association, and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Cato Sells, took stands against segregating native soldiers. Despite the policy of integrating native American men within white regiments, the army inadvertently established a few all-native units.

Although Native American soldiers filled a variety of positions within the army, the majority of men served in infantry combat units in Europe. Their legendary reputation as natural "fighters," combined with popular stereotypes of "instinctive" soldiers, caused hundreds of native soldiers to be assigned as scouts, messengers, and snipers on the front lines. As the war progressed, U.S. military officials began using Native American soldiers to transmit telephone messages in their native languages in attempts to confuse German code breakers. This set an important precedent for the now-famous Navajo "code-talkers" of World War II. Many Native American soldiers won medals for meritorious service and received commendations from their commanders. Native soldiers and those at home hoped the United States would bestow full citizenship upon them as reward for their loyalty. Congress, however, approved application for citizenship only to returning veterans.

Citizenship for Native Americans proved to be a double-edged sword. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *United States v. Nice* (1916) that American Indian citizenship was not incompatible with continued federal guardianship. Thus, according to Thomas Britten in *American Indians in World War I: At Home and at War* (1997), "the government could maintain many of its regulations over Indian life." This is exactly what happened with the "competency commissions" set up by Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells in 1917. Land titles, with patents in fee simple, were issued whether or not native allottees applied for them. Native Americans, unskilled in land transactions and business deals, soon lost their lands and their monies. To Sells and like-minded reformers, this meant reduced appropriations by the government and more independence for native peoples. So while Native Americans were participating wholeheartedly in the war effort, both as soldiers and as home-front supporters, the administration was taking care of its "Indian problem."

War Efforts on the Home Front

Native Americans at home also made significant contributions to the war effort. Native women were among the most important participants in Red Cross activities and fundraising events. Women knitted socks and mufflers, sewed hospital garments, and packaged comfort kits to support American soldiers. Native American women readily embraced these activities as an extension of traditional female roles supporting their warriors in battle. An estimated 10,000 home-front natives joined the Red Cross during World War I. Native American ranchers donated cattle and sheep, while Native American farmers participated in the "Great Plowup," a national campaign to grow more food for the war effort and put more land into agricultural production.

The national media gave much attention to the Native Americans' purchase of Liberty Bonds and war stamps. Numerous articles appeared in *American Indian Magazine*, the quarterly journal of the Society of American Indians, and Indian School publications entitled "Indians Work for Victory Loans" and "Indians Are Aiding Uncle Sam Win War." Cherokee Chief White Elk sold $1.8 million in Liberty Bonds in one week of speaking engagements, as reported in the *New York Times* article, "How Indian Chief Helped Uncle Sam" (January 26, 1919). Secretary Lane took advantage of Native Americans' participation in the war and their purchase of Liberty Bonds. Tribal funds, held in trust by the government, as well as soldiers' paychecks (signed by reservation agents), were being

used to buy Liberty Bonds. When the time came to redeem the funds, in what Thomas Britten calls "classic Indian bureau paternalism," Secretary Lane frequently denied requests because he feared natives would "make poor use of the money" or because "they did not really need [it]." Thus, while Native Americans were "competent" enough to die for their country, sacrifice life savings, and labor for the war effort they were still treated as wards of the federal government.

Reform Efforts in the 1920s

In 1921, Secretary of Interior Albert Fall issued a series of potentially damaging and malevolent proposals. The former senator from New Mexico was well-known as being hostile to Native American rights. The 1922 Bursom Bill, in short, proposed to buy out the federal responsibilities of Pueblo Indians in New Mexico using the tribes' own monies. This and other ruthless proposals affecting Apache allotment, as well as oil and gas leasing, caused heightened concern for Native American affairs, not only within well-established reform groups such as the Indian Rights Association (IRA), but also within a national civic umbrella organization, the General Federation of Women's Clubs (GFWC). These groups worked together in the field on the national level, involved with land issues in New Mexico in 1922 and the Oklahoma Indian guardianship scandals in 1924.

The GFWC sponsored research agents in the early 1920s, who in turn, founded Native American reform organizations of their own. Former social worker John Collier, a GFWC research agent in New Mexico, founded the American Indian Defense Association (AIDA) in 1923. The AIDA was a reform group of non-natives, with several "Red Progressives" on its advisory board. One of these was former SAI member Gertrude Bonnin, who was instrumental in the formation of the GFWC's National Indian Welfare Committee in 1921 and also served as GFWC research agent in Oklahoma in 1923–1924. The AIDA and the IRA also participated in the investigation concerning the Five Civilized Tribes and Osage Indians in Oklahoma. The subsequent report was titled *Oklahoma's Poor Rich Indians: An Orgy of Graft and Exploitation of the Five Civilized Tribes—Legalized Robbery* (1924). Because Bonnin was a native woman, she was able to elicit the stories of not only fraud victims, but also those who feared for their lives—stories that would not be shared with white, male investigators. Bonnin wrote, "[t]he smothered cries of the Indian for rescue from legalized plunder came in a chorus from all parts of eastern Oklahoma." The report, which included exposure of the circumstances surrounding the murder by poison of a young Choctaw girl, Ledcie Stechi, among other atrocities, prompted a full Senate investigation.

Bonnin, along with her husband Captain Raymond T. Bonnin, went on to form the National Council of American Indians (NCAI) in 1926. The council, with its exclusively Native American membership, disbanded in 1938 shortly after Gertrude's death in 1938. The NCAI's mission was to ensure that the reservations be kept up to date on legislative matters concerning native affairs. Whenever the standing Senate and House Committees on Indian affairs were in session, Gertrude was present, listening for her native brethren. She transcribed, typed, and mimeographed periodic newsletters, which she financed with stipends from speaking engagements. These newsletters were always signed, "yours for the Indian cause."

Reform in the 1920s continued with the inauguration of the first national advisory board on Indian affairs in 1923 and the passage of the Indian Citizenship Act in 1924, which allowed American Indians who were not yet citizens to vote in national elections. The Committee of One Hundred, formed by Commissioner of Indian Affairs Hubert Work in 1923, was a select group of prominent citizens, including celebrities, activists, ministers, and anthropologists. Former SAI members, Henry Roe Cloud, Thomas Sloan, Charles Eastman, and Arthur C. Parker, were among the Native American members. Reformers still firmly believed that individual property ownership and Christian-based lifestyles and education were the answer to the "Indian problem." In the 1920s, however, reform efforts began to concentrate on the actual conditions under which native peoples lived and sought some major effort by the federal government to improve the situation. Several reports were written during the 1920s that focused on health, education, and substandard quality of daily life. The most famous report was *The Problem of Indian Administration* (1928), undertaken and published by the Brookings Institution. Commonly known as the Meriam Report, the information contained in over 500 pages finally woke people up to the deplorable living conditions of Native Americans.

Another native-led organization, the Indian Defense League of America (IDLA), had very specific goals, working to ensure border-crossing rights. Former U.S. Army veteran of the Spanish-American War, Clinton Rickard, Tuscarora chief and activist, was opposed to the Citizenship Act because it excluded Ca-

nadian Indians, who had been traveling back and forth across the Canadian-U.S. border all their lives. He founded the Indian Defense League of America (IDLA) in 1926. Rickard and the League lobbied long and hard for border-crossing rights, often traveling to Washington, D.C., to testify before committees at his own expense. Rickard demanded that the Jay Treaty of 1794 and the 1812 Treaty of Ghent, both of which guaranteed border-crossing rights for Canadian and American Indians, be upheld. These rights were achieved on April 2, 1928, when President Calvin Coolidge signed House Resolution 11351 into law. Although considered a "traditional" Native American, Rickard chose to work within the existing federal system on this and other issues affecting Six Nations Indians.

The Indian New Deal

Until 1934, native tribes were rarely consulted on the legislation introduced for their supposed benefit. Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier, appointed by President Roosevelt in 1933, was the first Indian commissioner who seemed to listen to Native Americans. The Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), also known as the Wheeler-Howard Act, is one of the most important of any piece of legislation enacted in the twentieth century. Largely the brainchild of Commissioner Collier, the IRA provided, for those 181 tribes that adopted it, an end to the devastating allotment policy and an opportunity to interact within the federal system as native entities. A complete new way of thinking, resulting in legislation that became known as the "Indian New Deal," is reflected in John Collier's own words. In *Indians of the Americas: The Long Hope* (1947), he wrote, "This task of the guardian government, to make free the people who are its dependencies, demands not only sincerity of disinterested purpose but also deep knowledge of what those peoples are, and of the material environment within which they [live]."

Few can deny the positives of cultural regeneration for Native Americans and native land reform. On the other hand, the adoption of constitutionally based governments, which was a provision of the IRA, fractionalized many tribes. Seventy-eight tribes rejected the switch from consensus rule to majority rule. Historian Colin Calloway, in *First Peoples: A Documentary Survey of American Indian History* (1999), wrote, "Indian traditionalists felt strongly against the imposition of rigid and alien political and economic systems on [their] communities." In some regards, the "Indian New Deal" was not new, but merely another paternalistic attempt by non-natives to do what they regarded as the "right thing" for Native Americans. John Collier's twelve-year tenure as commissioner of Indian affairs did chart a new direction in federal Indian policy, but its blueprint for reform, which mandated one policy for all native peoples, offered little recognition of the tremendous diversity within Indian America.

Conclusion

As the survival and practice of native traditions and ceremonies attest, attempts at "cultural genocide" and religious oppression were, at best, only partially successful. Although tribal life was disrupted for a few decades during the allotment and boarding school eras, the resilience of native cultures and spirit is evident in today's world. As reform efforts shifted from the focus of "civilization" and assimilation during the Progressive Era to cultural renewal during the Indian New Deal, policymakers were still doing what they thought was best for Native Americans. It would be several more decades before self-determination was realized by the native peoples and the federal government began to reassess the ward to guardian relationship.

Susan Dominguez

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Rise and Repression of the American Indian Movement

In both communities, African-American and American Indian, the civil rights effort produced powerful youth components. Among blacks, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was most prominent. For Native Americans, it was the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC), a group arising from the so-called Chicago Conference organized at the University of Chicago by Cherokee anthropologist Robert K. Thomas during the summer of 1961. Whereas SNCC harnessed its energies to desegregation campaigns and voter registration drives in the Deep South, NIYC devoted itself to the struggles of the Muckleshoot, Puyallup, Nisqually, and other peoples indigenous to the Pacific Northwest to (re)assert their treaty-guaranteed fishing rights.

In June of 1965, Stokely Carmichael, at the time head of SNCC, announced that the organization was shifting its emphasis from a traditional civil rights agenda to the pursuit of "Black Power." At about the same time, he indicated that SNCC, which had suffered severe repression in the course of its activities in the southern states, was abandoning its philosophical commitment to the ideals of nonviolence. Instead, he advocated the principle of "armed self-defense" practiced by the Louisiana-based Deacons for Defense and Justice and by National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) leader Robert Williams in Monroe, South Carolina, during the early years of the decade. Never one to engage in idle chatter, Carmichael immediately set about applying his ideas in Lowndes County, Alabama, reputedly one of the most violently racist locales in the entire South. Within months, he'd succeeded in organizing an area previously believed impossible to approach.

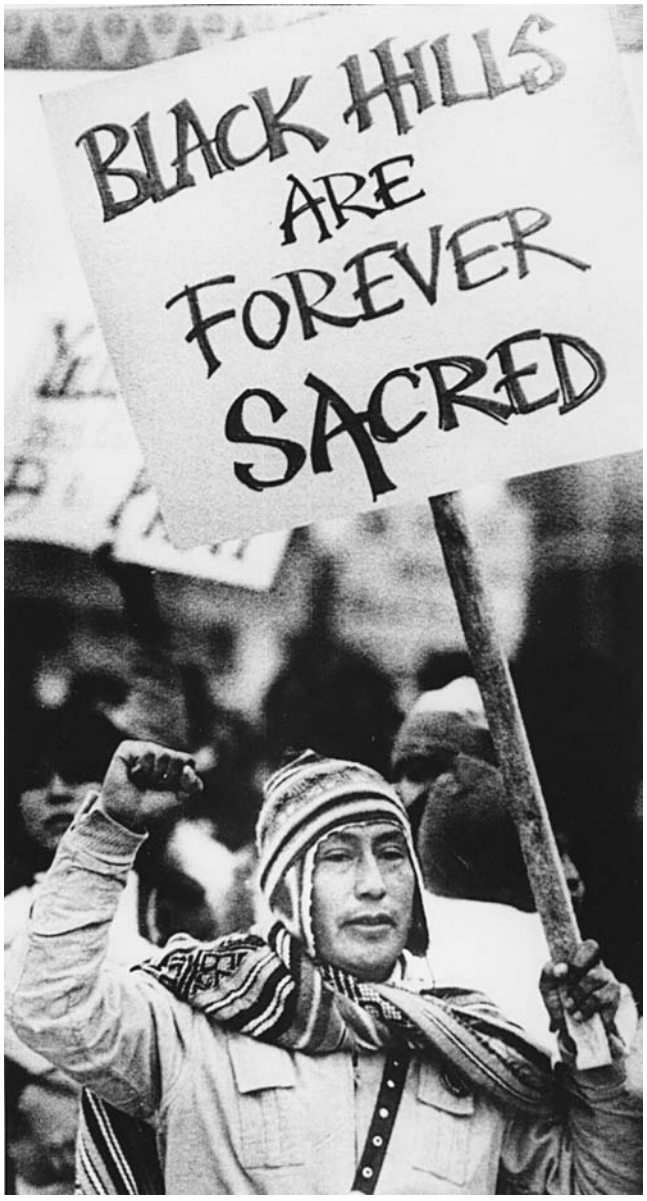
Carmichael's Lowndes County Freedom Organization, as he called it, employed the picture of a black panther as its logo. During the spring of 1966, the image was adopted by a pair of Merritt College students, Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale, while founding what was originally called the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense in Oakland, California. Built around a ten-point program aimed at securing self-sufficiency and self-determination for North America's "black colony," and the idea that anyone is entitled to meet force with force in defending these rights, the party shortly emerged as the most dynamic black radical organization in the United States, its membership swelling from about a dozen at the outset to more than 5,000 arranged in some forty local chapters just two years later (another 125,000 African Americans indicated "active support" to Gallup pollsters in late 1968). By 1969, Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Director J. Edgar Hoover was describing the Panthers as the most serious of all threats to the stability of America's white supremacist status quo.

The spectacular growth of the Black Panther Party—the "for Self-Defense" phrase was deleted from its name in 1967—heralded a shift in the locus of Black Power politics from the rural South to the urban North, as well as a decisive turn away from Afroamerica's traditional embrace of pacifism as a viable political strategy. At a popular level, this was eloquently symbolized in a series of inner-city revolts marking the "long hot summers" of 1965–1968. In more self-consciously political circles, the same trend was signified by the temporary absorption of SNCC by the Panthers in 1968, and the replacement of the word "Nonviolent" with the word "National" in SNCC's name by H. Rap Brown, Carmichael's successor as the organization's chair, a year later. At another level still, the public resonance achieved by the Panthers signaled a transition from the ideology of Black Power to one demanding the outright liberation of Afroamerica. The latter is most evident in the names of several other African-American organizations making their appearance in the late 1960s and early 1970s: the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), for

example, as well as the Republic of New Afrika (RNA) and the Black Liberation Army (BLA).

Corollaries to Stokely Carmichael's Black Power pronouncement in 1965 were being made by Cherokee anthropologist Robert K. Thomas and NIYC head Clyde Warrior, among others, throughout the period. It was not until 1969, however, that National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) director Vine Deloria Jr.'s bestselling "Indian Manifesto," *Custer Died for Your Sins,* put the concept of "Red Power" on the popular radar screen. Fortuitously, the book's release coincided with the seizure of an abandoned federal prison on Alcatraz Island, in San Francisco Bay, by a group calling itself Indians of All Tribes (IAT). Although native people had been pursuing an increasingly confrontational style of politics for some years (e.g., in connection with the fishing rights struggle in Washington State, and with regard to treaty rights in upstate New York), it was the protracted takeover of Alcatraz initiated at decade's end that finally captured substantial public attention.

The momentum was sustained into 1970 by the continued occupation of Alcatraz as well as the release of Deloria's *We Talk, You Listen: New Tribes, New Turf* and Dee Brown's wildly successful "Indian History of the American West," *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee.* Brown's tract neatly reversed the time-honored polarity of Indians as bad guys/whites as heroes. Hollywood also weighed in with a pair of "revisionist westerns"—Arthur Penn's *Little Big Man* and Ralph Nelson's *Soldier Blue,* which, though intended as analogies to U.S. comportment in the Vietnam War, did much to confirm the accuracy of Brown's historical interpretations in the public mind. Then, in September, a group calling itself the American Indian Movement (AIM) occupied the ground atop George Washington's head at the Mount Rushmore National Monument in South Dakota's Black Hills.



In a rally in Rapid City, South Dakota, a demonstrator raises his fist in support of maintaining the territorial integrity of the Black Hills. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

The American Indian Movement

AIM was founded in Minneapolis during the fall of 1968 by a group of Anishinabe, including Dennis Banks, Mary Jane Wilson, George Mitchell, and Pat Ballanger. Modeled after the Black Panther Party—the Panthers sported black berets, whereas AIM wore red—the new organization gained credibility in its home community in precisely the same manner as the Newton/Seale group had: mounting street patrols to "police the police," who had long and savagely abused the nonwhite residents of America's teeming urban ghettos. Later, AIM would also emulate aspects of the Panthers' broader program, including the establishment of alternative schools, a multimedia news service, legal and health clinics, food give-aways, a housing initiative, and job placement services. Like the Panthers, AIM would eventually, and with limited success, field candidates in local, state, and national elections.

During the occupation of Alcatraz, however, AIM was mostly looking to follow the Panthers' example by extending its reach beyond the Minneapolis/St.

DENNIS BANKS (1932–)

Dennis Banks was born on April 12, 1932, in Leech Lake, Minnesota, as a member of the Anishinabe tribe. Educated in Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools, he cofounded, with George Mitchell, the American Indian Movement (AIM) in 1968. Its original purpose was to help Indians in urban ghettos who had been displaced by government programs that effectively forced them from the reservations. Its goals eventually encompassed the entire spectrum of Indian demands—economic independence, revitalization of traditional culture, protection of legal rights, and, most especially, autonomy over tribal areas and the restoration of lands that they believed had been illegally seized.

The movement was involved in the occupation of Alcatraz Island in 1969, as Banks attempted to force the federal government to honor all of the treaties that had been made and subsequently broken with the many American Indian tribes. AIM held Alcatraz for nineteen months. In the early 1970s, Banks became increasingly confrontational after years of frustrations that yielded little action. His 1972 Trail of Broken Treaties March on Washington, and the subsequent occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs building for six days, was a precursor to the events that would rock the nation less than a year later.

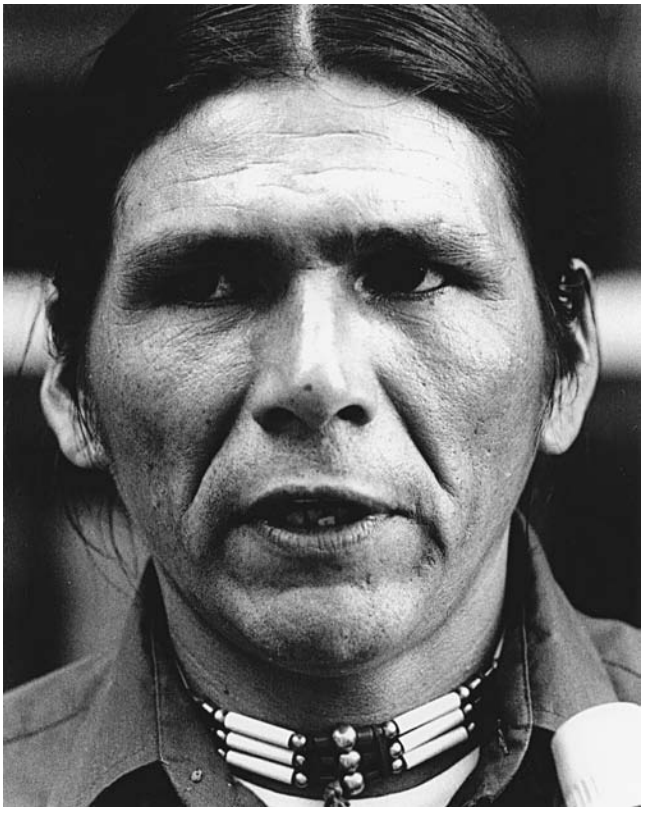
Under Banks's leadership in 1973, AIM took up arms in resistance. On the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota, AIM took control of Wounded Knee for seventy-one days. The occupation provided an outlet for AIM to publicize its goals of tribal sovereignty and self-determination. Later on that year, after a settlement had been reached, Banks again appeared in Custer, South Dakota, as American Indians held a protest after a jury acquitted a white man convicted of murdering an Indian.

After the protest, Banks was arrested, along with 300 of his fellow protesters. While he was found innocent of charges at Wounded Knee, his involvement at Custer landed him a jail sentence. Refusing to serve time, Banks fled to the underground until then-California governor Jerry Brown granted him asylum the following year. He returned to South Dakota in 1984 to serve eighteen months in prison for his roles in American Indian protests. He was appointed the first American Indian chancellor at Deganawidah-Quetzalcoatl University in 1980, a two-year college in California dedicated to providing alternative ideas and methods of education to Native American people. He has organized several cross-country runs originating from the campus designed to raise awareness of Native American issues. In the 1990s, he remained active in Native American politics but remained out of the national spotlight. During the first half of 1994, Banks organized a five-month Walk for Justice across the United States on behalf of imprisoned native activist Leonard Peltier. He also appeared in a handful of movies in the 1990s, including *The Last of the Mohicans* in 1992.

James G. Lewis

Paul area. Dennis Banks was therefore openly recruiting from the moment he first visited the island in December 1969. His major coup in this respect was his success in bringing into the fold IAT's oratorically gifted spokesperson, a young Santee named John Trudell (now an acclaimed poet) who went on to fulfill the same function for AIM from 1970 to 1979. Also signed up was Russell Means, a reservation-born but urban-raised Oglala Lakota imbued with what many saw as a strong ability to garner the attention of the media. It was Means who conceived of and led the Mount Rushmore occupation during the fall of 1970, as well as a sequel carried out the following June. It was Means, too, who organized AIM's seizure of the *Mayflower* replica anchored at Plymouth, Massachusetts, on Thanksgiving Day, 1971; the ship itself was briefly used as a podium from which a list of Indian grievances was delivered, while Plymouth Rock was painted red.

Simultaneously, other AIM members were busily engineering a series of confrontations and Alcatraz-style occupations designed to attain more concrete goals. The 1971 takeover of unused military facilities at Fort Lawton, near Seattle, for instance, ultimately resulted in the construction, on the site, of an American Indian cultural center. Confrontations in Oklahoma and Minnesota precipitated Indian control over schools in both states. Another confrontation in Denver led to improved healthcare for native people in that city. Under these circumstances, AIM chapters began to sprout up all over North America; by late 1972, the unofficial count was forty-three in the United States and another half-dozen in Canada; a year after that, AIM could boast solid alliances with the Crusade for Justice, a Denver-based radical Chicano organization headed by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, the Los Angeles–based Brown Berets and Chicano Moratorium, Jesse Jackson's Operation Push in Chi-



Cofounder of the American Indian Movement, Dennis Banks pursued increasingly confrontational tactics in the 1970s in support of tribal sovereignty and self-determination. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

cago, the Puerto Rican Young Lords Party in New York, and the remnants of the Black Panther Party in Oakland.

This promising "Rainbow Coalition"—the term was coined by Fred Hampton, a Panther leader assassinated by the Chicago police in 1969—also included a hefty Euroamerican constituency, both through the involvement of organizations like Venceremos and Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW), and through Cherokee activist Jimmie Durham's organization of a continentwide galaxy of mostly white Native American Support Committees (NASCs). A genuine international dimension was also added by a relationship with the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (A-APRP), headed by Stokely Carmichael, who by this point was a citizen of Guinea and was known as Kwame Turé.

For all its other successes, however, it was in the small town of Gordon, Nebraska, just south of the Pine Ridge Reservation in western South Dakota, that AIM truly consolidated its reputation among native people as an organization that could get things done. There, one Saturday night in January 1972, a pair of local toughs, Melvin and Leslie Hare, tortured and murdered a middle-aged Oglala named Raymond Yellow Thunder. When local authorities refused to act—as was routine in those days—the victim's family appealed to AIM for help. Russell Means thereupon assembled a caravan of more than a thousand Indians to go to Gordon. At a rally in the town square, he announced that AIM had come to "put Gordon on the map," and, he concluded, "if these two guys aren't charged with murder within 72 hours, we're coming back to take this place *off* the map." In short order, the Hare brothers became the first whites in the history of Nebraska to be prosecuted, convicted, and imprisoned for killing an Indian.

AIM's unprecedented victory in the Yellow Thunder case attracted hundreds of new members, as well as the respect of traditionalists everywhere. The traditionalists in particular had begun to view the movement as a modern warriors' society, dedicated to defending the people's interests regardless of personal risk. For the younger people who flocked to AIM's banner, the movement's aggressively confrontational style of politics, which released Indians from a lifelong sense of disempowerment, was often reason enough to join. Soon, deliberately ostentatious displays of "Indianness"—braids, ribbon shirts, chokers, and the like—had joined bumper-stickers reading "Indian and Proud" as standard fashion statements wherever native people gathered. The "shame of being born into oppression" had definitely been cast off in Indian country.

Among those who had openly embraced AIM by 1972 was Leonard Crow Dog, a staunch Brûlé Lakota traditionalist from the Rosebud Reservation, adjoining Pine Ridge. In reciprocation, the movement anointed him its spiritual leader, with many members participating in his annual Sun Dance, conducted in early August. During an informal meeting convened after completion of the ceremonies that year, it was agreed that AIM had arrived at a point where it might "carry the struggle forward into a new phase." The best way of accomplishing this, it was decided, would be to organize delegations from as many peoples as possible to converge on Washington, D.C., on the eve of the U.S. presidential election, upcoming in November.

The strategy underlying what immediately became known as the "Trail of Broken Treaties" was to use the timing of the event to force Richard M. Nixon—the presidential incumbent, all but certain to win reelection—to publicly acknowledge a range of defects in the country's relations with American In-

On July 30, 1973, members of the American Indian Movement (AIM) gather in a show of solidarity at the Tulsa International Airport, en route to a convention at White Oak, Oklahoma. The emergence of AIM in the 1970s signaled a growing militancy among American Indians. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

dians. From there, it was reasoned that Nixon would have little alternative but to promise correction of the government's long-standing pattern of violating treaties with Indians, usurping their governments, and expropriating their lands and resources. As a result of this treatment, native people had been left by far the most impoverished of any population group reflected in the U.S. census. (Annual per capita income on Pine Ridge was barely $1,200 in 1972, for instance, while unemployment hovered at about 90 percent and male life expectancy averaged only 44.6 years.) "Trail" participants would thus be ideally positioned to submit a twenty-point program through which Nixon could accomplish the desired result during his second term.

Arrangements were made with federal authorities for the planned demonstrations to be conducted in an orderly manner, but officials reneged at the last moment. Permission was even refused for ceremonies to be held at the grave of the hero Ira Hays at Arlington National Cemetery. A Pima, Hays was one of the Marines who had raised the flag on Iwo Jima during World War II. When promised food and housing support also failed to materialize, several hundred infuriated protesters stormed the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) headquarters in the government sector of the Capitol, renaming it the "Native American Embassy," conducting regular press conferences on its steps, and refusing to leave until Nixon personally agreed to a

point-by-point response to the twenty-point program they'd come to present.

Faced with the nightly spectacle of Russell Means appearing as a "noble savage" on the 6 o'clock news, the president not only consented but provided more than $66,000 of his own campaign funds to buy airplane tickets so that those in the BIA building could leave in a hurry. The occupiers then withdrew, taking with them a huge quantity of the Indian Bureau's most confidential paperwork in the process. Over the next several months, the files were copied, the originals returned to the BIA, and duplicates distributed to the various peoples whose assets and affairs they concerned. In some cases, analysis of these papers took years, but among the many revelations they contained, they uncovered the existence of an involuntary sterilization program secretly administered by the BIA's Indian Health Service (IHS). It has been estimated that about 40 percent of all native women of childbearing age were subjected to such treatment between 1970 and 1975. This disclosure caused the IHS to be relocated from the BIA to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (now the Department of Health and Human Services) in 1976.

The papers also revealed all manner of duplicitous leasing practices and the like with respect to the minerals and other assets "managed in trust" by the BIA under an authority deriving from the "plenary power" over Indians asserted by the United States in 1903. On average, Indians were receiving through BIA-negotiated leases only about 10 percent of the royalties they would have received had they been allowed to sell their resources on the open market. Armed for the first time with the details of how they had been officially defrauded, many of the victimized peoples were eventually able to force changes in the way their lands and other resources were being administered. AIM's forced disclosures also revealed irregularities with regard to the disposition of rents, mineral royalties, and other revenues impounded by the BIA under pre-1972 interpretations of its trust authority and thereafter "lost." At present, an estimated $40 billion or more may have been involved in this "prima facie pattern of official theft."

The Nixon administration, of course, was nonetheless outraged by what had been done, comparing it to Daniel Ellsberg's leaking of the top-secret "Pentagon Papers" to the *New York Times* in 1971. As a result, a smear campaign was launched to discredit the movement and, by extension, whatever information it might seek to convey. Sensational stories quickly surfaced in the press claiming, falsely, that AIM "vandals" had done more physical damage to the Capitol than anyone since the British had sacked the city during the War of 1812. Figureheads from the federally funded National Tribal Chairman's Association were also flown in to denounce Banks, Means and other AIM leaders as irresponsible and independent revolutionaries with no constituency among Indians. Meanwhile, the FBI was instructed to target AIM and to politically neutralize the organization.

Wounded Knee

For their part, most AIM members returned home triumphant, or tried to do so. On Pine Ridge, Russell Means, despite the fact that he was enrolled and owned land there, found himself barred from the reservation by thugs working for the recently installed tribal president, Dick Wilson. Apparently intent upon establishing a "feudal barony" on Pine Ridge and willing to sign away a large and mineral-rich tract of reservation land in exchange for being allowed to do so, Wilson had been provided with federal funds to create a paramilitary entity calling itself first the Tribal Rangers and later the Guardians of the Oglala Nation (GOONs). Heavily overlapping with the local BIA police, the GOONs were employed in an effort to terrorize Wilson's opponents, mostly local AIM supporters, into submission. In response, the opposition organized itself as the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization (OSCRO), headed by Pedro Bissonette, and set about impeaching him.

It was against this backdrop that Dennis Banks issued a call in January 1973 for AIM members to come to Rapid City to undertake a major civil rights campaign in western South Dakota. Barely had they begun to arrive in significant numbers when the news broke that a young Oglala named John Wesley Bad Heart Bull had been stabbed to death in the tiny adjacent town of Buffalo Gap. When, as in the Yellow Thunder case a year earlier, local authorities made no effort to bring appropriate charges against the killer, a non-Indian named Darold Schmidtz, the victim's mother requested assistance from the movement. However, when the resulting AIM contingent arrived in Custer, the county seat where charges against Schmidtz would have to be filed, things were much different than they had been in Gordon the year before.

For starters, an anonymous caller had caused the *Rapid City Journal* to print an announcement that morning, February 6, that the demonstration had been canceled because of bad weather. Hence, only about 200 Indians turned out to participate. They were met

by a combined force of local, county, and state police tactical units, overseen by FBI observers. In the ensuing mêlée, the Custer County Courthouse and the local chamber of commerce building were set ablaze. Most of the Indians, including Means, Banks, and Bad Heart Bull's mother, Sarah, were arrested on charges of riot and arson. The trials would last for years, resulting in convictions of virtually everyone accused. Sarah Bad Heart Bull was sentenced to serve a year in jail, while her son's killer never spent a day behind bars.

AIM had barely managed to bail the last of its members out of jail when word came that the impeachment effort against Wilson on nearby Pine Ridge had been thwarted. Although OSCRO had managed to obtain more signatures calling for his removal from office than had voted for Wilson in the first place, the BIA had placed him in charge of his own impeachment proceedings. A sixty-man Special Operations Group (SOG) of U.S. marshals—essentially a large SWAT unit—had been posted to the reservation to back him up. A day before the impeachment hearing was scheduled to occur, Wilson had instructed his BIA police *cum* GOON units to arrest all tribal council members likely to vote against him and hold them in jail until the proceeding was over. Afterward, he held a press conference at which he proclaimed a reservation-wide ban on political meetings of any sort "until further notice."

Stymied in their efforts to resolve their grievances by conventional due process remedies, the elders comprising the traditional Oglala leadership called upon AIM to intervene. Hence, on February 26, it was decided to convene a press conference the following morning at a symbolic site—the mass grave containing the remains of some 350 Lakotas massacred by the U.S. Army at Wounded Knee Creek in 1890—to expose what was happening on Pine Ridge. That evening, an advance party of about 150 AIM members entered the tiny reservation hamlet to prepare for the event, while a smaller group began to notify the media. At dawn, however, those inside Wounded Knee realized that, overnight, Wilson's GOONs had set up roadblocks on every road by which the press could enter the hamlet, simultaneously sealing the AIM people in. Shortly thereafter, SOG personnel began setting up reinforcing positions. Then, FBI men began to arrive. By the end of the day on February 27, a pair of "consultants"—special warfare experts, actually—had been dispatched to the scene by General Alexander Haig, Richard Nixon's military affairs adviser.

Thus began the seventy-one-day Siege of Wounded Knee, 1973. Initially unprepared for either an armed confrontation or a protracted occupation under South Dakota's severe winter conditions, the surrounded AIM contingent quickly equipped itself with weapons and ammunition from a local trading post and began to jerry-rig defensive emplacements—"bunkers," as they were called—at key points around the "Wounded Knee Perimeter." The expertise provided by several combat veterans among the besieged AIM members was shortly augmented by that of a seven-member, all-white countersniper team sent in as a gesture of solidarity by VVAW. (They stayed for the duration and were naturalized as Oglala citizens by traditional Lakota headman Frank Fools Crow.) A system was also worked out for area supporters to keep those inside Wounded Knee supplied, using the cover of darkness to backpack food and clothing, as well as additional arms and ammunition, through the federal siege lines.

The federal forces also geared up very rapidly. By March 7, nearly 300 marshals and over a hundred FBI agents had been deployed on Pine Ridge. Also on hand were about 250 BIA police officers, most of them SWAT team members imported from other reservations. Wilson's GOONs added another 150 or more, with non-Indian vigilante groups contributing an approximately equal number. State and local police departments in a five-state area surrounding South Dakota were placed on continuous alert to intercept persons suspected of heading for Wounded Knee. (Some 1,200 persons were arrested over a two-month period.) General Haig's on-site consultants, Colonels Volney Warner and Jack Potter, arranged for the provision of equipment ranging from armored personnel carriers (APCs) to M-79 grenade launchers out of restricted military inventories. An elite "rapid deployment force" was pre-positioned at Fort Carson, Colorado, in case an airborne assault of the hamlet was deemed necessary, while planes from Strategic Air Command's Ellsworth Air Force Base, just outside Rapid City, conducted continuous aerial reconnaissance.

Altogether, during the course of the siege, a half-million rounds of military ammunition were fired into the Wounded Knee perimeter, killing two Indians (an Apache, Frank Clearwater, and an Oglala, Buddy Lamont), and wounding numerous others. More flares were used to illuminate the perimeter at night than were expended by all U.S. forces in Vietnam during any year of the war. When this failed to staunch the flow of supplies, authorities resorted to burning off the grass for a half-mile in all directions. Wilson's

In efforts to reach a truce during the bloody siege at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in 1973, a leader of the American Indian Movement hands a peace pipe to Kent Frizzell (right), assistant United States attorney general. To the left of Frizzell are Wallace Black Elk (kneeling), Russell Means, Dennis Banks (wearing a headband), and Carter Camp (wearing a vest). They are meeting in a teepee. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

GOONs are believed to have murdered as many as thirteen people captured while attempting to slip into the siege zone. In the end, however, even these draconian measures proved fruitless, and the confrontation ended only when federal officials agreed to conduct a full-scale investigation of the Wilson regime and to meet with traditional Oglala leaders concerning U.S. violations of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, which legally defined U.S./Lakota relations.

To be sure, the authorities promptly sandbagged the ceasefire agreement, but AIM's purpose in going to Wounded Knee had been accomplished. By the time the siege ended on May 7, 1973, the situation on Pine Ridge—and conditions in Indian country more generally—had riveted international attention for more than two months. In barely a year, AIM would translate this media attention into establishment of its "diplomatic arm," the International Indian Treaty Council (IITC), directed by NASC's Jimmie Durham and charged with putting the question of indigenous rights before the United Nations. By 1977, IITC would be the world's first Native organization to have attained formal consultative status with the United Nations. In addition, Durham had been instrumental in organizing the so-called Indian Summer in Geneva, a conference that led, in 1982, to establishment of the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations (a subdivision of the UN Economic and Social Council, ECOSOC). The working group itself was charged with providing a regular forum in which violations of native rights could be reported and with drafting a Universal Declaration of Rights of Indigenous Peoples for adoption by the General Assembly. The latter was completed in 1998 and is currently in the process of presubmission review.

In May of 1973, however, all of this lay long in the future. AIM's immediate task was to survive the 185 indictments of its members following in the wake

of Wounded Knee. On this front, Russell Means alone had been charged with thirty-seven felonies and three misdemeanors, and was facing a potential combined sentence of "triple life, plus 199 years," as he put it. Banks and others were in little better shape. The bail set in most instances was extravagant, especially considering that many of the accused were among the poorest people in the country: the amount set to obtain Pedro Bissonette's release was $152,000, for example; that for Means, $150,000; a $35,000 bond was required even to free the medicine man, Leonard Crow Dog. Scores of people languished in jail for weeks, sometimes months, before the funds could be raised to get them out.

The AIM Trials

The first to go to trial were Means and Banks, beginning in February 1974; they were charged with everything from criminal conspiracy and kidnapping to car theft and assaulting federal officers. For this one case, the prosecutors pulled out all the stops in an effort to win convictions; they even used the testimony of an "eyewitness" who had actually been in California when the event in South Dakota had occurred. After an eight-and-a-half month proceeding, however, the judge dismissed all charges with prejudice, observing that "the waters of justice have been polluted" by the introduction of the false witness and other extreme government misconduct. Worse than that, shortly thereafter, it was learned that the FBI had maintained an infiltrator in the defense team throughout the trial.

By the end of 1974, the government had prosecuted forty Wounded Knee cases, obtaining only five minor convictions. Late in the fall, the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee (WKLDOC; pronounced "Wickle-Doc"), an AIM legal defense apparatus created by attorneys Ken Tilson and Beverly Axelrod during the siege, mounted a challenge to the assertion of U.S. jurisdiction over the remainder of the accused as a violation of the 1868 Treaty. In January 1975, Judge Warren Urbom handed down a decision stating to the effect that, while this challenge would once have been true, the United States had so long and so regularly violated the treaty that its legal force had been eroded. On this novel basis, the way was cleared for the trials to continue. At that point, the Justice Department, apparently embarrassed by adverse publicity concerning the meager 7 percent conviction rate it was achieving in return for the expenditure of millions in taxpayer dollars, seems to have decided that the charade had for the most part served its intended purpose. Fifty pending cases were thereupon dismissed.

The remaining twenty "leadership trials" dragged on for another year, however, with the major government "victory" coming in June 1975, when Crow Dog, Oklahoma AIM leader Carter Camp, and Stan Holder, a Wichita combat vet who had served as head of security at Wounded Knee, were convicted of interfering with a group of marshals who had attempted to enter the AIM perimeter on March 11, 1973, disguised as "postal inspectors." All told, after more than sixty trials involving nearly three times that many defendants and literally hundreds of charges put to juries, federal prosecutors could boast of only fifteen guilty verdicts, and none of them for substantial offenses, setting an all-time record low. As it turned out, officials did not seriously expect to obtain better results. Instead, they had pursued a neutralization strategy perfected by the FBI in a 1967 campaign against RAM, making arrests on every possible pretext until the targeted activists were hopelessly mired in judicial proceedings, their organization bankrupted by the demands of bail and legal defense.

Nor did the government's legal offensive end when the Wounded Knee trials had run their course; it simply became more selective. Russell Means, for instance, was confronted with one charge after another for several years and was even tried for murder in 1976, despite the fact that his alleged victim, an Oglala named Martin Montileaux, repeatedly stated before dying that Means had *not* been among his assailants. Although every case ended with his acquittal, the sheer tediousness of it all eventually exhausted Means' patience. His and other AIM members' refusal to rise upon entry of the judge presiding over Sarah Bad Heart Bull's 1974 trial on charges stemming from the Custer Courthouse confrontation led to an all-out courtroom brawl and to Means' only felony conviction a year later. Found guilty of violating a riot clause in an ancient and never-before-used South Dakota antisyndicalism statute, he was sentenced to four years imprisonment (since the law was repealed while Means was in prison, he will forever be the only person thus convicted).

Dennis Banks was convicted of the Custer charges in July 1975 and, facing a fifteen-year sentence, skipped bail, becoming a fugitive. A year later, California governor Jerry Brown, a Democrat, granted him sanctuary in that state, citing a statement by South Dakota attorney general William Janklow that "the way to deal with AIM leaders is to put a bullet between their eyes" as evidence that Banks's life

would be in danger were he to return to Janklow's jurisdiction. (Janklow had also campaigned for his position on a pledge to "put the AIM leaders either in jail or under it.") In 1982, upon the election of Brown's republican successor, George Deukmejian, Banks again went underground, surfacing a few weeks later under another sanctuary arrangement on the Onondaga Reservation in upstate New York. It was not until September 1984, when satisfactory assurances of his safety were made by Janklow (who had been elected governor in the interim), did Banks finally surrender. Sentenced to two concurrent three-year sentences; he served thirteen months.

Meanwhile, in November 1975, during his first stint as a fugitive, Banks, along with his wife, Kamook, and AIM members Kenny Loud Hawk and Russell Redner, were charged with federal explosives and firearms violations. The case was dismissed in 1976 for lack of evidence but was reinstated by the Ninth Circuit Court in March 1980. In 1983, the case was again dismissed, this time on grounds that the government had violated the defendants' right to a speedy trial. But in January 1986, the U.S. Supreme Court again reinstated the charges. In July 1986, the case was again thrown out by an angry district court judge, Andrew Redden, because of "additional due process violations" by federal prosecutors. The Justice Department was seeking reinstatement yet again, when, in late 1988, a weary Dennis Banks accepted a bargain wherein he entered a pro forma guilty plea in exchange for a suspended sentence and the dropping of charges against his codefendants.

Still another exceptionally sordid case concerned Los Angeles AIM members Paul "Skyhorse" Durant and Richard "Mohawk" Billings, accused in 1974 of the ugly torture/murder of a cab driver named George Aird. Although the police arrested the likely culprits within hours of the slaying, and the district attorney's office was preparing charges against them, the FBI apparently convinced them to immunize the accused as state's witnesses and to charge Skyhorse and Mohawk instead. Pretrial maneuvering dragged on interminably, amidst a barrage of anti-AIM publicity and with the defendants denied bail the whole time. When the trial finally began in June 1977—it would last an astonishing eleven months—it soon became obvious that such evidence as existed was either meaningless or crudely fabricated. After one of the state's star witnesses admitted under cross examination that it was he rather than Skyhorse or Mohawk who'd stabbed Aird to death, their acquittal was an all but foregone conclusion. By then, however, they had spent nearly four years of their lives in lock-up, and AIM's reputation in California was irreparably damaged by a raft of news stories comparing AIM to the Manson Family.

WKLDOC attorney William Kunstler concurred, observing that "the purpose of the trials [was] to break the spirit of the American Indian Movement by tying up its leaders and supporters in court and forcing [it] to spend huge amounts of money, time and talent to keep [its] people out of jail, instead of building an organization that can work effectively for the Indian people." The approach, noted Charles Garry, attorney for the Black Panther Party, was identical to that the FBI had adopted in its drive to destroy the political effectiveness of Garry's clients during 1969–1971. The truth of such views was readily borne out during the 1990s, with the release after decades behind bars of one-time high-priority Panthers. In each case, it was conclusively demonstrated that the government had falsified evidence against the victims in precisely the same manner it had done in the Banks/Means, Skyhorse/Mohawk, and other AIM trials.

The Reign of Terror

During the siege, Dick Wilson had openly announced that "AIM will die at Wounded Knee." That venue, despite an official ban placed on media personnel going within fifteen miles of the perimeter, proved entirely too public for the commission of outright mass murder, however. Wilson was therefore deeply, and again quite openly, frustrated with the outcome. So, too, in its much quieter way, was the FBI, a matter clearly expressed in a 1973 internal document entitled "Paramilitary Operations in Indian Country." These sentiments were communicated by manifestations of hostility by both the GOONs and on-site FBI personnel toward the U.S. Marshals Service, which was nominally in charge of the siege and which both Wilson and FBI special operations expert Richard G. Held felt was entirely too "soft" in its handling of the situation.

When the siege ended, however, the marshals were withdrawn, leaving the FBI in charge of law enforcement on Pine Ridge. Even before the marshals departed, the GOONs—whom, after several confrontations, Chief U.S. Marshal Wayne Colburn had come to view as a "menace" and ordered his men to disarm—had begun to turn up with brand-new, fully automatic, army-issue M-16 rifles, state-of-the-art military communications gear, and the like. Years later, Duane Brewer, a prominent GOON leader, would acknowledge that the FBI had been secretly passing along weapons, munitions, and equipment

faster than the marshals could impound it. Once the marshals left, there was nothing at all to disrupt the flow of lethal paraphernalia. The FBI claims it provided such items only to the BIA police, but, as was common knowledge, about two-thirds of the reservation police force doubled as GOONs. The arrangement was quite similar to that prevailing between the FBI and local police *cum* Ku Klux Klan members in the Deep South during the early 1960s.

The result was that during the three years spanning the months March 1973–March 1976, at least sixty-nine AIM members and supporters were murdered on or near Pine Ridge. Calculated against the overall reservation population base of 10,000, the murder rate on Pine Ridge, using *only* documented political deaths, was 170 per 100,000. That is more than *eight times* the 20.2 per 100,000 rate evident in Detroit, the reputed "murder capital of the United States," during the same period.

The grisly particulars attending the Pine Ridge slaughter are often instructive. Among the first fatalities was OSCRO leader Pedro Bissonette, who was shot point-blank in the chest with a 12-gauge shotgun and then left on the road to bleed to death after being stopped at a police roadblock on the night of October 17, 1973. In the predawn hours of March 27, 1975, Bissonette's apolitical sister-in-law, Jeanette, was also—and, at the time, inexplicably—shot to death; according to Brewer, she had been mistaken for Ellen Moves Camp, a prominent Pine Ridge activist. On September 10, 1975, AIM supporter Jim Little was severely beaten by four men; he died during the hour it took for an ambulance to arrive from the BIA hospital, located only two miles away. On January 30, 1976, anti-Wilson attorney Byron DeSersa was shot and left to bleed to death in a ditch. Although numerous witnesses identified the assailants—all known GOONs—FBI personnel on the scene made no arrests, other than that of one of the *witnesses,* an elderly Cheyenne named Guy Dull Knife, who, the agents said, had become "abusive" when they failed to act.

Although the death toll rose at a rate described as "awesome" even by South Dakota's notoriously anti-AIM attorney general, William Janklow, another 340-odd AIM members and supporters on Pine Ridge suffered serious physical assaults and/or attempts on their lives. On the night of March 3, 1975, the home of seventy-year-old Matthew King, an assistant to Chief Fools Crow (and an uncle of Russell Means), was riddled with gunfire by "party or parties unknown." Two nights later, the same culprits burned Fools Crow's own house to the ground. The home of anti-Wilson tribal council member Severt Young Bear was shot up so frequently that he "lost track" of the number of incidents. On June 8, Russell Means himself was shot in the back, the bullet penetrating a kidney, by a BIA police officer who claimed the action was justified because Means was engaged in "rowdy behavior." On November 17, BIA police officer Jesse Stone opened fire on the house of AIM supporter Chester Stone with an M-16, wounding Stone, his wife, and two small children (one of whom, three-year-old Johnny Mousseau, was permanently crippled as a result).

From the outset, AIM and its supporters sought to resolve the conflict by resorting to due process remedies, beginning with OSCRO's effort to impeach Dick Wilson. This was followed by AIM's demand for a criminal investigation of the Wilson regime, advanced as a condition for ending the Wounded Knee standoff. (In 1975, the Government Accounting Office finally completed an audit in which it was concluded that the Wilsonites could not account for more than $300,000 in federal highway funds, but no charges were ever filed.) Then, in the fall of 1974, Russell Means faced off with Wilson in an electoral bid to unseat him. Means outpolled his opponent by a margin of 677 votes to 511 in the primary, but ostensibly lost the runoff by a 200-vote margin. The Denver office of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division investigated Means's charge that the results were rigged and found evidence of massive fraud—Potato Creek, a district "swept" by Wilson, had forty registered voters but eighty-three ballots cast. Altogether, 154 such "problems" were catalogued, but the results were allowed to stand.

Since many or most of the crimes against AIM and its supporters were committed by the BIA police, no redress could be expected from that quarter. As for the FBI, which exercised preeminent jurisdiction on Pine Ridge during the critical period, George O'Clock, special agent in charge of the Bureau's Rapid City Resident Agency, explained to the press that he was too "short of manpower" to investigate homicides, attempted homicides, assaults, and other acts of political terrorism against AIM. On the other hand, O'Clock—who had at his disposal the greatest ratio of agents to citizens in the history of the FBI—had sufficient manpower available to amass more than 316,000 separate investigative file classifications on the victims. In June 1975, he had even assigned not one but two of his men to track down a seventeen-year-old AIM member named Jimmy Eagle, accused of stealing a pair of used cowboy boots. Given such

priorities, it is unsurprising that the FBI has been "unable" to achieve a satisfactory resolution of *any* of the scores of cases at issue. Many remain "pending" to this day.

In early July 1975, Denver Civil Rights Division investigators William Muldrow and Shirley Hill Witt returned to Pine Ridge for purposes of assessing the reasons for the "ubiquitous climate of violence" there. It was their mutual determination that the Wilson regime, with the complicity of federal authorities, including the FBI, had visited a veritable "reign of terror" upon reservation residents for more than two years. Among other things, they recommended that a planned congressional inquiry concerning the FBI's operations on Pine Ridge, "indefinitely postponed" a few weeks earlier, be immediately resumed. It never has been resumed. In 1987, however, Duane Brewer, still confident that his service as a GOON leader would immunize him and his "boys" from prosecution, confirmed much of what Muldrow, Hill Witt, and AIM itself had suspected. For all practical intents and purposes, the GOONs had functioned as a death squad, coordinated by the FBI in much the same fashion in which the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) has controlled such entities in Latin America and elsewhere.

Such an arrangement is entirely consistent with the procedures outlined in "Cable Splicer" and "Garden Plot," a pair of "domestic counterinsurgency scenarios" developed by Louis O. Giuffrida, director of the California Civil Disorder Management School, at the behest of then-governor Ronald Reagan in 1970. It is a matter of record that both Giuffrida and British counterinsurgency expert Frank Kitson had briefed Pentagon and FBI officials on the nature of such "low-intensity warfare" strategies as early as 1971 and that one of Giuffrida's ranking staff members, Colonel Vic Jackson, was on-site at Wounded Knee in 1973. It is also telling that, in internal memoranda dating from the crucial period, the FBI referred to AIM members not as "radicals" or "militants"—the traditional vernacular employed by its political neutralization specialists—but rather as "insurgents."

Therefore, it appeared that the FBI was, in a sense, field-testing Giuffrida's scenarios against AIM in the years following Wounded Knee, and that what transpired on Pine Ridge, far from being an example of "law enforcement gone awry," was actually an exercise in outright counterinsurgency warfare conducted by domestic police agencies. To the extent that this is so, the FBI's campaign to neutralize AIM represents a dramatic escalation rather than an abandonment of the already highly illegal counterintelligence operations—known as "COINTELPROs"—that were revealed in the 1975 Senate Select Committee *Report on Intelligence Activities and the Rights of Americans* as having been conducted by the FBI in its drive to "disrupt, destabilize and destroy" the Black Panther Party.

In any event, when Ronald Reagan became president in 1981, one of his first significant acts was to create the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). A primary task of FEMA is to coordinate the operations of local, state, and federal (including military) forces, along with those of selected "private citizen organizations" in times of "civil disorder." This is exactly the script laid out in Garden Plot and Cable Splicer, and is very much the thrust of what was done on Pine Ridge. Accordingly, Reagan's choice as founding director of FEMA was Louis O. Giuffrida. In turn, Giuffrida concocted ever more refined versions of his original scenarios, "war-gaming" them in exercises dubbed "Rex-84," "Rex-85," and so on. The basis on which the 1973–1976 reign of terror on Pine Ridge was imposed has, as a consequence, been formally adopted as national policy, applicable to all dissident groups, and, at least in principle, to the citizenry as a whole.

Firefight at Oglala

The problem with the FBI's counterinsurgency initiative on Pine Ridge is that it didn't work. By the spring of 1975, having absorbed at that point some fifty fatal casualties, hundreds wounded or seriously injured, and the great bulk of the Wounded Knee trials, the resistance on Pine Ridge remained very much unbroken. Indeed, given that AIM's security component had begun to organize itself in armed defensive clusters at various places around the reservation, there was every indication that a resurgence was in the offing. Since this was beyond the capacity of the GOONs' roving hit teams to deal with—according to Brewer, they had already begun to back away, considering attacks upon the AIM strong points to be "suicidal"—a pretext was needed that would allow the FBI itself to (re)enter the reservation with sufficient force to wrap things up, once and for all.

The incident designed to serve this purpose materialized during the late morning of June 26, 1975, when two agents, Ron Williams and Jack Coler, approached an encampment established by the Northwest AIM Group, one of the movement's more proficient security teams, on the property of Harry and Cecelia Jumping Bull, elderly traditionalists who lived a few miles south of the reservation town of

Oglala. Although the FBI men were ostensibly there to serve the earlier-mentioned arrest warrant on Jimmy Eagle (a document that in reality did not yet exist), they made no attempt to do so. Instead, stopping their cars in an open field a short distance from the treeline in which the AIM camp was located, they opened fire. In short order, receiving heavy return fire, they were radioing frantically for backup. Soon thereafter, both were dead.

Given the remote location in which the altercation occurred, the help they had requested had nonetheless begun to arrive almost immediately. The FBI would later claim that some 150 BIA SWAT personnel prepositioned in the immediate area were "coincidentally" there because of an unrelated training exercise. This does not explain, however, why the bureau itself had an equivalent force of its own SWAT men already assembled at its Quantico, Virginia, facility, apparently awaiting the signal that the fighting had begun. (They, along with SWAT teams assigned to the Minneapolis, Chicago, Denver, and other FBI field offices, were on-site at the Jumping Bulls' before the firing stopped, late the same afternoon.) Nor does it explain why William Janklow just "happened" to be waiting by his phone in Pierre, the South Dakota state capital, a plane ready at the airport to whisk him halfway across the state to Hot Springs, in time to round up a group of local vigilantes and drive seventy-five miles to the scene while the firefight was still raging.

Although the FBI's planning is murky, it appears that Coler and Williams were sent to instigate a gun battle that would trigger first an overwhelming assault on the Northwest AIM position by BIA SWAT teams and then an avalanche of FBI SWAT personnel to mop up similar "compounds" elsewhere on the reservation. It was anticipated that there would be no more than eight AIM security men in the encampment when the two agents approached, however. In the event, there were more than thirty, and it was this miscalculation that cost them their lives. The BIA men, unnerved by the unexpected volume of gunfire coming from the AIM group, took up blocking positions around the Jumping Bull property rather than mounting an attack. As FBI units arrived, they did the same. Not only were Coler and Williams abandoned to their fate thereby, but—with the exception of an AIM member from Couer d'Alene, Idaho, named Joe Stuntz Killsright, killed by a sniper at long range—all the "insurgents" involved managed to escape.

Seeking to put the best face on a tremendously embarrassing situation, the FBI immediately barred the press from coming near the scene and, in the morning, convened a press conference. At that point, Tom Coll, a "public information specialist" flown in overnight from Washington, "explained" what had happened. The agents had been "lured" into an "ambush" by "AIM guerrillas" who had fired on them with "automatic weapons" from a "sophisticated bunker complex." Each man, Coll continued, had been "riddled by as many as thirty bullets fired at point-blank range," then "stripped," and, in one account, "scalped." Coll even provided reporters with the last words of one of the agents, supposedly uttered a moment before he was "viciously executed." How Coll could possibly have known this, unless he or some other agent had been close enough to hear, was an obvious question, left unasked by the assembled media representatives.

None of this was true, as the FBI was well aware. The bureau had, after all, *sent* the slain agents to the Jumping Bulls', so there was no question of their having been "lured." The FBI also knew that both men had suffered only three—not "thirty"—wounds and that neither had been stripped or scalped. It had also controlled the crime scene for more than eighteen hours before the press conference was held, so it knew there were no "bunkers." It would be more than a week before this admission came, however. In the meantime, headlines across the country were depicting AIM as "a gang of mad dog killers" (lurid stories concerning the Skyhorse/Mohawk case were running simultaneously). Misled in this manner, the public raised no objection as the FBI went swarming onto Pine Ridge 400 strong, decked out in army-issue combat fatigues, armed with military M-16s, and equipped with APCs and Huey helicopters. For the next two months, these forces conducted Vietnam-style "sweeping" operations across Pine Ridge, kicking in doors, and mounting what it referred to as "air assaults" on the properties of known AIM members on both Pine Ridge and Rosebud. Before it was over, several people were dead, and even a few of the GOONs were protesting that things had gone too far.

With attention thus distracted, federal officials seized the opportunity to have Dick Wilson fulfill his end of the bargain that had propelled him into office in the first place. In early July, he traveled to Washington where he signed a preliminary document transferring title to the northwestern one-eighth of Pine Ridge—an area known as the Sheep Mountain Gunnery Range—to the Interior Department's National Park Service, ostensibly so that it could be incorporated into the Badlands National Monument. Unbeknownst to the combatants slugging it out on the

reservation, and most likely to Wilson himself, the department had been aware for some time that the parcel contained a rich deposit of uranium intermixed with molybdenum. The public law by which Congress formalized U.S. possession during the spring of 1976 was later amended to allow the Oglalas to recover the surface area involved, but *not* the subsurface mineral rights.

This accomplished, and with AIM finally pounded into something resembling total disarray, FBI special operations chief Richard G. Held, who had been sent to Pine Ridge to oversee the bureau's blitzkrieg, quietly informed his superiors that his mission was complete. In September, he returned to Chicago, where he had earlier been assigned as the special agent in charge of handling the FBI's role in the 1969 assassinations of Illinois Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. So exemplary was his service considered in both the Pine Ridge and Hampton/Clark connections that, although he had already reached retirement age, his term of service was extended so that he could be promoted to the position of FBI associate director. Others involved in the reservation offensive—among them Held's son, Richard W., who had excelled in the Los Angeles field office's COINTELPROs against the Panthers a few years previously—were also proportionally rewarded.

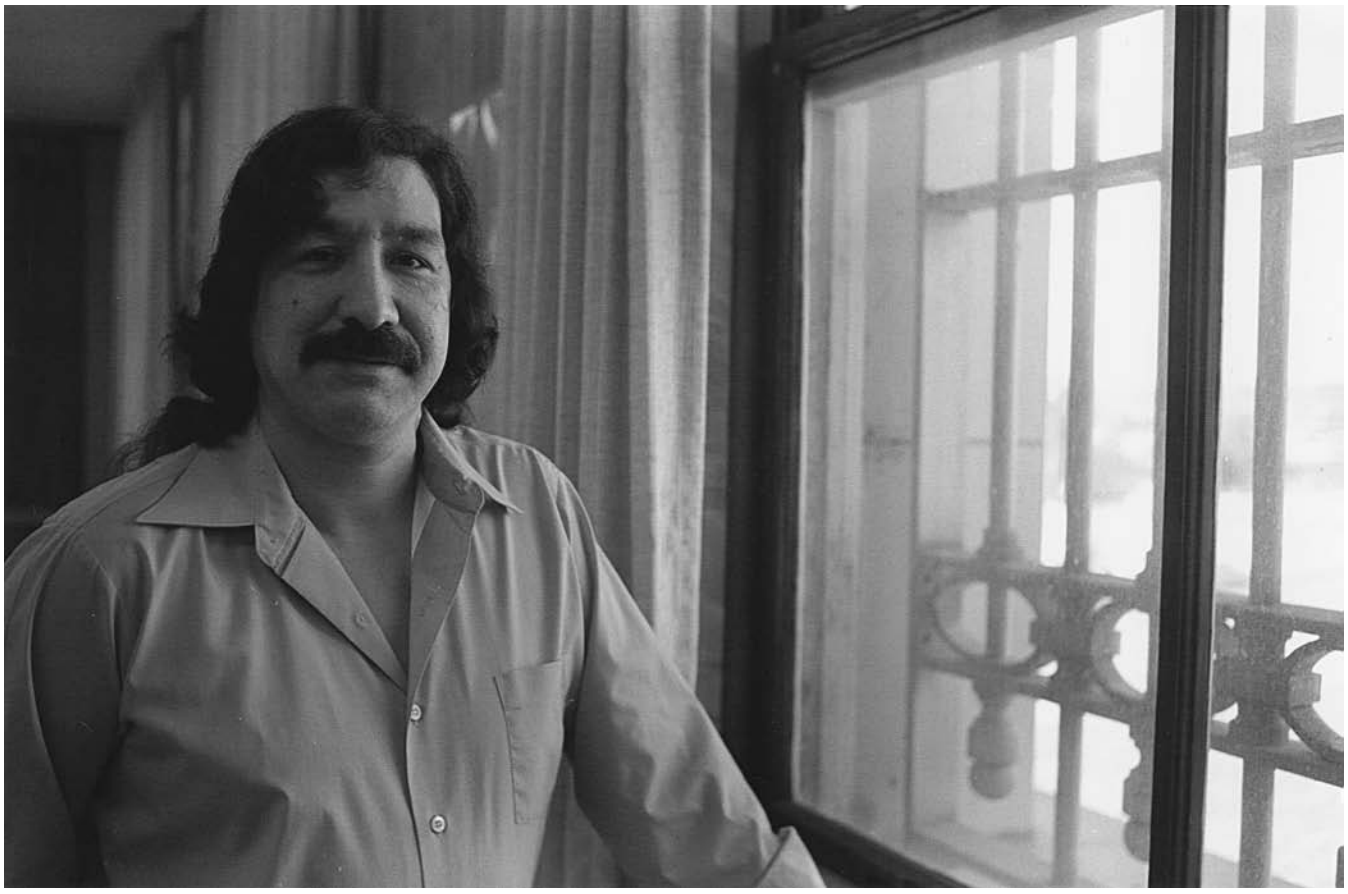
RESMURS and the Case of Leonard Peltier

By the fall of 1975, the FBI had undoubtedly come to view its Pine Ridge operation as an overall success, but a few loose ends remained to be tied up. One of these concerned the fact that the loss of Coler and Williams represented the first time two FBI men had been killed in a single confrontation since the bureau's "gangbuster days" of the mid-1930s. Public image and agent morale alike dictated that *somebody* would have to pay. It also seemed advisable to undertake follow-up measures designed to ensure that AIM would be unable to once again reconstitute itself in the wake of the battering it had received. The means to both ends resided in an "investigation" captioned RESMURS ("REServation MURderS"; the acronym applied *only* to the deaths of Coler and Williams, *not* to the scores of unsolved Indian homicides with which the bureau was then—and is still—backlogged).

Although the bureau was aware from the first that a number of local Oglalas had participated in the firefight, it elected to target Bob Robideau, Dino Butler, and Leonard Peltier, men perceived as forming the backbone of Northwest AIM. There is no indication that the FBI actually believed the three were any more responsible for what had happened than anyone else. Rather, since they were all "outsiders," focusing on them was simply a convenient way of dividing AIM and its supporters among themselves. In effect, defending the accused would require local Oglalas to potentially incriminate one or more of their own; their failure to do so, however, would sever the bonds of trust underlying AIM's effectiveness on Pine Ridge. Accordingly, charges initially brought against Jimmy Eagle as a "fourth defendant"—a matter of appearance, since Coler and Williams were supposedly pursuing him when the firefight occurred—were unceremoniously dropped so that "the full prosecutorial weight of the federal government" could be brought to bear against the preferred defendants.

Dino Butler was captured during an air assault on Crow Dog's Sun Dance in early August 1975, and Bob Robideau a short while later, after he was temporarily blinded by the explosion of his car on the Kansas Turnpike, near Wichita. Peltier had meanwhile escaped to Canada, where he found refuge in Small Boy's Camp, a traditional Cree community in the mountains of west-central Alberta. Arrested by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in February 1976, he petitioned for a grant of political asylum. This petition was denied, and he was extradited to the United States in June the same year, mainly on the basis of a fraudulent "eyewitness affidavit" prepared by the FBI and introduced in Canadian court. This official submission of false evidence, a flagrant violation of the U.S./Canadian extradition treaty, was later revealed and led to a formal protest and demand that Peltier be returned to Canada's jurisdiction. So serious was the treaty fraud considered that, in 1986, the Canadian parliament also entertained the possibility of canceling its extradition agreement with the United States altogether.

It was originally planned that Butler, Robideau, and Peltier would be tried together, on the premise that they had acted in concert and as part of a mutual conspiracy to murder FBI agents. Since Peltier was still fighting extradition during the spring of 1976, prosecutors proceeded against Butler and Robideau in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, on June 7. At trial, the government's credibility was once again undermined by its reliance on transparently false witnesses. Contentions that AIM was a "terrorist" organization were countered by calling FBI director Clarence Kelley to the stand; questioned by defense attorney William Kunstler, Kelley was forced to concede that the



American Indian Movement activist Leonard Peltier stands in prison in 1986. Although he was convicted of the 1975 murder of two FBI agents, many believe he was innocent. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

bureau possessed "not one scintilla" of evidence to support such allegations. To cap things off, the plausibility of Butler's and Robideau's claim that they'd acted in self-defense received substantial reinforcement when they called William Muldrow to describe the FBI-instigated reign of terror he and Shirley Witt had discovered on Pine Ridge.

On July 16, an all-white jury returned verdicts of not guilty on all counts, noting that the defendants had "done only what any reasonable person would do, under the circumstances" created by the FBI itself. It was clear—since Bob Robideau had testified that he'd personally shot both agents—that the jury believed no murders had occurred. This placed the Justice Department in a serious quandary. The outcome of a high-level meeting to discuss their options, however, resulted in a stint of judge-shopping in which officials secured the services of Paul Benson, a North Dakota district jurist who was willing to restrict to the scope of evidentiary consideration solely "to the events of June 26, 1975," and thus rule the entire Cedar Rapids trial record inadmissible. Prosecutors then proceeded against Peltier with the argument that he had acted as a "lone gunman," a premise they could not have believed, assuming they were in the least sincere about the truth of the case they had presented against Butler and Robideau.

During Peltier's trial, which began on March 21, 1977, defense attorneys, unable to cross-examine effectively because of the judge's evidentiary rulings, were forced to listen as FBI men gave substantially different accounts of events from those they had sworn were true in Cedar Rapids. The capstone came with the testimony of an agent name Fred Coward, who had not even been mentioned during the Butler/Robideau trial. He claimed to have seen Peltier through a rifle scope on the fatal day, carrying an AR-15 rifle in close proximity to the dead agents' bodies. This evidence was crucial because FBI ballistics expert Evan Hodge also claimed, on the basis of a mysterious

shell casing allegedly found in the trunk of Coler's car, that the final rounds hitting Coler and Williams had been fired from an AR-15. Moreover, Hodge claimed, his overall examination of crime scene evidence indicated that AIM members had used only one such weapon during the firefight. *Ipso facto,* whichever AIM member could be linked to an AR-15, as Coward did with Peltier, would appear to the jury to be the killer. Hodge also testified that a toolmarks comparison matched the key shell casing to an AR-15 recovered from Robideau's burned-out car along the Kansas Turnpike (thus "proving" that the Northwest AIM Group had been in possession of the "murder weapon").

With this groundwork laid, prosecutor Lynn Crooks used his closing argument to depict in graphic detail exactly how Peltier was supposed to have cold-bloodedly "executed" both agents, even borrowing from Tom Coll's long-discredited fabrications to recount how one of the agents had begged his killer not to pull the trigger. On April 18, 1977, after only six hours of deliberation, the jury found Peltier guilty of double-homicide, and, on June 1, Benson sentenced him to serve back-to-back life sentences. Although this was his first conviction, he was taken directly to the federal "supermax" prison at Marion, Illinois, a draconian facility ostensibly reserved for "incorrigibles" who had already proven unmanageable in regular penal settings.

WKLDOC attorneys quickly submitted an appeal based on Benson's handling of the trial. It was considered by a three-judge panel of the Eighth Circuit Court, chaired by Chief Judge William Webster. Toward the end of 1978, the panel delivered a finding that, although the record revealed more than thirty reversible errors, any one of which would have been sufficient to send a normal case back to trial, Peltier's conviction would be allowed to stand. The opinion had been written by Webster, who by the time it was read had already left the court to take up a new position as director of the FBI. The Eighth Circuit declined to conduct an *en banc* hearing to reconsider Webster's plainly conflicted decision, and the U.S. Supreme Court refused to review it as well.

While all this was going on, WKLDOC had also filed a suit under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) to obtain all FBI documents relating to the RESMURS investigation. This resulted in the release, in 1981, of some 12,000 pages of often heavily redacted material that had not been disclosed to the defense before or during Peltier's trial. (The FBI stated that it was withholding an additional 6,000 pages on "national security" grounds, but, in 2002, it was forced to admit that it had "overlooked" a further 42,000 pages when the original release was made.) Among the documents was an October 12, 1975, teletype flatly contradicting Evan Hodge's trial testimony. A comparison of the firing-pin markings made by the "Wichita AR-15" and those on the all-important mystery shell casing had actually produced negative results. Peltier's attorneys were therefore able to file a second appeal, resulting in hearings on the FBI's ballistics evidence in 1984. Interrogated by William Kunstler, Hodge unraveled on the stand, being caught in the process of committing perjury and having to admit that AIM members had used not one but *several* AR-15s during the Oglala firefight.

In oral arguments before another panel of the Eighth Circuit Court on October 15, 1985, Lynn Crooks did his best to salvage the situation, arguing—in diametrical opposition to his own closing statement to the jury—that, although he had "no idea who actually shot the agents," it didn't really matter, since Peltier had "actually" been convicted, not of murder, but of "aiding and abetting whoever committed the murders." When a judge asked who Peltier might have aided and abetted, since his codefendants had been acquitted, Crooks replied that perhaps he had aided and abetted himself. It took the three judges eleven months to craft a finding in which they both rejected Crooks's new theory and declared the circumstantial case presented against Peltier at trial to have been false and misleading while *still* allowing his conviction to stand. Once again, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to review the matter.

Since then, although Peltier has been moved to the "normal" federal maximum security prison at Leavenworth, Kansas, he has been routinely denied parole. (He is still serving the first of his life sentences.) The government has ignored petitions for a retrial signed by more than 14 million people internationally, requests by several foreign governments to the same effect, a finding by Amnesty International that Peltier is a "prisoner of conscience" (i.e., a wrongfully incarcerated political prisoner), and much else. In January 2001, faced with significant public protests by FBI agents—the first such demonstrations in the history of the bureau—President Bill Clinton failed to sign a long-promised commutation of his sentence. Peltier therefore continues to serve his time, a symbol of the federal government's arbitrary ability to repress the legitimate aspirations to liberation of indigenous people.

AFTERMATH

By the time of Peltier's conviction and initial appeal, the movement was in serious decline. Its reputation even among activists suffered badly as the result of rumors, quite possibly true, that in February 1976 AIM members had murdered one of their own, a Mik'maq named Anna Mae Pictou Aquash, in the mistaken belief that she was an FBI informant. (Aquash had been "bad-jacketed," a standard COINTELPRO technique—employed with devastating effectiveness against the Black Panther Party—by which legitimate activists are made to appear to be police infiltrators.) In 1979, shortly after his entire family—his wife, Tina, their three children, and his mother-in-law, Leah-Hicks-Manning—were murdered on the Duck Valley Reservation in Nevada, John Trudell resigned his position as the only remaining "national" AIM officer and announced that all comparable positions had been abolished. No one disputed his statement, for there had been no general membership meeting since 1975.

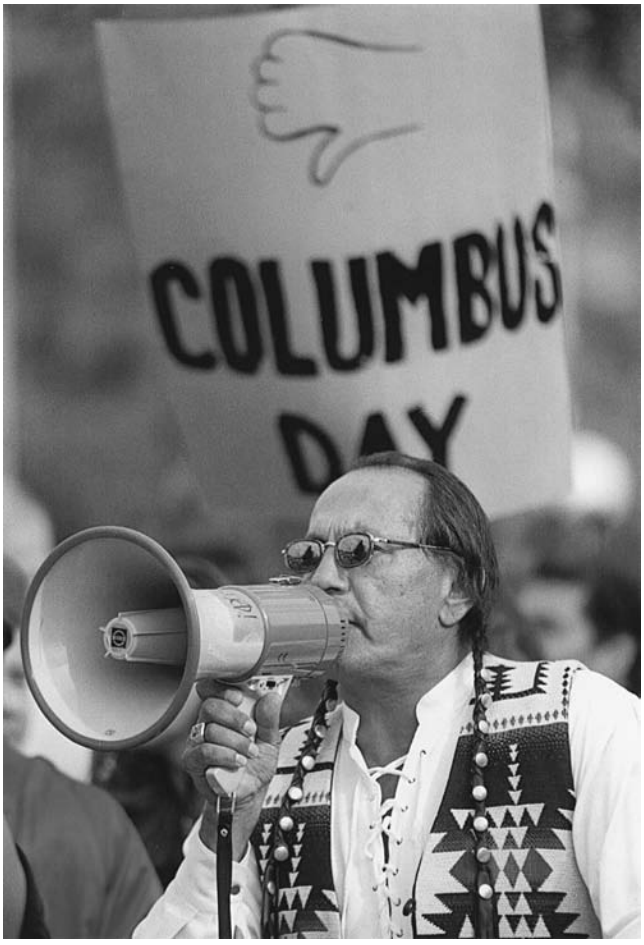
There were occasional flurries of activity, as when, in 1978, Dennis Banks utilized his California sanctuary as a base from which to organize The Longest Walk, a march from San Francisco to Washington, D.C., designed to protest pending legislation introduced by reactionary Congressman Lloyd Meeds and others to repeal all treaties with American Indians. The walk undoubtedly figured in the bills' subsequent defeat, but a larger reason was probably the fact that U.S. claims to the legitimacy of its territorial title are based largely on those very same treaties. Thereafter, although he has coordinated a virtually endless series of walks and runs meant to draw attention to native issues, Banks, too, announced his "retirement" from AIM.

In 1979, Jimmie Durham, along with IITC's associate director, Paul Chaat Smith, resigned their positions as well, citing the development of the organization's overly cozy relations with certain governments and an encroaching sense of "professionalism" on the part of several of the organization's trustees as their reason. During the mid-1980s, Durham's and Smith's observations were amply borne out when the IITC incorporated itself and appointed a handpicked board to replace the council of traditional elders at whose behest it had been founded and who had overseen its functioning. The new board immediately propelled the Treaty Council into alignment with Nicaragua's Sandinista government, in opposition to the self-determining rights of the country's indigenous peoples. This maneuver splintered what was left of AIM and fractured the unity previously displayed by native delegations to the UN. Founding trustee Russell Means, who protested IITC's abandonment of principle, was thereupon "expelled." Although IITC continued to claim representation of "98 indigenous nations throughout the Western Hemisphere," most of these had distanced themselves by 1986. The Treaty Council itself continues to exist but without a discernible base of grassroots support. It has thus become essentially an appendage of the very statist entities it was created to oppose.

In 1981, having by then completed the parole stemming from his criminal syndicalism conviction, Means spearheaded the seizing of an 880-acre tract in the Black Hills National Forest, near Rapid City. Dubbed "Yellow Thunder Camp," after Raymond Yellow Thunder, the site was continuously occupied until 1985, during which period the FBI and U.S. Marshals Service were legally enjoined from intervening as AIM battled the National Park Forest Service in court for the right to stay. AIM actually won a landmark decision at the district level: Judge Robert O'Brien entered a ruling that the Lakotas, and thence other Indians, were entitled to view entire geographic areas as sacred sites, and therefore to enjoy use and in certain instances occupancy of them. But the victory was soon nullified by the U.S. Supreme Court's adverse decision in the so-called G-O Road case (*Lyng v. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association* [1988]).

Probably the last major hurrah of the American Indian Movement came during the early 1990s, when Means, along with Colorado AIM leader Glenn Morris, organized a coalition of twenty-five local organizations in Denver to conduct a sustained series of demonstrations protesting the annual Columbus Day parades held in that city. The outcome was a last-second cancellation of the event in 1992, the year a particularly extravagant "celebration of genocide" was planned in honor of the five hundredth anniversary of Columbus's "discovery of America." A particular highlight occurred during the summer of 1992, when a jury considering charges that Means, Morris, and two other Colorado AIM leaders had violated the First Amendment rights of Columbus Day organizers in 1991 by blocking their parade route, not only acquitted the four but stated their belief that the city of Denver had violated international law by issuing a permit for the event.

AIM's Denver victory stimulated signs of life in chapters located elsewhere in the United States. These flashes of even modest resurgence produced indica-



At a gathering in Pueblo, Colorado, on Columbus Day, 1998, Russell Means leads a protest against the hanging of a wreath on a statue of Christopher Columbus. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

tions that the FBI was still at work making sure the genie stayed in its bottle, however. In a bizarre twist, a barrage of notices were shortly issued by an entity calling itself the National American Indian Movement, claiming that the Colorado chapter was fraudulent, that its leadership was composed of "white men masquerading as Indians" and "probable police agents," and that the entire group had therefore been "summarily expelled" from AIM. As it turned out, "National AIM" was actually a Minnesota-chartered/Minneapolis-based nonprofit corporation, with no "membership" as such, subsisting on hefty infusions of federal funds. Nonetheless, the confusion it generated before its true nature was revealed was sufficient to negate any potential for a genuine revitalization of the movement.

Despite their demise after the mid-1970s, Red Power politics—those of AIM in particular—transformed the circumstances of native North America in ways that may well prove irreversible. If nothing else, the "shock troops of Indian sovereignty," as a grassroots Lakota named Birgil Kills Straight once called them, moved "like a hurricane" through Indian country long enough to instill a sense of pride among people in whom it had been long and terribly diminished, forced Indian issues into the public consciousness for the first time in generations, and proved that gains could be made by going—and sometimes *only* by going—toe-to-toe with the oppressor. That such understandings have not been lost is reflected in the armed confrontations with authorities undertaken by the Mohawk Warriors Society at Oka, near Montreal, and elsewhere during the 1990s. Where this will lead during the new century remains to be seen, but the future surely seems brighter than it did a half-century ago, given the success of militant struggles for Native American rights.

Ward Churchill

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Treaty Rights and Indian Activism from Alcatraz to NAGPRA

American Indian lands are, in some sense, *not* truly Indian lands. Reservations, established by treaty (or, after 1871, by executive order), are held "in trust" for the tribe by the federal government. The federal government has maintained quasi-colonial oversight of tribes and their territories, administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) in the paternalist tradition of the guardian-ward relationship. Established in 1824, the BIA has the dubious distinction of being the oldest and most deeply entrenched federal agency. By the 1960s, many BIA employees were Native Americans hired to facilitate federal administration of tribal lands and lives. Tribal governments, meanwhile, especially Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) governments, were "puppets": elected and organized according to federal guidelines. Dependent upon federal appropriations and approval, they were seriously disconnected from their constituent communities. With the BIA and tribal government determining policy and process, the majority of reservation residents were left without power or voice. Fueled by military experience, urban residence, and education, intertribal associations developed to fill the political void. Emerging demands for "Treaty Rights" and "Red Power" evolved into a social movement for self-determination that continues to be pressed, with uneven success, to this day.

Native American treaty rights, always lurking in the background of federal-native relations, paradoxically gained the spotlight during Termination. Serving the goal of getting the federal government "out of the Indian business," the Indian Claims Commission, established in 1946, sought to settle old grievances and allow the government to move on to new concerns. Terminating old grievances was often associated with terminating tribes themselves and thus tribal treaty rights. Everyone "knew" that tribes were disappearing, and with their disappearance, the future of treaties was also clear: they would become vacuous, null, and void. The Indian Claims Commission was established in part to hasten, or at least facilitate, that process, compensating treaty violations with cash payments. By its very focus on treaties as the source and substance of claims, however, the commission catalyzed treaty rights activism. It is not surprising, then, that the occupation of Alcatraz, which initiated a new era of Native American activism, asserted their "treaty rights" to the island.

Treaty rights, as special rights of legally distinct groups of American citizens, defy civil rights as the equal rights of individual American citizens. In 1968, the Indian Civil Rights Act (ICRA) made all too clear the tension between tribal rights and civil rights; ICRA provided protections to individual tribal members and simultaneously extended federal controls on tribal governmental process. The same year saw the founding of the American Indian Movement (AIM) in Minneapolis to advance native civil rights there (especially in regard to poor housing, high unemployment, and police brutality). Energized by the broader civil rights movement, Native American activists elsewhere publicized the contemporary relevance of treaty rights and the contemporary reality of native peoples and "Indian issues" in their occupation of the decommissioned federal penitentiary on Alcatraz Island and at many other sites across the country.

Alcatraz

Actually, there were two occupations of Alcatraz: both claimed the island based on the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty with the Sioux Nation. In 1964, five Lakota men occupied Alcatraz for four hours, claiming it for all Native Americans but on the basis of the 1868 treaty with their tribe. Five years later, eighty-nine Indians of All Tribes, only some of whom were Lakota, claimed their right to occupy the land based on the same 1868 Sioux treaty. The treaty, they asserted, gave Native Americans the right to unused or decommis-

Demanding that the federal government return possession of Alcatraz Island to Native Americans, members of the Indians of All Tribes Inc. stand in solidarity on November 25, 1969. The seizure of the island in San Francisco Bay five days earlier marked the rise of modern Native American militancy. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

sioned federal land anywhere in Indian Country. A devastating fire at the San Francisco Indian Center had left the local native peoples without a gathering place: Alcatraz was reclaimed in part to provide a new, intertribal space in the Bay Area.

The occupation of Alcatraz included and introduced hundreds of Native Americans from around the country, catalyzing a new activism later described as "Red Power." The occupation itself lasted nineteen months, until June 1970, when the remaining fifteen protesters were removed by federal marshals. Failure to gain the land, however, was offset by success in winning media attention and public support. Vine Deloria has said that "Alcatraz was the master stroke of Indian activism," simultaneously galvanizing native identity and action and demonstrating the continuing, contemporary reality of native peoples and Native American issues in America. Wilma Mankiller, later highly acclaimed principal chief of the Oklahoma Cherokee, said of her Alcatraz experience:

> I'd never heard anyone actually tell the world that we needed somebody to pay attention to our treaty rights, that our people had given up an entire continent, and many lives, in return for basic services like health care and education, but nobody was honoring these agreements. For the first time, people were saying things I felt but hadn't known how to articulate. It was very liberating.

Wilma Mankiller's experience typified that of many other "warriors without weapons," who resisted by their silence, often melting into the formal educational pot. Eventually, this silence grew into civil disobedience and political demonstration under the leadership of urban intertribal organizations and individuals. Tribal issues and treaty rights were what distinguished Native American issues and were of paramount concern to activist groups, including AIM and its gender-based offshoot, Women of All Red Nations (WARN). In the United States, tribes were "domestic dependent nations," compromised in their sovereignty and vulnerable—especially after the U.S Supreme Court's *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock* (1903) decision—in their treaty rights. Well aware of this conundrum, the members of the International Indian Treaty Council pursued self-determination and treaty rights in the international arena. Their work led to the convocation of the first United Nations meeting of Indigenous Peoples in Geneva (1977), the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations (1982), and eventually, to the Declaration of Rights of Indigenous Peoples (1992), which established a new standing for native nations in international law.

Since the 1961 American Indian Chicago Conference (AICC), intertribal "Indian" identity, arbitrarily imposed by federal policy and legislation, had become a proactive political and social reality. The NIYC (National Indian Youth Council), formed at the AICC, ensured the future of such intertribal activism. NIYC members cut their political teeth on treaty rights activism in Washington and Oregon. "Fish-ins," although named and organized following the civil rights "sit-ins" in the South, focused on the special rights of Native Americans as tribal citizens, not the equal rights of all people as American citizens. Many of those involved in the fish-ins were not members of the tribes whose treaty rights to fish at the "usual and accustomed stations" had been violated: they demonstrated on behalf of the specific rights of certain native peoples, but also on behalf of treaty and tribal rights in general. Fish-ins were followed by legal action in regard to reserved fishing rights, notably in

what is generally known as the Boldt decision (*U.S. v. Washington*, 1974), upholding a century-old treaty guaranteeing off-reservation fishing rights to tribes in the Northwest. The Boldt decision was seen throughout the country as a substantial victory for treaty activists and provided hope that the legal institutions of the United States would provide a forum for redress for native peoples.

A small group of attorneys, including John Echohawk and others associated with the University of New Mexico law school, began to pursue tribal and treaty rights in the courts as others advanced Red Power by political action. The Native American Rights Fund, now located in Boulder, Colorado, was established for this purpose in 1970, the same year the occupation of Alcatraz ended and 48,000 acres including Blue Lake, taken illegally from the people of Taos, were returned to the Pueblo. While the differing modes of action—political and legal—were not coordinated, they served the same goal and were, in general, mutually supportive.

Alcatraz had convinced young Native Americans of the possibility and the potential of political protest. It contributed directly to the AIM-organized cross-country "Trail of Broken Treaties" caravan from the West Coast to Washington, D.C., in 1972. The Twenty Points position paper, drawn up by Minneapolis AIM, put treaty rights first. The document called for the repeal of 1871 legislation ending federal treaty making with American Indian nations; sought the establishment of a treaty commission to sign new treaties and a presidential commission to recommend corrective action for federal violations of existing treaties; called for Senate review of the many signed but unratified treaties; and noted that a federal injunction on actions that threatened treaty rights was to be available during lengthy court determinations. Finally, and importantly, the *Indian* interpretation of treaties was to be declared binding unless successfully challenged in court. Unfortunately, serious consideration of the Twenty Points was lost in the organizational and spatial melee of the BIA takeover with which it unexpectedly ended. Perhaps it is not surprising, then, that, mere months later, violence became part of AIM action at Wounded Knee.

American Indian Movement

AIM organized and energized the 1973 siege of Wounded Knee as it had the Trail of Broken Treaties only months before. Its involvement on Pine Ridge had begun the year before with a protest march in reaction to the murder of Raymond Yellow Thunder in nearby Gordon, Nebraska. That earlier action was lauded by the majority of Pine Ridge residents, whereas the Wounded Knee action addressed and inflamed intratribal and intergenerational tensions. An AIM-encouraged effort to impeach Chairman Richard Wilson as a puppet leader had solidified tribal political factions, which ultimately expressed their differences in a violent and armed conflict with repercussions well beyond the reservation borders. The seventy-one-day conflict resulted in the death of two Native Americans, federal causalities, and injuries of unknown numbers of people on both sides, and it also ended in lawsuits and prison terms. When the siege ended on May 9, 1973, political tensions persisted. The now familiar Treaty of 1868 was again invoked; again in a questionable manner, by Russell Means, reiterating the central role of treaties in Native American social movements:

> The FBI must have known from the first day, when we presented our demands . . . that Wounded Knee was about our treaty rights—about the [1868] Fort Laramie Document that affirmed Oglala sovereignty. We were risking our lives not only for the right to select our own officials, but also to choose our own system of government.

AIM occupation and activism on reservations continued, and continued to point out differences in political perspective between generations as well as between urban and reservation native peoples. On the newly restored Menominee reservation, the Menominee Warrior Society adopted AIM tactics in its takeover of the Alexian Brothers novitiate building, in an effort to dramatize self-determination. Much of the focus of activism, AIM or otherwise, seems to have been about self-determination. The number and voice of native peoples residing in cities were important aspects of this focus. During the 1970s, the number of Native Americans in cities was approaching, if it had not already equaled, the number on reservations. (Census counts of the urban native population are notoriously low, whereas reservation counts tend to be more accurate.) The urban experience, including formal education, the impact of 1960s-style radical thinking and activism, and the construction of difference in urban identity politics encouraged a rethinking of Native American cultures and histories and a renewed commitment to self-determination.

Improbably, President Richard Nixon agreed. Nixon's policy of "self-determination without termination" meant that the federal government would be

held to its treaty agreements with Native American tribes, and tribes would take a more active role in their own governance and development. In addition, to prepare Native American children for a self-determined future, tribes were to be afforded the primary role in education. The 1975 Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act was the legislative expression of this new federal policy. It directed the secretary of the Interior to contract directly with tribal organizations to plan, direct, and execute tribal programs, including those currently administered by the BIA. That 1975 act has been amended, improved, and expanded over the years, but it continues today as the fundamental legislative assertion of tribal right to determine and administer services owed as a result of treaties.

In 1975, "education" referred primarily to pre-college education in survival schools that followed the AIM model in the Heat of the Earth school in Minneapolis. The future of self-determination, however, depended upon succeeding generations of tribal leaders being able to hold their own in government-to-government negotiations and being educated in tribal and Native American histories and issues. Tribally controlled community colleges developed to fill the postsecondary void in reservation education, taking as their mission education for self-determination and self-determined education. A new type of "warrior" had arisen. The "warriors without weapons" gave way to groups like AIM and the Menominee Warrior Society; the new warrior was the "briefcase warrior," whose weapons were education and the law.

The Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act, providing federal education funds for tribal colleges, was passed in 1978, still under the Nixon administration. The same year saw the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, the Indian Child Welfare Act, the land claims settlement for the Passamaquoddy in Maine, and the *Santa Clara v. Martinez* and the *Oliphant v. Suquamish* U.S. Supreme Court decisions, which interfered with tribal self-determination and sovereignty. It was a legally schizophrenic year, reflecting the fundamental contradictions between the reality of treaty rights, federal Native American law, and "domestic dependent nation" status, and the inevitable tensions arising out of these often conflicting realities.

Most important in the American Indian Religious Freedom Act were the *whereas*-es, which recognized the limitations on religious rights. The act itself carried scant remedy and compelled little change, but it certainly and clearly acknowledged the (sometimes incidental) abuse of the native peoples' religious freedom by federal departments and agencies. First Amendment nonestablishment protections defeated essentially every sacred lands case that came before the Court, making it clear that Native Americans were to have their religious freedom, but not the sacred lands upon which that depended, even though the control of those lands had been taken from them in violation of treaty agreements. A ski resort in the West, camping and motorcycles in the Black Hills, recreational boating on Lake Powell, logging in California, were all considered "compelling state interests" that trumped Native American claims to sacred lands. The differences in native and Court interpretations were highlighted in the *G-O Road* case (*Lyng v. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protection Association,* 1988) where the Yurok high-country stood between finished segments of a major logging road and was considered unimportant in terms of Yurok religious freedom since, it was claimed, so very few people ever went there.

The Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA), however, had a large and lasting impact. ICWA affirmed tribal control of tribal domestic issues, especially in regard to the removal and placement of neglected and abused children. More than any other act, ICWA caused non–Native American court systems to recognize and respect tribal courts. Indeed, it led to the establishment of courts in many tribes that had not yet developed them. In these ways, ICWA provided a strong legislative statement of Native American sovereignty and self-determination. Native families were supported in both titles of the act: extended family members were given priority in the placement of children removed from their parents, and family supportive services were mandated.

In the Court, *Martinez* seemed to underscore tribal self-determination by supporting the tribal right to determine its own membership through sovereign immunity as rendered in the decision. *Oliphant v. Suquamish* decidedly interfered with tribal sovereignty and self-determination, denying tribal criminal jurisdiction over nonmembers. The Court seemed in some sense at odds with the Congress: that was not new. But at odds with itself, again, the inherent tensions in federal Native American law were revealed. The legal struggle continued and continues: when the Court is understood as conservative and ill-disposed to Native American rights concerns, attention is focused on congressional lobbying efforts. Such is the situation at

the time of this writing. Briefcase warriors must be politically savvy as well as legally knowledgeable to defend and assure tribal sovereignty and self-determination.

The conjunction of legal action and political demonstration addressing both land rights and religious freedom can be seen in the struggle over the Black Hills. In 1979, the U.S. Court of Claims ruled that the 1877 federal seizure of the Black Hills was unconstitutional, and entered a judgment in favor of the Lakota for $105 million. The decision was affirmed by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1980. The tribe, however, would not accept compensation and sued for the return of the Black Hills as well as $11 billion in damages. The case was dismissed on the grounds of the sovereign immunity of the United States. Members of AIM then established the "Yellow Thunder Camp" (named after Raymond Yellow Thunder, whose murder first introduced AIM to the Pine Ridge reservation) to gain public support and reiterate the Lakota claim. To this day, the Lakota have continued to refuse financial compensation for the taking and to press for the return of their lands.

Although the Nixon administration supported significant advances in Native American self-determination, the appropriations to support that self-determination were lacking. Native American social movements in the decade of the 1980s focused on reservation economic development. Reservation communities invariably came in at the bottom of all the poverty and social parameters measured by the census and other instruments. Self-determination, it was argued, cost money: without funds, sovereignty was a ruse. But a few voices called for a new perspective on the relationship between sovereignty and economy: the relationship was inevitable, but the order was reversed. Sovereignty preceded economic development instead of following it: sovereignty was the foundation upon which tribal economic development could and must proceed.

Gaming is certainly the best-known and most lucrative example of this logic. Tribal gaming depends on the special legal and political status of recognized tribes and the exemption of reservations from state regulations, including state gaming regulation. Tribal business became the new locus of tribal self-determination. Certainly, however, it is not the only such endeavor. As Rennard Strickland summarized: "A shift from the courtroom to the boardroom" had begun. With improved funding for the PL 638 Indian Self-Determination and Assistance Act contracts, more and more were negotiated, expanding tribal autonomy. Tribes continue to decrease their reliance on the BIA and other federal agencies and to increase their own direct control of tribal services and governance.

Reservation economic development commonly implies environmental deterioration. In the 1970s and 1980s, coal development on the Northern Cheyenne reservation in southeastern Montana provided a potential source of revenue to one of the poorest of the nation's tribes. Yet, a vocal and active group of tribal members derailed major coal development, seeking to sustain both natural resources and the environmental quality of the reservation for the generations to follow. Tribal members were between a rock and a hard place. Members of that small but successful group became the butt of physical and verbal attacks on the reservation for many years thereafter: they had effectively denied badly needed income to reservation families. Environmental issues rose to the fore throughout Indian Country in the 1980s as another expression of land, treaty rights, and religious freedom. Environmental concerns were addressed in both legal action and political demonstration. The relationship between tribe and national environmental groups was complex and problematic: the banning of eagle feathers, listed as one of the *whereas*-es in AIRFA (American Indian Religious Freedom Act), certainly anticipated this. Tribal air and water rights included rights to air and water quality, however, and such rights protected non–Native American as well as native peoples, as was clear in the Ladysmith mining case. In the region of the Ladysmith mine, the Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission (GLIFWC) consulted on behalf of constituent tribes on issues of the environment and treaty rights management. That the GLIFWC helped to organize treaty rights demonstrations makes clear the coincidence of legal, political, scientific, and social action work typical of the time. Most tribes today have enacted environmental and conservation ordinances that guide executive action.

As might be expected, anti–Native American backlash organizations and attitudes began to develop: among them, ERFE (Equal Rights for Everyone), STA (Stop Treaty Abuse), and PARR (Protecting American Rights and Resources) attracted a considerable following based on what were considered to be "sacred" American principles. Such groups were notable, especially in the Midwest, where the legacy of Fred and Mike Tribble's action to claim off-reservation inland spearfishing rights reserved to Great Lakes

Ojibwe set off widespread anti-spearfishing demonstrations and a chain of legal decisions. The popularity of "Treaty Beer," a fund-raising scheme for anti-treaty groups, attests to both the marketing ability of these groups and the continuing lack of understanding of Native American status and issues in the general population.

An unintended but nonetheless significant consequence of native activism was the "hardening" of ethnic categories and the identity markers by which they are claimed and ascribed. As tribal and Native American rights became front-page news, as the newly recognized and racially diverse Pequot Tribe established the largest and most lucrative gaming enterprise in the country, as Wilma Mankiller made the cover of *Time* magazine, and as *Dances with Wolves* (1990) played on romantic ideals, Native Americans began to focus on ownership of their own representations. Ownership and control of cultural resources became as important as ownership and control of land and natural resources. Museums were criticized as colonialist institutions, and museum collections came under scrutiny for holding sacred objects illegally obtained. The Smithsonian returned two war god statues to the Zuni, and the Heye Foundation repatriated sacred wampum belts to the Iroquois, both as the result of tribal legal and political initiative. Human remains held in museums became the focus of native activist interest in this period of time. The "civil rights of bones" and the human rights of native peoples were hotly debated, as local demonstrations, many of which included members of AIM, publicized Native American perspectives and claims. In Illinois, for example, the Dickson Mounds exhibit over a burial of unknown tribal affiliation was forced to change as a result of intertribal (including AIM) action.

The remarkable result of such actions and such claims was the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990. Recognizing tribal ownership interest in human remains and associated funerary items and in sacred objects or objects of cultural patrimony, NAGPRA mandated the return of such remains or objects to recognized tribes that could clearly identify their affiliation with them. The legal reasoning behind NAGPRA holds that sacred items and items of cultural patrimony are owned by the community, not by individuals within it, and can only be alienated by the community: those held by gift or purchase from individuals, then, are illegally held. NAGPRA became the first federal act not only to acknowledge but also to incorporate Native American perspectives in a legal definition. Consultation with tribal representatives in the identification of sacred objects and objects of cultural patrimony is mandated by the law, thus recognizing diversity in worldview and requiring the incorporation of tribal knowledge into mainstream legal process. The legislation envisions a consultative rather than an adversarial approach. Federal Native American policy as articulated in NAGPRA clearly shows the impact of more than two decades of political and legal action. NAGPRA process and pragmatics, however, remain problematic.

The success of NAGPRA has been stymied by lack of congressional funding. The cost of reviewing inventories, consulting with museums and universities, and the logistics of particular repatriations are frequently beyond the financial abilities of the tribes. As a result, human remains and sacred items languish in federally funded institutions across the United States, still waiting to be returned. Demonstrating the cultural affiliation of human remains and sacred items has also proved cumbersome and contentious. Some academics and museum personnel have preferred pursuing their own research agendas to working in a cooperative spirit with the tribes, as has been amply illustrated in the controversy surrounding The Ancient One/Kennewick Man. Sacred items and objects of cultural patrimony held in private collections in this and other countries are, moreover, not covered in the act, which addresses only institutions receiving federal funding.

Native American activism around treaty rights, land, and religious freedom took its initial energy from urban communities where diversity of tribe, class, education, and experience provided significant fuel. Action was focused, however, on tribes and reservations considered to be the locus of native identity and community. By the 1980s, the integration of an urban-reservation social system became clear to Native Americans, if not to the government, which continued to insert a wedge between reservation and urban communities. Indian Country expanded: gaming moved off reservations and into Duluth, Detroit, Milwaukee, and other cities. Tribes set up satellite offices in urban communities, and several included representation on the tribal council for off-reservation members. Treaties clearly never stipulated Native American identity nor recognized it as synonymous with reservation residence: the reservation-based wedge began to lose its grip.

Throughout the quarter of a century between Alcatraz and NAGPRA, and beyond, treaty rights, land, and religious freedom were frequently and signifi-

cantly understood to intersect or even coincide. Modalities of social action have included silence, education, peaceful demonstration, civil disobedience, legal action, economic development, and environmental protection. While Native American social movements are clearly encouraged and influenced by issues and modes of activism in other ethnic communities, the political and legal status of Native Americans always and inevitably differentiates their issues from those of other "minorities." Native American activism, from Alcatraz to NAGPRA, whatever its specific focus or modality, has reiterated the spirit and the significance of treaties (constitutionally described as "the supreme law of the land"), advanced tribal self-determination, and established the continuing and contemporary insistence of the recognition of an American Indian presence in the greater American population.

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Pan-Indianism Movement

The term *Pan-Indianism* refers to the joining together of different American Indian peoples, tribes, or nations for a common purpose. Pan-Indian movements include political confederacies such as the Haudenosaunee, or League of the Iroquois; military alliances such as those led by Pontiac and Tecumseh; and civil rights organizations such as the Society of American Indians and the American Indian Movement (AIM). The term itself is redundant, since Indian already refers generically to the native peoples of the Americas, each of whom has his own specific community, language, and traditions. Pan-Indianism is frequently used today to describe gatherings or events sponsored by and attended by a variety of Native American peoples, particularly the powwow.

Powwows are social gatherings of native peoples from one or more tribes, centered around drumming, singing, dancing, and feasting. Traditional powwows are more community-focused, usually held on tribal powwow grounds or at urban native centers; while contest powwows feature competition drumming and dancing, and often attract more spectators from outside the community. Powwows grew out of traditional dances from many different parts of Indian Country, but external forces in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including intertribal contact, exhibition dancing, the world wars, hobbyist participation, and the standardization of competition, helped to shape the powwow as a modern Pan-Indian movement. At the same time, many powwows retain specific regional or tribal elements.

The Indian Removal Act of 1830 began the forced relocation of eastern tribes to Indian Territory, west of the Mississippi River. Under pressure from expanding American settlements, other tribes began moving westward. Shifting into new territories meant increasing contact with other native peoples. The pace of intertribal borrowing accelerated from subsistence techniques to spiritual movements. Dance complexes were exchanged, and by the late 1800s, the war dance, grass dance, and drum dance had spread throughout the Plains and Great Lakes.

Indian boarding schools were another avenue for intertribal contact. The federal government established schools, removed Indian children from their families, and brought them together. Students from many different tribes were thrown together and began to interact. They were not allowed to speak tribal languages, and English became the *lingua franca* of the boarding schools, making intertribal communication easier. Taken from their homes and required to learn a new language and culture, students formed strong emotional ties with fellow students, which fostered an overall "Indian" ethnic identity.

By the late 1800s, native tribes had been brought into the reservation system. No longer a threat to expanding white settlement, they became objects of curiosity. White showmen and entrepreneurs recognized the potential entertainment value in exhibitions of native dancing and began recruiting Native Americans for participation in entertainments for white audiences. Gloria Young chronicled the rise of the Wild West shows in "Powwow Power: Perspectives on Historic and Contemporary Intertribalism" (1981). Wild Bill's Wild West Show, the Pawnee Bill Historic Wild West Exhibition and Indian Encampment, and Comanche Bill's Wild West Show toured the United States and Europe. Native Americans from many different tribes participated, sharing their dances and learning from each other.

World War I and II influenced the development of the Pan-Indian powwow in several ways. Native Americans who served in the military came in contact with native peoples from other areas, creating new intertribal contacts. Friendships begun in the military continued after the wars, with intertribal visiting and sharing. Dances and songs shared by soldiers became part of the developing powwow repertoire. Returning veterans from both wars were honored at celebrations

At a powwow in Peshawbestown, Michigan, on May 28, 2000, Chris Bussey, a member of the Grand Traverse Band of Ottawa and Chippewa Indians, performs a ceremonial dance. An ancient tradition of native peoples, powwows are intertribal gatherings that feature music, dance, storytelling, and contests. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

in their home communities. Traditional war songs and dances were revived to acknowledge the deeds of Native American soldiers in World War I. New songs and dances were borrowed or created and added to the existing traditions.

White interest in native culture also contributed to the expansion of the powwow. As William K. Powers has documented, beginning in about 1900, American Indian "hobbyists" emerged as a group of non-natives interested in Native American culture, particularly dancing and singing. The Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Indian Guides, Camp Fire Girls, and other youth groups focused on outdoor activities and native crafts and lore. Some adults continued this interest, giving public presentations of native dancing and costumes, and sometimes participating in powwows. Hobbyists leaned toward Plains-style dress and dance, contributing to a Pan-Indian flavor at powwows.

Many scholars mark the beginning of the modern powwow in the 1950s, with the introduction of competition and standardized categories in which dancers compete. Categories for contests include men's traditional, grass and fancy dances; women's traditional, jingle and fancy shawl dances, and junior or children's categories. Prize money can be substantial, particularly at large powwows with several hundred contestants. Even in traditional powwows, these cat-

egories have become standardized. Rather than contests, there are demonstration dances in the various categories.

Despite these substantial Pan-Indian influences, differences in powwows exist at both the regional and tribal level. Two styles of powwows are recognized today, Northern and Southern, reflecting differences in histories of intertribal contact. In the Northern Plains, reservations are more isolated, and so intertribal exchange has been slower than in the South. In the Southern Plains, exchange has been more prevalent, particularly reflecting the influence of southeastern tribes removed to Oklahoma. Northern-style drums usually have four to six singers, who sing at a higher pitch than Southern singers. Southern drums have more singers, as many as ten or twelve. Northern-style traditional dancers more often wear buckskin and furs, while Southern-style traditional dancers tend to wear cloth shirts and dresses.

Today, many powwows emphasize tribal elements in language, dress, dance, and community recognition. As Anya Peterson Royce pointed out in *The Anthropology of Dance* (1977), as native peoples have worked to revive their cultures, they have incorporated their own traditions into the Pan-Indian powwow. The invocation at a powwow is almost always given in a tribal language, most often in the language of the host tribe. Individuals who speak their tribal languages are in demand for powwow blessings. Dancers seek to incorporate stylistic elements that mark their tribe into their powwow outfits, particularly in traditional dance styles. Iroquois men dancers incorporate their traditional headdresses, *gustoweh*, with specific numbers and placement of feathers to denote membership in one of the Six Nations of Iroquois. Seminole women dancers wear the distinctive patchwork dresses, with multiple layers. Ho-Chunk (Winnebago) women wear ribbonwork decorations on their cloth dresses, in a style known as Ho-Chunk Applique. The Ho-Chunk people have even created a new contest category just for this style of dress.

Powwows serve as an important gathering place for native peoples, a coming together of the community. Particularly in urban areas, powwows can be a way to bring a diversity of tribes together, as described by Joan Weibel-Orlando in *Indian Country, L.A.: Maintaining Ethnic Community in Complex Society* (1999). However, as examined in *Powwow: Native American Performance, Identity, and Meaning* (2003), edited by Luke Eric Lassiter, powwows can and do reinforce and revitalize specific tribal traditions, in addition to strengthening a sense of shared purpose and identity among Native American peoples.

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Sovereignty and the Self-Determination Movement

As the twenty-first century unfolds, indigenous people will have to struggle against the same forces that wreaked havoc on uncounted numbers of their cultures, both in the Americas and throughout the world, during the last 500 years. Just as monocultural agriculture can be threatened by a single pathogen, a social monoculture often lacks the diversity and flexibility needed to survive in an uncertain and quickly changing world. So, given the unique worldview of each indigenous culture, Native Americans will be working to preserve each and every culture and each and every bit of knowledge that has been assembled within these cultures over thousands of years. The major thrust of their efforts to survive as intact cultures will be the assertion of their sovereignty and their inherent right to self-determination.

Of course, preserving cultures will be a futile effort if industrial societies render the planet as unlivable. Therefore, indigenous societies will focus much of their future efforts on educating the dominant society as to the necessity to maintain a livable planet for those generations yet unborn.

Environmentalism

The popular culture belief that indigenous people are natural conservationists is indeed based on their connection to the land, but indigenous people did not survive and thrive on this planet by conserving its resources. Instead, they figured out how to utilize and change the natural environment so that it would not only benefit those alive at the time, but also "improve" the existing resources in order to ensure their availability for future generations. So we see a tremendous movement today by indigenous people to continue to live in harmony with the planet as human beings have done for all but a brief period of our existence on this planet (that is, since the Industrial Revolution).

Such environmental philosophies are embodied in an indigenous worldview, which, in turn, is embodied in Native American languages. So, the next 500 years will see a movement to revitalize tribal languages, together with the cultures and worldviews that are embodied within those languages. This is a critical time in human history. Of the thousands upon thousands of world languages extant in 1492, many thousands have already been lost; and of the 6,000 to 7,000 remaining in the world today, it has been estimated that half of these will not survive into the next century. Only a few languages indigenous to North America are expected to be among those that survive, so the work of tribal people struggling to maintain the cultural workings of their language and worldview hovers on the edge of desperation. It is a huge challenge, made even more difficult by the ubiquitous nature of Western culture and its influence on individuals, cultures, and societies around the globe.

Although cultural survival is embodied within the Native American languages and worldview, the modern political world also demands that Native Americans fight to maintain what vestiges of sovereignty they have been fortunate enough to retain. In the United States, the fact that American Indian tribes signed treaties with the government is an implicit recognition of their sovereign status. Canada's constitution recognizes the "inherent rights" of Aboriginal people, although the definition and interpretation of those rights (and who is and who is not "Aboriginal" in both the American and Canadian context) are always subject to judicial review.

Of course, sovereignty is only as valid as it is accepted by other sovereign peoples, and the record all over the world has not been good for indigenous people. Although the United Nations has recently set up a forum for indigenous voices, not one of the United Nations 191 member-states is representative of any indigenous peoples—they are truly "stateless" and virtually without a voice in world affairs. With the world's political organization based quite simply on the nation-states that grew as a result of European

Nita Gonzales (seated, left) of Escuela Tlatelolco, Glenn Morris (seated, right) of the American Indian Movement, and members of the Transform Columbus Day Alliance gather on the steps of the Colorado State Capitol Building in Denver on October 5, 2001. The group, which represents more than eighty community-based organizations, opposes traditional celebrations of Columbus Day and seeks alternative ways to commemorate the first encounter between Europeans and Indians in 1492. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

colonization and domination of indigenous peoples, we can expect that this struggle will only intensify as our "global village" shrinks in size and as the world moves closer to a true monoculture—which will be "Western" and "modern" to be sure.

Rights to Resources

The survival of a livable planet, sovereignty, and the struggle against cultural genocide are obviously global issues, but there are some more "local" issues that should be recognized as important for the survival of future generations. Water rights in the Western United States are one of those critical, local concerns, as indigenous tribal rights are often set aside in favor of individual "rights." In the case of water in the West, Native American tribes are struggling to regain rights to waters that were, decades ago, "allocated" to various farming and industrial interests in violation of treaties. This is not merely one parochial interest trumping another parochial interest, but rather a struggle to see which worldview will prevail—that of native people or the "water as a commodity" view of the dominant society.

As the tribes of the Western United States struggle to regain their rights to their own resources, Canada may provide some guidance on where Aboriginal people are going in their continuing struggle for self-determination. Canada's Constitution contains this clause: "The existing aboriginal and treaty rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada are hereby recognized and affirmed" (Section 35[1]). This clause gives the Aboriginal people of Canada constitutional protection that their counterparts in the United States do not enjoy. Of course, just as in the case of a unilateral assertion of sovereignty, aboriginal rights are only those that can be fought for and won in the Canadian court system.

In a famous Canadian Supreme Court case, *Mitchell v. MNR* (2001), a chief of the Mohawk asserted an aboriginal right to bring some goods for personal use and trade with other First Nations people into Canada without having to pay duty. This right to bring goods across the border duty-free has been a long-standing concern for native people all along the U.S./Canadian border, and Chief Mitchell's case was just one more in a very long string of cases that all refer back to Jay's Treaty (1794) where the right of duty-free passage was expressly stated—"nor shall the Indians passing or repassing with their own proper goods and effects of whatever nature, pay for the same any impost or duty whatever" (Article III).

Although Chief Mitchell won in the lower courts when they agreed that he had a constitutional "aboriginal right" to bring a small quantity of personal goods into Canada from the United States, the Canadian Supreme Court ruled against him, stating that it is the sovereign right of nations to impose import duties and that, therefore, it would be an abrogation of Canadian sovereignty to allow anyone—including Aboriginal people—to abridge that right. So, for the immediate future, the struggle of Canada's Aboriginal people will be to test the limits of their constitutionally protected "aboriginal and treaty rights."

Another very important feature of the Canadian Aboriginal experience is the fact that Aboriginal people in British Columbia have no historical treaty relationship with the government, either with the

Crown or with provincial authorities. The first of these "modern" treaties was negotiated with the Nisga'a people and ratified on April 13, 2000. It gives the Nisga'a sovereignty over 2,000 square kilometers and a degree of self-government that will be the precedent for other First Nations peoples across Canada as they negotiate modern agreements with Canadian government officials. This, of course, not only is an agenda of those Aboriginal people in Canada, but will serve as a model for Native Americans in the United States as they assert their rights.

Federal Recognition and Casinos

Although there are over 550 federally recognized tribes in the United States, there are over 200 more that seek federal recognition. Federal recognition allows tribes to enter into a government-to-government relationship with the United States. The effort by tribes to gain federal recognition is a process that has been going on for many decades. Some tribes were denied recognition during the Depression when the government simply couldn't afford to recognize any more tribes, so their applications have been "pending" since the 1930s. For other tribes, the effort to gain federal recognition is a more recent phenomenon, fueled in some cases by the desire to obtain official recognition in order to open a casino. Casinos are often seen as the means whereby tribal people can achieve a degree of economic well-being that has been denied to them by centuries of exploitation and neglect by the dominant society. Of course, gaming is only one of the economic areas that tribal people are hoping to exploit in order to bring themselves out of the abject poverty that many have faced for a long time—and successful casino operations can only be mounted in areas that have a population large enough to support them, making gaming an option that is not available to many of the poorest, rural tribes.

Casinos and other economic enterprises are only one element of the huge puzzle that indigenous people are struggling to piece together in order to achieve even a minimal level of self-sufficiency. Obviously, the "wardship" status of native people severely restricts their ability to provide services that adequately meet the needs of their members. As can be seen by any discussion of the last 500-plus years of government "reform" efforts, these efforts have often not borne any fruit that is worthy of being emulated and repeated. So the dilemma facing many Aboriginal people both in the United States and in Canada has been to determine how to balance their absolute need for government assistance—often mandated by treaty—with their strong desire to escape from the yoke of dependency, which is engendered by that very same life-support assistance.

Economic Survival

So while Aboriginal people on both sides of the U.S. and Canadian border face different governments and different dependency relationships to those governments, the one thing that all will agree upon is the need to escape the grinding poverty and hopelessness that large numbers of native people face. It's not because they live in resource-poor areas—although many do—but more because those resources are generally not being managed for the benefit of the tribe from whose land these resources are being extracted. Perhaps the most egregious example of the U.S. government failing in its responsibility to Native people can be seen in the unfolding scandal over the government mismanagement of tribal "trust funds." These trusts are established to manage the many billions of dollars the government collects on tribes' behalf (often in the form of lease revenue or royalties from resource extraction activities on tribal lands). The scandal that is now unfolding is pointing at the inability of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to account for over $2 billion in just a twenty-year period (from 1973 to 1992). No one can even estimate how many more billions have disappeared over the last 180 years (the Bureau of Indian Affairs was established in 1824).

But the economic sustenance provided for by even the admittedly mismanaged trust funds was often all that was available to many of the poorest of tribal people. And it is difficult to think about how to achieve economic self-sufficiency when you're not sure where your next meal will come from. So, the very strong movement toward economic self-sufficiency that is being promoted by many tribal leaders is often tempered by the reality that governments can—and often do—implement programs that will adversely affect the people that these same programs are ostensibly designed to help.

The road to self-sufficiency that many tribes will be traveling in these next 500 years will be found to be full of potholes with numerous detours along the way—many down blind alleys. But Native American people are still going to travel those back roads because their cultures demand that they look to providing for future generations. The dual goals of self-sufficiency and self-determination can be viewed as simply the two sides of the same coin. It seems that these are the challenges of native people everywhere. As the world moves closer and closer to a universal

monoculture based on the "American" standards of *individual* "democratic" and economic rights, more local and "parochial" concerns seem to be moving to the fore.

For the long term, we may hope that people are discovering that a consumer-driven need for instant (and private) gratification doesn't make for a culture that sustains the very human need to be a *social* creature (especially when contrasted to the media-derived "need" to be an *economic* creature). In the next 500 years, people may discover what indigenous people have known all along: that we need each other to survive and that the "meaning of life" (if such a thing can be examined) can be explained as a need to live in harmony and balance with all of the elements of creation, not just those that can be bought and sold at a profit, and, of course, with each other. Perhaps it's not too late. Perhaps the way that worked so well for over 2 million years and was only abandoned in the last 200 will once again provide people with what they need. Perhaps all that is needed for the next 500 years is the example provided by indigenous people, who have survived this last 500 years with their cultures, if not unscathed, at least still alive. The struggle then is to maintain (or, in some cases, regain) the cultural knowledge that Native Americans have developed over time and to maintain that worldview as embodied in their languages.

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Identity, Mascots, and Playing Indian

At the 1754 Albany Congress held near the Mohawk Nation in Albany, New York, Benjamin Franklin stuck a feather in an Englishman's cap and called him an American by making direct, and allegorical, reference to the Iroquois Confederacy in the drafting of the Albany Plan of Union. When Franklin dipped his quill into the inkwell and wrote the words "Sachem and Grand Council" as a way of describing a union of thirteen English colonies, in this famous precursor to the Articles of Confederation and the U.S. Constitution, he symbolized a new national movement. At this early stage of revolutionary sentiment, Franklin's words marked the beginning of what would become an age-old association with the stereotypical image of the American Indian. Thereafter, the American Indian, converted to a standardized and usable image, became an emblem of American identity and the origin of the stereotypical Indian mascot and logo.

In 1773, nineteen years after the Albany Congress and on the eve of the American Revolution, the Sons of Liberty paid tribute to this earlier effort at union by dressing as Mohawk warriors and throwing English tea overboard into Boston harbor. On that glorious oak stage, for the world to see, the Boston Tea Party participants identified themselves as Mohawks as a symbol of their American background and patriotic protest. With this purposeful display, they directly associated themselves with Benjamin Franklin's Albany Plan of Union, the first intellectual discourse on federal representative self-rule and confederation. The Sons of Liberty first appeared in the 1760s as an organization created in opposition to "taxation without representation," the Stamp Act, the Quartering Act, and other oppressive legislation.

At the Boston Tea Party, men dressed as and played Indian for symbolic, and revolutionary, purposes; they had no desire to become "savages" themselves. The Boston Tea Party "Mohawks" planned no subterfuge to disguise their identities. They fully expected arrest and trial. In fact, they avoided the pitfalls of savage behavior, as they perceived it, by practicing peaceful civil disobedience and dramatic and symbolic protest. A broadside issued in Boston in 1774 and entitled "Tea Destroyed by Indians" emphasized this point: "Ye GLORIOUS SONS OF FREEDOM, brave and bold, / That has stood forth—fair LIBERTY to hold; / Though you were INDIANS, come from defiant shores, / Like MEN you acted—not like savage Moors." Even though war paint and war clubs do appear on the surface as implements of savagery, the Boston Tea Party "Mohawks" demonstrated to the world that they were not savage warriors but civilized men making a symbolic point. They did no harm to anyone, nor did they destroy property other than the hateful tea.

The Sons of Liberty and Its Descendants

The Sons of Liberty created the archetypal model of invented American Indian ritual, warrior look, custom, and caricature. With the image and symbol of their invented Indian, they made their European social antecedents decidedly "American." They did not reject their Western civilized origins. To convert socially accepted secret organizations of European origin, like the society of Free and Accepted Masons, to a uniquely American version, or to invent new ones with an American flavor, the image of the Indian served the American patriots well. Often, a weathervane, fashioned in the form of a Native American archer, identified a secret meeting place, usually a barn, where Sons of Liberty patriots would gather. Like the Freemasons, the Sons of Liberty adopted elaborate rituals, but instead of creating rituals echoing and paying homage to ancient Egypt, the Americans invented rituals echoing the culture, dress, and manners of the American Indian. They donned an Indian warrior guise, sang Indian songs, and smoked an Indian pipe of their own invention. Tar and feathering, tomahawks embedded in entranceways, and the menacing presence of Americans dressed as In-

dians at doorsteps signaled to their enemies their patriotic and serious intent. They acted in a controlled savage manner against their English opponents, but they still believed in their civilized and European origins. Because they communicated an American identity rather than a Mohawk one, the Sons of Liberty sought to portray a generic, standard image of an American Indian with very little relation to any existing tribe.

According to Sons of Liberty lore, the Delaware chief, Tammany, was their source of indigenous inspiration. Tammany, or Tamanend, was believed to be the Delaware "king" of the Lenni Lenape Confederacy, which was a precolonial power occupying the territory later known as Pennsylvania. His legendary life and history are purported to be an invention of the Sons of Liberty, though some aspects of his life are supposedly based on fact. R.G. Horton writes in his *History of Tammany Society, or, Columbian Order* (1865): "The Sons of Liberty were determined that America should not be behind other countries in the illustrious character of her productions, and hence they invented the legendary accounts of the distinguished chieftain." These legendary accounts told of a proud and brave leader of native people who was vigorous in mind and body. And though he "devoted himself to the acts of peace," he waged war on the "evil spirit" that would deny his people liberty and happiness. To colonial Americans, these notions of liberty through self-determination and defended with a warrior's strength were powerful and admirable concepts. The sanctity of these notions was embodied in the very person of Chief Tammany, the fierce warrior hero who would not submit to a loss of his liberty or of his rights. Because of these qualities, and the fact that he was a product of the American environment, he was "without question, one of the most distinguished red men who ever lived"; therefore, he was ideally suited to symbolically represent the revolutionary cause. "Liberty" was a word that became synonymous with the word "Tammany" and was thought to be a direct translation of the Delaware word and name of the great chief. According to R.G. Horton, "Their watchword was 'Tammany and Liberty.' " Not surprisingly, the Sons of Liberty were often called the Sons of Tammany.

Once the association with the American Indian was clearly established as symbol and mascot, the newly formed American government would also honor their war heroes with medals bearing this image, or logo. During the American Revolution, for example, Anthony Wayne, for his retaking of Stoney Point, and Daniel Morgan, for his heroism at the Battle of Cowpens, were each awarded a medal that displays an American Indian warrior with a quiver of arrows bestowing a wreath of *laurus nobilis* to a white gentleman dressed in a military uniform of the Revolutionary army. Clearly, the association is symbolic. The civilized gentleman honored by and associated with the noble savage is the meeting of the two halves of American identity. The minting and the granting of these peculiar medals show the importance of American Indians as emblems of independence and democracy. The most famous and enduring examples are the U.S. coins that depict the head of an American Indian warrior, a tradition carried on with the issuing of the Sacajawea dollar coin in 2000.

After the Revolution, the Tammany Society and the Society of Cincinnati would continue the prerevolutionary traditions of the Sons of Liberty; they were organizations that incorporated "classical" history as myth as well as "Indian democracy." They, too, would adapt features of American Indian warrior life into their organizations and rituals. In 1830, the Improved Order of Red Men was formed along similar lines. This order claims to be the oldest secret society of purely American origin. The Improved Order of Redmen did not admit "real Indians" as members. "Improved" meant that members had to be an American of *European* descent. American meant those males who could trace ancestors to the American colonial experience and to the American Revolution. Civilized Americans, in this sense, "improved" the natural condition of the positive qualities of the savage redman. They, like the Sons of Liberty, believed they were the true sons and inheritors of North America who would, in a predestined manner, replace the original inhabitants.

The most famous descendants of the Sons of Liberty were the Sons of St. Tammany; they were officially known as the Tammany Society or Columbian Order. They were organized in 1789 in favor of democratic ideas and principles as opposed to monarchical and aristocratic ones. As Marcus Jernegan notes in his study "The Tammany Societies of Rhode Island" (1887), they were strictly a political organization rather than a hobbyist or honor society. Their original purpose was to perpetuate and protect principles that "grew out of their belief in liberty, representative government, social and political equality." To symbolize this purpose, they adopted the banner of the spirited patriot soldiers and zealous Sons of Liberty. Jernegan adds: "It is usually maintained that certain troops from Pennsylvania under Washington's command first inscribed St. Tammany on their banners and dubbed him a saint." Tammany, the American Indian warrior, phi-

losopher, statesman, and patron saint of America, served as the emblematic model for native warrior virtues.

Games and Rituals

After the American Revolution and once native populations were killed or otherwise displaced, "playing Indian" became a common game among children of all generations, past and present, to the point that it became a rite of passage of sorts. Young boys will often play with toy forts, toy Indian warriors, toy cowboys, and toy cavalry. These games provide a way for children to experience something about the hardships of settlement and survival in the North American continent, the invention of the United States, and Manifest Destiny. Often the play centers on the fighting of American Indians in heroic and romantic settings. Killing them in mock "cowboy 'n' Indian" fights, the role playing of "braves or chiefs," or even the practicing of native skills, like canoeing, archery, stalking, and scouting, can teach children something about the myth of the American frontier and its place in American history.

In Massachusetts, around 1853, William Wells Newell, a collector and analyzer of games played by American children, remembered how much native tribes occupied the imagination of young Americans. He recorded numerous American Indian games played by boys and girls alike. Such games of the early 1800s would be adapted and played by generations of American children in the years after. Games are rituals, and the games played by children are often unique and revealing of subliminal cultural beliefs and practices. Once real Indians were no longer a threat, American adults and children alike were free to imagine their own versions of fantasy warriors for play and for more utilitarian purposes as well.

In the early 1900s, Ernest Thompson Seton's handbook, *The Birch-bark Roll of the Woodcraft Indians*, and his other books, including *How to Play Indian* (1903), would carry on traditions of playing American Indian. Although Lord Baden-Powell of England wrote the first Boy Scout handbook, he has acknowledged that most of its organizational content was adopted from Seton's *Birch-bark Roll of the Woodcraft Indians*. Baden-Powell merely eliminated reference to Native Americans and adopted a more conventional military uniform for his boys. Nevertheless, in 1910, when the Boy Scouts of America (BSA) was formed in New York City, the American Indian was considered integral to America's scouting movement. Seton's *Boy Scouts of America: A Handbook of Woodcraft, Scouting, and Life Craft* (1910) was written as the American version of the British Boy Scout handbook. American heritage and American ideals had to be made a part of the organization, handbook, and movement. American Indians are especially highlighted in the BSA's honor society, called The Order of the Arrow. Within a few years after 1910, the BSA had in itself become an American tradition. By 1926, according to the BSA handbook, the popularity of this movement had been confirmed, for over half the men attending college at that time had been Boy Scouts.

Logos and Mascots

Paralleling the rise of the Boy Scout movement was the rise of the use of images of American Indians as commercial symbols that became very popular eye-catchers because they are subliminal reminders of American heritage and identity. As trademark designs, American Indian warriors mark the product as authentic, American, and original. From the late 1800s to today, Hiawatha Corn, Wampum Canned Goods, Bow-String Rubber, Cherokee Coal, American Copper and Cable, Calumet Baking Powder, American Baking Powder, Red Warrior Axes, Savage Arms, Red Cloud Chewing Tobacco, and Big Chief Sugar, to name a few, have successfully used images of American Indian warriors to sell and promote their products.

By the 1950s, names, war weapons, cognomens, and caricatures suggesting American Indian warriors or culture were appearing not only as logos for consumer products but as logos and mascots for sports teams. In the arena of sports, team names like Chippewas, Redskins, Indians, Chiefs, Braves, and Warriors reveal a connection to Americanism and the invented Indian of Revolutionary times. The display of the invented Indian as a logo or a mascot to a hungry spectator culture eager for these historical and contemporary distortions stands for, and symbolizes, the ultimate appropriation and conquest of the North American continent. The use of American Indians as logos and mascots shows the end development of an emblematic and readily consumable native warrior guise. Spectators and players recognize the symbolic qualities of the indigenous identity. The practice of the so-called tomahawk chop at Atlanta Braves baseball games is yet another example of this symbolic use.

With the seemingly endless visual, oral, and dramatic representations of the invented Indian in contemporary society, Americans find it difficult to sort through the pseudo-Indian fabrications and art fakery to find some sense of authenticity that is not steeped in romanticism and nostalgia. This is especially evi-

Carrying a poster of various sports team Indian mascots, Jan Saiz of Madison, Wisconsin, and Hugh Danforth of Oneida, Wisconsin, denounce the stereotyped images as racist and demeaning at a demonstration in Madison on March 22, 2002. The mascot in the center represents the Cleveland Indians, one of Major League Baseball's oldest teams. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

dent when you consider the lack of attention and interest in the historical place and role of contemporary Native Americans in modern society. As can be easily ascertained, Americans want to keep Indians in the past, dressed in war paint and moccasins. Examine some of the images found on the wrappers and packaging of products sold at your local grocer, like *Big Chief Sugar*, or examine closely some of the American Indian logos pasted to the helmets and caps of high school, college, and professional sports teams to confirm this point. Not many Native Americans are depicted in graduation caps and gowns, grasping their diplomas in eager anticipation of what the future holds for them. Although dressing up like an American Indian warrior, or accepting a team's logo that depicts one, may be symbolic of what it means to be an American, it is at the same time an ominous expression of prejudice and racism because its adherents do not realize that what they do is harmful to current-day Native American people. However, the majority of Americans believe the use of these images is harmless and, ironically, respectful.

Apart from the fact that the Sons of Liberty were predisposed to use deadly force, their behavior—the dressing up, the war paint, the cult of violence—had much in common with the modern-day sporting event, especially with the use of American Indian mascots and logos, and the "dressing up" of spectators. Contemporary Americans, however, are befuddled over questions concerning the "proper" or "improper" use of American icons such as an image or caricature of an American Indian. Unlike the Boston Tea Party Mohawks who knew the difference between the Mohawks they depicted and the real Mohawks they fought and killed on the frontier, fans and players in modern times do not understand the distinction between the "Indian" invented by the Founding Fathers and real-life, flesh-and-blood, natives who signed treaties with the United States. On the other hand, Colonial Americans, the Sons of Liberty in particular, understood the origin of the native people they honored and Benjamin Franklin realized that the use of American Indians as symbolic devices had historical significance. Over the course of 200 years of American history, this historical connection has diminished to a litany of unanswered questions and has dissolved into the vagaries of mass culture.

In other American art forms—literature, sculpture, paintings, and photography—and in forms of American popular culture—dime novels, Wild West shows, movies, and television—the image of the American Indian endures with ever-increasing popularity. In this new millennium, corporations, universities, and grade schools throughout the United States still adopt the visages of the invented Indian for use as trademarks, logotypes, and mascots. These images of Indians, which often symbolize corporate identity and school pride, affirm the importance of the invented Indian and of playing Indian in American history and culture. The image and likeness of the native warrior has certainly become an enduring feather stuck in Yankee Doodle's cap but has little to do with real Native Americans themselves.

Patrick LeBeau

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Indigenous People and Environmentalism

The Indigenous environmental movement grew steadily throughout the last decades of the twentieth century and continues to grow in the twenty-first. Its growth correlates with the resurgent native religious systems that are built on earth-centered values: most aboriginal cultural groups have deeply rooted ecological traditions, even though they vary widely in the specifics of their religious beliefs. Traditional teachings generally refer to the interconnectedness and sacredness of all organisms within the web of life; the importance of respect for the Earth Mother; and the understanding that any damage done to flora, fauna, and the land itself affects all living things, including humankind, because all things are interconnected. Traditional native belief is built on a "theology of place" in which people do not separate themselves from the land: to that end, Gregory Cajete quotes an elder's explanation that "This is the place that made us." The religious connection to the earth, as well as a history of complicated and protracted land conflicts, may explain the focus of the most visible and publicized contemporary environmental movements. In recent decades, aboriginal activism has been predominantly focused on protecting traditional lands from development, stopping destructive land use, reclaiming lost land rights, and battling against widespread environmental racism. Environmental racism is broadly defined as economic and political policies that disproportionately expose discrete communities of color to dangerously poor environmental conditions, negatively affecting public health and safety. The Economic Justice movement arose as an answer to the devastating impact which systematic exposure to toxic waste, highly polluting mineral extraction, environmental degradation, and economic divestment were having on communities. (For more information on Environmental Justice, see Robert A. Bullard's *Dumping in Dixie: Race, Class and Environmental Quality* [2000] and *Unequal Protection: Environmental Justice and Communities of Color* [1994.])

Environmental Activism

It is useful to think of the history of native peoples since the arrival of Christopher Columbus as an ongoing struggle for the right to occupy and determine the use of land. The continuing conflict over natural resources results from very different views of what land is and what it is for. Euro-American environmental policy has been built on the ideas that the human is the child of God, land is a commodity, and natural resources are gifts from God for people to consume. Most indigenous cultures believe that they are part of the land and that they have an enduring religious/ecological obligation to protect it—and therefore protect themselves. As a result of this conflict, when there was a question over who would retain possession of any particular area, Euro-American economic needs (such as grazing lands and commercial fishing) nearly always outweighed aboriginal cultural heritage (roaming buffalo herds and summer subsistence fisheries). In most situations, the governmental body would reallocate natural resources as it desired, and the native community was relocated, decimated, or prevented from continuing their traditional practices. Native peoples continue to view environmental conflicts as attacks upon culture, religious rituals, and their entire cosmological system.

There are other ways in which indigenous activists are different from other parts of the environmental movement. In contrast to large-scale organizations such as No Nukes, the Nature Conservancy, and Greenpeace, contemporary native environmental activists have often been weakened by their relative isolation. They frequently come together as a grassroots response to specific, localized problems associated with toxic waste, fishing rights, resource extraction, and other instances of Environmental Racism. The dif-

ficulties that these organizations face are endemic to their problems. Many campaigns emerge in rural communities (such as reservations and reserves) with a specific problem, so they have less political clout and fewer sources of funding for their campaigns. They are often led by people with less organizational experience and less access to high-quality legal representation, and they have staffs that can't match the media savvy of the corporations and political bodies they challenge. Without financial resources, publicity, and wide-ranging expertise, they have had limited success in fighting their battles.

They have been aided, however, by communication channels such as the Internet, which helps to combat the divide-and-conquer strategy often used to weaken individual environmental initiatives. The Internet has enabled the maintenance of umbrella organizations such as the Indigenous Environmental Network (IEN), which coordinates international symposia and acts as an information clearinghouse for regional campaigns. Organizations such as the IEN have implemented Internet-based initiatives, significantly augmenting the small amount of mainstream broadcast media coverage with native-produced news stories across all forms of media.

Saving the Land from Developers and Polluters

The increasing numbers of activists have begun to overcome the historic limitations of the indigenous environmental movements, and today's many campaigns continue to focus on a broad range of primarily land-related issues. Among the best places to begin searching for examples of issues-based campaigns is two-time Green Party vice presidential candidate and Mississippi Band Anishnaabe Winona LaDuke's *All Our Relations: Native Struggles for Land and Life* (1999), which explains much of the root of land-use issues in native communities: "our lands are home to a wealth of resources. Two-thirds of the country's uranium; one-third of all western low-sulfur coal; and vast hydroelectric, oil, and natural gas resources are all situated on Native land." LaDuke provides primers and historical frameworks for understanding such issues as the impact of coal mining on the Northern Cheyenne. She tells how the Northern Cheyenne fought to void substantially underpriced mineral-rights contracts negotiated on their behalf by the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs. They have invoked federal clean air standards to protect their communities, and they have helped form an organization called the Council of Energy Resource Tribes (CERT) to aid other tribes in their negotiations with corporations and the U.S. government.

At a demonstration at the University of Minnesota on May 20, 2002, environmentalist and former Green Party vice-presidential candidate Winona LaDuke denounces gene mapping of wild rice. LaDuke and many fellow Native Americans liken the dangers of using plants for genetic research to desecrating sacred land. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

LaDuke describes the Mother's Milk Project, which advocates for the rights of the Akwesasne Mohawk people, who have been exposed to PCB poisoning in the St. Lawrence River for decades. They continue to fight for reparations and cleanup by corporations such as General Motors, Reynolds Aluminum, and Domtar. Aside from the direct impact of PCBs on individuals, the Akwesasne Mohawk have had to systematically change their diets and forego

their fishing culture, contributing to significant public health changes such as increased rates of diabetes, heart problems, and obesity. She also explains the impact of Everglades destruction on the Florida Seminole, low-level jet combat training on the Nitassinan Innu, and nuclear weapon testing and waste storage on the Western Shoshone.

The Western Shoshone have consistently opposed the establishment of a centralized nuclear waste dump within Yucca Mountain, a site that is sacred to them and has also been deemed scientifically unfit for this sort of storage. In the summer of 2002, President George W. Bush cited the $8 billion of research into the project as his main justification of its continuance. Native groups and other environmentalists pledged to continue to fight during the construction phase, which will take nearly a decade. Yucca Mountain is a particularly good example of the issues that face native peoples, especially reservations. Because of their comparative remoteness, control of large tracts of land, and long history of impoverishment, reservation lands are excellent candidates for hosting toxic dumps. When an economically destitute community is presented the opportunity to bring in millions of dollars in exchange for allowing waste sites on their lands, the overwhelming temptation is to gamble that there will be no seepage into ground water or containment leaks. Communities must choose between poverty today and the potential for illness in the future. Many are tempted to opt for the latter, hoping that they are not contributing to irreparably harming the land to which their people have historical, cultural, and religious ties.

For these same reasons, Inuit whaling and aboriginal fishing rights in the United States and Canada are continuous points of contention. As outgrowths of treaty land-rights issues, they seem to be places in which native peoples would split from the mainstream environmental movement. However, these conflicts are nearly as much about resource management and the prevention of devastating effects on commercial fishing as they are about maintaining traditional cultural practices. What often gets lost in the conversations is the fundamental difference between a permanent community engaging in subsistence-style fishing versus broad-based harvesting of a series of regions. The former helps to maintain populations, whereas the latter devastates them and moves on to the next. Among the newest issues is a growing conflict over the introduction of genetically modified wild rice to the rice fields of Minnesota. Because wild rice is a staple that the Anishnaabeg consider one of the Creator's most significant gifts, and one that must be protected and maintained, there are significant religious implications if that crop is substantially altered or harmed.

This same conflict—with the same underlying politics of land ownership and stewardship—arises in Donald Grinde (Yamasee) and Bruce Johansen's *Ecocide of Native America*: *Environmental Destruction of Indian Lands and Peoples* (1995) which adds several more cases to LaDuke's. After discussing historical approaches to the last 400 years of indigenous ecological history, they focus largely on mining and farming in Navajo country, fishing rights, and uranium mining, and they provide another perspective on PCBs in Akwesasne. Ward Churchill's *Struggle for the Land: Native North American Resistance to Genocide, Ecocide, and Colonization in Contemporary North America* (1999) provides an in-depth analysis of the relationship between aboriginal sovereignty and land issues. He includes additional perspectives on some of the issues mentioned above, and he discusses hydroelectric dams in Quebec, the Alberta Lubicon Cree's claims of cultural genocide and land misappropriation, and land wars in Navajo country. Other sources, such as Jace Weaver's *Defending Mother Earth: Perspectives on Environmental Justice* (1996) and Jill Oakes et al.'s *Sacred Lands: Aboriginal World Views*, *Claims*, *and Conflicts* (1998), further explore aboriginal world-views and environmental justice.

When looking at the broad range of abuses that native peoples are combating, often the fear becomes pervasive that all the sacred lands are being destroyed and that no fights can be won. This is not the case: there have been some successes. Perhaps the most visible recent example was led by the Gwich'in Athabaskans, who have sought to stop exploratory oil drilling in the coastal plains of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge in northeast Alaska. In preventing the development of oil fields, they have been able to maintain the calving grounds of the porcupine caribou and protect one of the largest tracts of pristine land in the United States. LaDuke also writes of the White Earth Land Recovery Project, in which the White Earth Ojibwe of Minnesota have reacquired a portion of their traditional lands, largely through purchase. She also describes the successes of the NativeSun project, which is introducing alternative, renewable energy sources to the Hopi and Navajo communities. NativeSun hopes to empower the Hopi and Navajo peoples by ending their reliance on the

power grid and helping them to assume control of their own energy needs in a way that will be respectful to the earth and reduce pollution as much as possible.

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Struggle for the West: U.S. Indian Policy from Sand Creek to Wounded Knee

U.S. Indian policy went through a number of changes from the time of the Civil War, but in almost all cases, despite the good intentions of many people, the policies were unsuccessful. American Indians were stripped of their land, their culture, and, in some cases, their very lives. In almost every case the desires of the native peoples were discounted, while the individuals struggling to help the natives thrust upon them their own personal views of what would be best.

When the Civil War broke out in 1861, many of the western tribes found the pressure that had been placed upon them was temporarily relieved, as soldiers were withdrawn to fight further east. The Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Territory found themselves caught up in the struggle between North and South as each side struggled to gain the loyalty of these strategically located tribes. The Confederacy, through the promise of more liberal treaties than the United States had ever offered, and the more active presence of agents, eventually won the support of the majority of the members of the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes. The Cherokee, Creek, and Seminole were more deeply divided.

Inaction by the Lincoln administration and early Confederate victories on the battlefield bolstered support for the pro-Confederate factions of these tribes, and in October 1861 the Cherokee formally severed their relationship with the United States. Within a year, however, the tides of war had begun to change, and the Indian Territory became vulnerable to Union attacks. Many Native Americans who had supported neutrality or the North quickly abandoned their loyalty to the South and tried to rebuild their ties with the Union but met a cold reception.

Forced Concessions

When the war came to an end, the Union used the Five Civilized Tribes' defection to the South as justification to force new concessions from them. Each of the tribes was forced to sign a treaty that effectively cut its land holdings in half. The confiscated lands on the western half of Indian Territory would be used to create reservations for other Western tribes.

The Civil War also affected the Sioux on the Northern Plains. The Santee Sioux, who had agreed to settle on reservations prior to the Civil War, were especially affected. With the advent of war, keeping reservations properly supplied was a low priority. The lack of promised supplies combined with poor crops caused the Santee Sioux to become restless. As hunger increased on the reservation, the Sioux were forced into action. A group of natives broke into the reservation's storehouse to steal enough food to feed themselves and avoid starvation. The government and the Indian agents' continued neglect called for more extreme action. Many young warriors talked openly of attacking the whites in the area and driving them out. Abraham Lincoln's withdrawal of several units of soldiers to fight the Confederates further emboldened them. Only the dire warnings of Little Crow, one of their chiefs, kept them from taking immediate action.

The telling blow occurred in 1862 when a group of Sioux stole eggs from a party of settlers and, after a brief altercation, murdered five of them. When Little Crow was told of the event, he immediately called a council and, despite his feelings to the contrary, decided to lead a preemptive strike against the settlers of Minnesota before they could seek revenge for the murders. The Sioux rose up *en masse* and attempted to rid the Minnesota Valley of white settlers. Their key mistake came when, ignoring the advice of Little Crow, they refused to launch an immediate attack on Fort Ridgely, the only stronghold in the vicinity. As a result, when the Sioux finally turned their attention to the fort, the number of defenders had swelled considerably, having been augmented by refugee pioneers.

It was nearly a month before General Henry Hastings Sibley led a party of Minnesota volunteers and militia to defeat the Sioux in a battle at Wood Lake. The victory dispersed the natives and ended organized resistance. Many fled west to join their kinsmen on the plains, while others surrendered. A hastily held trial of almost 400 captured Native Americans led to the conviction of 303, who were sentenced to death. President Lincoln eventually overturned all but thirty-nine of the sentences. In the largest mass execution in U.S. history, thirty-eight were eventually hanged. Tensions between the settlers and the Minnesota Sioux eventually led to the complete expulsion of the native peoples from the state, and a new reservation was created for them in the Dakota Territory.

Sand Creek Massacre

In the Central Plains, the Cheyenne and Arapaho found themselves under pressure when gold was discovered in their region. For several years, the natives attacked miners and settlers who invaded their lands, alarming local Coloradoans. A group of Cheyenne and Arapaho under the leadership of Black Kettle desired peace and agreed to relocate to the area of Sand Creek. Other natives, however, continued to harass settlers and miners, hoping to drive them from the area. In 1864, Colonel John Chivington led a force of cavalry and militia to suppress the hostiles but attacked Black Kettle's band of peaceful Native Americans instead. The result was the Sand Creek Massacre, where over 100 men, women, and children were killed and their bodies were horribly and sexually mutilated. Although the carnage was widespread, Black Kettle and others did manage to escape.

When word of the Sand Creek Massacre reached Washington, D.C., there was widespread condemnation of Chivington and his actions. Many congressmen began agitating for a new policy concerning Native Americans, but the demands were necessarily set aside because of the constraints of the Civil War. A new treaty was finally negotiated in 1865 with the Cheyenne and Arapaho, as well as with the Comanche and Kiowa on the Southern Plains, but amendments to the treaties by the Senate ensured that the nations would not get the land promised by the treaties.

Militarism and Repression

Still, with the Civil War concluded, pressure mounted to establish a new policy to deal with the Indians. In December 1866, when Captain William Fetterman and eighty soldiers were ambushed and killed by a party of Sioux led by Chief Red Cloud on the Bozeman Trail in Wyoming, the need for a new policy became more urgent. After an intense investigation into the causes of conflict and the reasons for the decline of the tribes, two opposing factions emerged. One group favored peace, while the other favored a military solution. The peace faction urged creating reservations for each of the various tribes and teaching them English, farming, and the other skills thought necessary to make them productive citizens. The force faction argued that nothing less than continuous military harassment of the Native Americans, until their spirit was broken and their numbers decimated, would subdue them.

The resulting policy, often referred to as the peace policy, was actually a combination of the two. Tribes would be given individual reservations to live on and would receive subsidies and gifts to encourage them to accept their new lives. Those Native Americans who refused to settle on the reservations were to be suppressed militarily. Some tribes, realizing the futility of resistance, reluctantly accepted reservations obtained through treaties.

In 1867, a government commission met at Medicine Lodge Creek in southwestern Kansas to negotiate with the Southern Plains Indian tribes. Five thousand Comanche, Kiowa, Kiowa Apache, Arapaho, and Cheyenne attended the discussions. The treaty that emerged created two reservations in the western half of Indian Territory. One reserve would be established for the Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa Apache, and other would be created for the Arapaho and Cheyenne. Through a combination of gifts, promises, and threats, the commission acquired the agreement of all five tribes.

Two prominent chiefs, Roman Nose of the Cheyenne, and Satanta of the Kiowa, however, refused to sign the treaty and took their followers out into the plains. The commission, feeling that it had accomplished the majority of its goal, headed north to treat with the Northern Plains Indians. At Fort Laramie, in 1868, the commission gradually negotiated and signed treaties with the Crow, Northern Cheyenne and Arapaho, and the Sioux. The treaty created the "Great Sioux Nation" and called for the expulsion of all U.S. military from the region. Even the recalcitrant Red Cloud, who had been holding out, eventually signed the treaty.

Many individual Native Americans refused to accept reservation life and continued to travel across the plains to hunt the buffalo and, at times, cause depredations. The army had the impossible task of policing the entire plains and hunting down these

"nontreaty" natives and forcing them to submit. Corruption by government officials exacerbated the problem. Indian agents received huge sums of money to keep the native peoples well-provisioned and to pay them subsidies, but often used the funds to purchase inferior-quality supplies or spoiled food while pocketing the savings. Increasingly, natives fled the reservation to live the freer life on the plains where they could obtain their own supplies and fresh buffalo meat.

In late 1868, General Philip Sheridan launched an extensive winter campaign to subdue the natives on the Southern Plains and force them to stay on their assigned reservations. One detachment pursued warriors into the peaceful encampment of Black Kettle, the survivor of the Sand Creek Massacre, who had scrupulously obeyed the provisions of the Treaty of Medicine Lodge Creek. The soldiers attacked the village, killing over 100 warriors, including Black Kettle. By early 1869, Sheridan's campaign of total warfare had killed many hostiles and nonhostiles, but concluded with the confinement of the remaining members of the tribe on their reservations.

The death of Black Kettle and other peaceful Native Americans led Congress to create the Board of Indian Commissioners that same year. The board was led by Christian leaders, determined to win over the natives through missionary programs. Although the board members no doubt believed that they were serving the best interests of the tribes, they refused to take into consideration the Native American beliefs or customs and insisted that they convert and accept Christian ideals. Interdenominational rivalry and resistance from government officials bent on profiting from the natives' plight caused most of the board's recommendations to be rejected. The board did abolish the treaty system, however, as this idea fit well with Congress's plans. After 1871, Native Americans would no longer be considered members of a nation or tribe but wards of the federal government. Within a decade, the original members of the board had been replaced with individuals more malleable to the desires of Congress and government agencies.

Expropriation and Annihilation

Meanwhile, the army had realized that as long as the buffalo roamed the plains, the natives could not be forced to stay on the reservation. In fact, many treaties had granted the Native Americans permission to leave the reservation to hunt buffalo to supplement their food supply. Any time they felt abused or mistreated, or sometimes because they simply wanted to return to their old lifestyles, groups would flee the reservations to live the free life on the plains, which supplied them with all the necessities of life.

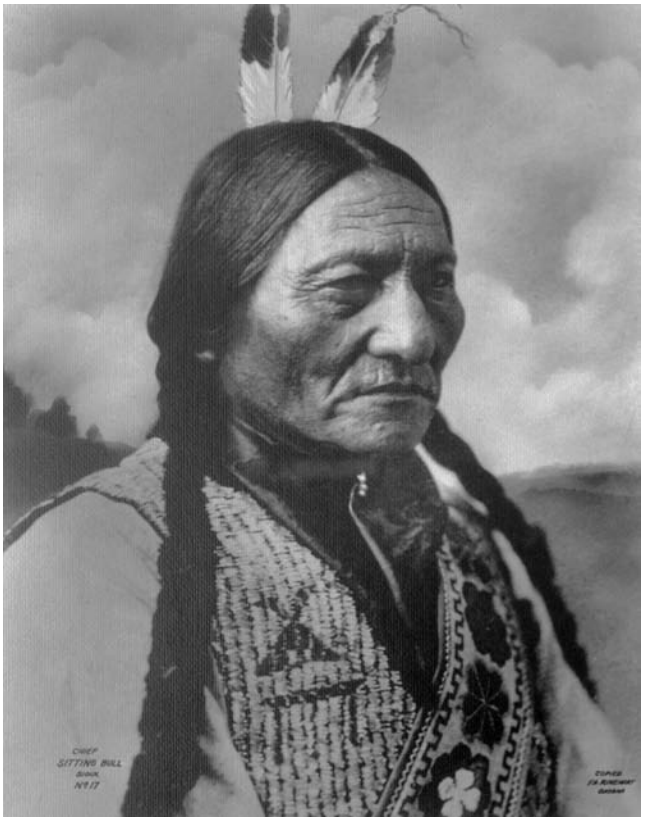
Prior to the 1870s, buffalo had been hunted sporadically by hunters hired by railroad companies to supply cheap meat for workers, or by sportsmen for the thrill of the kill. But by 1871 eastern industries discovered a commercial use for buffalo hides, and professional hunters joined the action. Within a decade the buffalo herds were decimated to the point of near extinction. Indian hunting parties rarely if ever encountered buffalo on their off-reservation jaunts and now had little choice but to accept the dismal life on the reservation.

As the organized buffalo hunts began, and the Native Americans saw their way of life being obliterated, Indian raids flared up once again. In 1874, a large party of Kiowa, Comanche, and Cheyenne attacked a party of buffalo hunters at Adobe Walls in the Texas panhandle. Although the hunters held off the attackers, their eventual withdrawal after the fight encouraged more natives to join the uprising. Soon the Southern Plains in Texas, New Mexico, Kansas, and Colorado were swarming with native warriors intent on driving the buffalo hunters out. General Sheridan was once again called upon to subdue them in what would become known as the Red River War. Sheridan launched a multipronged invasion of the area and ruthlessly pursued the Native Americans through the winter of 1874–1875, burning camps, destroying supplies, and killing or capturing natives. One by one, the tribes surrendered. By the summer of 1875, the last holdouts, a band of Comanche, surrendered at Fort Sill.

Once the war ground to a halt, the government hoped to ensure there would be no further outbreaks by imprisoning a number of prominent chiefs. As further insurance, additional native leaders and prominent warriors were exiled to Florida, where they remained until finally released in 1878. By that time most of the southern tribes had realized the futility of resistance and reluctantly accepted reservation life.

Aggression and Resistance on the Northern Plains

On the Northern Plains relations had been relatively peaceful. The powerful Sioux nation was effectively divided into two groups. One group led by Chiefs Red Cloud and Spotted Tail lived on the Great Sioux Reservation in South Dakota. The other group roamed the unceded lands in the Powder River and Bighorn Mountains region. The nomadic, nonreservation na-



Chief Sitting Bull led Sioux warriors in a victory over General George Armstrong Custer at the Battle of Little Big Horn on June 26, 1876. *(Denver Public Library)*

tives were led by Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse. Both groups lived virtually unmolested until gold was discovered in the Black Hills, an area held sacred by the Sioux and part of the Great Sioux Nation. The flood of prospectors into the area—led by General George Armstrong Custer in violation of the 1868 treaty—necessarily caused friction with the natives. As hostilities erupted, the government stepped in and ordered all the Sioux to congregate at the reservation, thereby reducing their contact with gold hunters and freeing the gold-rich lands. The order was followed by an announcement that all Indians not on the reservation by early 1876 would be considered hostile and would be hunted down and brought in by military force.

Many Sioux had no intention of returning to the reservation; they, along with some Cheyenne allies, rallied around Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse. When the deadline passed, troops were sent to round up the natives. On June 26, 1876, General Custer led his troops in an attack on a large party at Little Big Horn and was annihilated. Custer's defeat caused a public outcry in the East and resulted in more troops being sent to subdue the Native Americans. The natives, having no supply lines, could not keep a large force in the field for any length of time and eventually had to break into smaller bands. One by one, the bands were hunted down and forced to surrender. Crazy Horse and more than 1,000 natives surrendered in the spring of 1877. Sitting Bull and his followers fled to Canada, refusing to submit, although he eventually returned and surrendered in 1881. With Sitting Bull's surrender, even the powerful Sioux tribe realized the futility of resistance and, without the buffalo, survival off the reservation was all but impossible.

Other western tribes soon capitulated as well. In 1877 the Nez Perce led the U.S. Army on a dramatic 1,700-mile chase in a largely unsuccessful effort to escape to Canada. The Bannock, Shoshone, and Paiute in the Northwest rose up briefly in 1878–1879, only to be crushed by the army and ushered back to their reservations. Likewise, the Ute in Colorado staged a brief rebellion in 1879. The last Native Americans to be subjected to the force of military campaigns were the Apache in the mountains of New Mexico and Arizona. There, a small band led by Geronimo, successfully defied the army's attempts to contain them on reservations until the Apache, too, surrendered in 1886. In order to prevent any further problems, the government shipped Geronimo and 500 Apache to Florida to be imprisoned.

Efforts at Incorporation

With the conclusion of organized resistance, and the gradual reduction of the size of reservations, the government attempted to incorporate the natives into the American system. The goal was to eventually eliminate the need for reservations completely and convert the natives into "productive" citizens. The assimilation policy revolved around two basic tenets. First, tribal unity had to be destroyed to teach the Native Americans individuality. This would be accomplished by taking them away from tribally owned reservations and giving them individual allotments of land to live upon. Second, children would be educated in specially created Indian boarding schools. They would be taught American culture away from the influence of their parents and the tribal mentality.

The passage of allotment legislation was hindered by reformers who feared that Native Americans did not sufficiently grasp the concept of private property. Reservations were community property, and few Indians understood how land could be "owned." To as-

sign them allotments, argued many reformers, would simply result in them selling these parcels of land off to the first white person who offered them money, resulting in a population of destitute, homeless natives. The problem was nuanced with the passage of the Dawes Act in 1887. According to the act, Indians would be allotted 160-acre plots, which would be held in trust by the government for twenty-five years, thus preventing them from selling it off. Once the reservation lands had been allocated to individuals, the "surplus" lands would be sold to white settlers.

The Dawes Act was an unqualified failure. It resulted in the loss of approximately 70 percent of tribal lands. The Native Americans, most of whom saw farming as degrading "women's work," refused to become the farmers that reformers expected. Instead of making them more independent, the Dawes Act actually increased their reliance on the American government for sustenance and support.

Education of the native children resulted in similar disappointment. The concept of educating the native peoples was not a new idea. Almost every Indian policy had included provisions for education, but they had all failed to yield the desired results. The latest idea was to remove the native children from the influence of their parents and tribal culture and place them in Indian boarding schools miles away from their families. In these more remote schools, it was reasoned, the children could be immersed in American culture and would be more susceptible to conversion. The first boarding school, the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, was opened in 1879; additional schools soon followed. The schools were set up in military fashion, with students wearing uniforms and held to a strict regimen, and emphasized learning English as the first step toward "civilization" (those caught speaking a tribal language were often subject to severe discipline). They also taught subjects like reading, writing, and arithmetic, but focused more on pragmatic skills that they thought would help students successfully blend into American society. Therefore, female students learned domestic skills, while male students were introduced to farming and industrial pursuits.

The success of the boarding schools is arguable, although school attendance increased fourfold between 1877 and 1890 (attendance was compulsory). The schools did have some success in destroying the Native American identity of many students, but at the same time that success caused resentment toward the white American culture that had destroyed this identity. Many of the graduates also found themselves outcasts when they returned home, seen almost as traitors by their families and friends.

Massacre at Wounded Knee

The final blow to the Native Americans came at Wounded Knee in 1890. In the 1880s, a Paiute mystic named Wovoka emerged as an "Indian messiah." Wovoka preached that the Indians should give up their warlike ways and that if they performed a ceremonial dance known as the Ghost Dance, God would reward them by returning the buffalo and allowing their people, both living and dead, to (re)inherit the earth. Wovoka's influence spread rapidly across the west as Native Americans who lived degraded lives on reservations grasped at the glimmer of hope offered by his teachings.

The Sioux sent a delegation to interview Wovoka and learn more of his teachings. The delegates returned to the Sioux reservation with a more militant version of the Ghost Dance, which spread quickly among the reservation's population. Sitting Bull became one of the religion's staunchest advocates. As the natives became more and more frenzied with their performance of the dance, Indian agents became alarmed and called upon the army to end the dance. The army decided that the most effective way to disrupt the performances would be to arrest the leaders, especially Sitting Bull. Realizing that soldiers would not be allowed to take Sitting Bull without violence, the army sent in Indian police to arrest him. Sitting Bull's followers realized the intent of the native police force and moved to protect their revered leader. In the scuffle that ensued, Sitting Bull was killed. In the hope of escaping the army, many native people, under the leadership of Big Foot, attempted to join Red Cloud on his reserve and fled the reservation. Custer's old unit, the since re-formed Seventh Cavalry, was sent to return these Native Americans to the reservation. The cavalry caught up with the natives at the small village of Wounded Knee and surrounded them on December 28, 1890. The next morning, as the army was disarming the natives, one of their guns discharged and the army opened fire. When the smoke cleared, over 200 Sioux men, women, and children lay dead. Apparently in retaliation for Custer's defeat, and in a repeat of the shameful acts at Sand Creek, the bodies were again horribly mutilated.

The Wounded Knee Massacre brought a final and decisive end to armed native conflict. There would be no more uprisings, but the issue of how to handle the Native American population still remained. Attempts to concentrate the native peoples on reservations had

failed when both natives and whites violated the boundaries set up in treaties. Attempts to Americanize the natives through individual plots of land and educating them to the American way also ended in failure. Wounded Knee only re-emphasized the need for a new policy to deal with Native Americans and showed clearly the failure of previous policies to have the desired effect. A new wave of legislation would be introduced at the turn of the century, and several new policies would be attempted to bring the American Indian into the American melting pot, but most would have no more success than those of the previous 100 years.

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Identity and Literature

The use of literature to explore identity issues is not unique to the indigenous culture of North America. Some of America's most renowned works, for example, J.D. Salinger's *Catcher in the Rye* (1951), deal with the subject superbly. Yet, long before Salinger, native people used literature to explore identity issues and to present themselves and their culture to the broader, dominant society. Early works by native authors were often autobiographical religious tracts like those of George Copway and Peter Jones, missionaries who used their English-language skills and indigenous identity to spread Christianity among native people. Others, like Simon Pokagon and Andrew Blackbird, used their literary skills to tell the stories of their lives and their tribes, often with the intent to bring to light the many problems faced by native people struggling against the encroachments of "civilization."

These early authors (and many, many others) faced the issue of indigenous identity directly by working in the genre of autobiography. Others, like D'Arcy McNickle in *The Surrounded* (1936), turned away from autobiography to tell the story of native people struggling to maintain their identity through a more fictional and tribal approach. Often, these early fictional accounts of native people on the cusp between traditional life and "civilization" met with wide success and brought a large measure of respectability to the emerging field of Native American literature.

The rise of the civil rights movement in this country, coupled with the emergence of "Red Power," led many authors to write stories that confronted the issue of Native American identity as less of a tribal issue—like *The Surrounded,* for instance—and created unique characters whose identity crisis could be confronted head-on through personal and probing literature. One of the most stunning of these works is *Winter in the Blood* (1974), by the Blackfeet/Gros Ventre author James Welch. In this dark novel, the main character is not even given a name; instead, he is a young man very troubled about his identity who spends much of the book searching for his roots and his place in modern society (when he's not drinking or off on some seemingly self-destructive adventure). Of course, by the end of the book, Welch has the protagonist finding his home—both physically and spiritually—back on the reservation of his birth.

Another dark and troubling story of the search for identity can be found in Oscar Zeta Acosta's *The Autobiography of a Brown Buffalo* (1972). Although Acosta returns to the autobiographical style utilized by earlier indigenous authors, his is not a story of "my life as an Indian." Instead, Acosta painfully explores American discrimination and alienation by delving deep into his Chicano roots, eventually finding himself broke and broken in Mexico, where he finally escapes from his tormented life to discover his place in North America as an indigenous person (hence the *Buffalo* reference in the title). In the end, he returns to his native California and embarks on a public life of activism for Chicano/Native American causes. Oscar Acosta, ironically true to the tumultuous, troubled life he led, disappeared around 1974 and is presumed dead.

Many other writers have focused on the cultural confusion that confronts many people of mixed blood and is manifested in identity crises typified by that of Oscar Zeta Acosta. In the Ojibway author Louise Erdrich's widely acclaimed novel, *Tracks* (1989), the character Pauline is tortured by her mixed-blood status; she is not truly comfortable or accepted in either the white or the native world. For the teenage Pauline, the ambiguity is too much to bear, and she rejects her identity as an American Indian, converts to Christianity, and eventually claims that Christ has declared her to be "pure white," like her grandfather. Contrasted to Pauline in the novel is an elder of Pauline's tribe, Nanapush, who is anything but confused about his heritage. Instead of doubt and rejection, Nanapush sees his mission in life as the teacher and exemplar of

native identity not only for his fellow tribal members, but for those in the surrounding (and encroaching) white community. For Louise Erdrich (herself a mixed-blood), the novel *Tracks* is a masterful and imaginative exploration of what it means to be Native American in a world that demeans such traditional ways as superstition and seeks to impose a modernity upon a people who are—up to that point of culture conflict—comfortable knowing who they are.

Another brilliant exploration of native identity in modern fiction can be found in Laguna Pueblo author Leslie Marmon Silko's *Ceremony* (1977). Here the main character, Tayo, is another very confused and troubled mixed-blood who is rejected by both cultures. After failing to protect his full-blood cousin in World War II, and abandoning his uncle (who dies while he is gone) to go off and fight in the "whiteman's war," Tayo returns to his Southwestern reservation, which is in the midst of a drought. Suffering from post-traumatic stress syndrome and his personal guilt over the effects of the drought (he cursed the rain while in the South Pacific during the war), Tayo embarks upon a ceremonial process to restore his mental health, end the drought, and find his uncle's lost, half-breed cattle. Along this ceremonial path, he comes to accept that his "cure" lies in a warm embrace of his indigenous culture, always just outside of his reach owing to the fact that his rejection by the community was always a corollary to the pride and hope that was lavished on his full-blood cousin with whom he was raised as a brother. In the end, Tayo finds the mixed-blood cattle—who were returning to their southern, Mexican "roots"—and by doing so, completes the healing ceremony as it was laid out by a mixed-blood "medicine man." Aside from the obvious comparison between the lost cattle and Tayo's struggle for identity, Silko also uses the identity of Tayo's cousin/brother, Rocky, to explore the difficulties inherent in rejecting one's cultural heritage. Here she has Rocky as a full-blood who is hell-bent on rejecting his Native American heritage and making a "success" of himself in the dominant, non-native society. Yet he is senselessly killed fighting in "their" war, while his half-blood cousin/brother—in tune with his indigenous roots—survives. Profound ironies abound.

A distinctly different portrayal of a native protagonist is found in Pueblo/Yaqui writer Martin Cruz Smith's *Stallion Gate* (1986). In this novel of the building of the atomic bomb, Smith creates a "Super Indian" character named Joe Peña. Joe Peña, the driver for General Groves of the Manhattan Project, is as far from the unnamed James Welch character or Silko's Tayo as you can get—an accomplished jazz pianist, a combative and anti-authority GI, a champion boxer, a confidant (and adviser) to those building the atomic bomb, a spy-chaser, a womanizer, an important Indian dancer, an expert marksman, and general all-around Super Everyman. In this novel, Smith uses the accomplishments of Joe Peña to undermine and dispel the stereotypes of the lost, identity-less, and searching character so common in many of the books that explore Native American identity.

A great number of other important indigenous writers explore the theme of identity in their works—such as Charles Eastman (*Indian Boyhood*, 1902), Mourning Dove (Hum-ishu-ma) (*Cogewea, the Half-blood: A Depiction of the Great Montana Cattle Range,* 1981), Sarah Winnemucca (*Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims,* 1883), and the Pulitzer Prize–winning N. Scott Momaday, who won the prize for his novel *House Made of Dawn* (1968) in 1969. Native writers also produce and publish a tremendous amount of poetry based on the theme of identity—poets like E. Pauline Johnson, Joy Harjo, Paula Gunn Allen, Duane Niatum, and Gerald Vizenor have all used their poetic skills to explore what it means to be indigenous in a predominantly non-native world. It should also be noted that the world of "identity politics" is not restricted to the writings of novelists and poets. Contemporary North American playwrights like Drew Taylor, screenplay writers like Sherman Alexie, film directors like Chris Eyre, comedians like Charlie Hill, songwriters and musicians like Robbie Roberson, and rap-artists like Lightfoot all bring identity issues to their work and all serve the broader movement toward cultural survival and self-determination that is at the heart of what it means to be a Native American in today's world.

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6

Rural, Social, and Political Movements

Introduction

For most of its history, America has been mostly a rural society. Indeed, from the early seventeenth century to the early twentieth century, the majority of Americans lived and worked in the countryside. Many of the nation's most significant rural social movements developed in these years. The essays in this section tell the stories of fifteen such social movements from the late colonial era to the late twentieth century and from the completely local to those nationwide in scope. The following writings, though not a definitive accounting of America's rural social movements, include the most important ones. All bear on fundamental themes of political and economic power, class and race, and, at least in one case, gender roles in the countryside.

Readers may note a common thread in the essays explaining rural political and economic protest movements. With only a handful of notable exceptions, America's rural common people usually lost their battles. Their experience, then, is at odds with the dominant American national myth of triumph through virtue. Their setbacks made them in a sense—as historian C. Vann Woodward observed of Southerners in particular—"un-American." Rural Americans shared something important in common with the rest of the world: firsthand knowledge of defeat. Yet, these movements are not essentially about defeat but about struggle. Rural people, like others elsewhere, struggled throughout their history for the sometimes contradictory goals of autonomy, security, and comfort.

These struggles began early in the American experience. In the late colonial era, a series of rural protests in western Massachusetts and in the Appalachian and Southern backcountry united country people in "Regulator" uprisings, Shays' Rebellion, and the Whiskey Rebellion. In each case, these social movements resorted to violence to achieve their goals in much the same manner as those in the East which had just resulted in the winning of independence from the British Empire. Yet, contesting elites defeated these resistance movements in part because of their reliance on violence. Violence as well as other forms of political struggle accompanied the New York State Anti-Rent movement of the 1820s and 1830s, which fought the hereditary land barons of the Hudson River Valley whose claims to tenant farmers' land dated from the seventeenth century. From the same era, various antebellum American communities explored perfectionist social models from the 1820s through the 1850s. Far from using violence, most of these utopian movements sought ordered perfectionism through experimental cooperative social structures.

The decades following the Civil War saw a dramatic increase in rural social movements. Freedmen from the South fled from oppression to opportunity in the 1870s, and a host of protest movements flowered among disgruntled small farmers in the Midwest, South, and Great Plains. In the 1860s, a century of cooperation, protest, and education began with the formation of the Patrons of Husbandry, known as the Grange. While the cataclysm of Civil War permanently dampened utopian dreams, its outcome created some uncertain opportunities for formerly enslaved African Americans. Hopeful "Exodusters" fled white supremacy in the South to Great Plains settlements during the 1870s and 1880s with varying outcomes. Another social movement took political form in the 1870s and 1880s with the Greenbacker Party seeking to forge links between rural and urban labor militancy. In the 1870s, rural Texans founded an organization that became the Farmers' Alliance whose branches would reach throughout the South, the West, and Midwest during the 1880s. On its deathbed, the Farmers' Alliance combined with the Knights of Labor to create the most significant rural protest movement in American history with the formation of the People's Party (Populists). The Populists of the 1890s represent the highwater mark of rural social movements in the United States in total numbers for good

reason. The conditions against which they protested would inexorably empty out the people of the countryside into the working class of the great twentieth-century American cities. Yet, in spite of diminishing numbers, the most discontented of those remaining on the land would seek to voice their point of view in a number of militant twentieth-century rural social movements.

The twentieth century saw the virtual elimination of the rural "plain folk" as an economic class, with the most painful adjustments occurring in the first forty years of the century. These economic changes provoked a variety of responses among rural people, but most endured the transformation in social silence. Some, perhaps, even rejoiced at its demise. A vocal minority, however, expressed disagreement with the trends of the nationwide marketplace. Discontented farmers produced a brief, but radical, critique of the new economic order in the agrarian Socialist movement of the Southwest. While World War I-era repression killed off the Socialist movement, remnants survived and briefly flourished on the northern plains and upper Midwest in the rural Nonpartisan League of the Dakotas and Minnesota. The coming of the Great Depression created misery in the American South, where profoundly impoverished black and white sharecroppers fought their landlords, the Depression, and unintended consequences of the New Deal through the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union. And in the midst of such generally hard times for rural people, American farmwomen struggled to provide for their families with the aid of the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Home Demonstration movement.

World War II diverted even more rural people into the new jobs of the cities, especially in the South, but rural social movements continued among the remaining rural population. In some cases, such movements grew from early twentieth-century roots but persisted into the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. A uniquely Minnesotan rural social movement arose in the Farmer-Labor Party. Unlike many other rural movements, this expression of rural-urban working-class solidarity experienced significant long-term success, eventually becoming the majority political party throughout much of the twentieth century. Perhaps the longest-lived rural social movement in U.S. history is that of West Coast farm workers whose movement stretches from the late nineteenth century into the twenty-first century, from the first struggles for improved treatment to the gains and losses of the United Farm Workers. By the late twentieth century, rural Americans were few in number. Yet, enough remained—and remained discontented—to produce the late-twentieth-century phenomenon of rural protest by otherwise conservative farm owners known as the American Agricultural Movement from 1979 to the present.

The essays in this section suggest the complexity and richness of America's rural past—where disparate movements have struggled to define, control, reshape, or maintain various groups' places in that countryside since the late colonial era.

Kyle Wilkison

Regulator Movements and Other Rebellions 1760s–1790s

Agrarian protest movements were a regular feature of late colonial and early republican politics, taking place in every colony or state during the last half of the eighteenth century. These protests were driven by complex and sometimes overlapping issues, such as disputed land titles, burdensome debt and taxation, and ineffective or corrupt government. They had a class dimension, often pitting poor and middling family farmers against wealthy merchants and land speculators. They also had a sectional or geographic element, with residents of the backcountry (the rural, developing, recently settled region in the western parts of the colonies/states) challenging a coastal establishment that monopolized political and economic power. Although protesters typically used legal channels to state their grievances, they did not hesitate to resort to violence, including broadly organized armed insurrection, to achieve their ends. Yet the "radicalism" of these agrarian movements is ambiguous. In one sense they were cut from the same fabric as the American Revolution, appropriating its language and seeking to extend its benefits more broadly. In another sense, they hearken back to the traditional crowd rituals of early modern Europe, seeking to change local conditions but not challenging the social and political system more broadly.

North Carolina Regulators

Among the earliest agrarian protest movements was the North Carolina Regulation, which had its origins in part in the land wars of the mid-1760s. During the preceding decades, Henry McCulloh, an English merchant and Crown favorite, had amassed some 1.2 million acres of land in North Carolina, much of it in the piedmont or backcountry. By the time McCulloh sorted out his surveys after the Seven Years' War, hundreds of small farmers had migrated into the piedmont and established themselves on his claims, some with legal title, others with surveys only, and still others claiming squatters' rights. McCulloh pressed his claims all the same, sparking violent opposition from farmers who resented the efforts of an absentee speculator to control land they had improved. Angry farmers in Anson County seized and beat McCulloh's agents, but in the end his claims prevailed, forcing farmers to purchase lands they still believed they owned. Resentment from these land wars would fuel the much broader and more explosive Regulator movement later in the decade.

This second phase of the movement was driven by class antagonism, ineffective government, and political corruption. By the late 1760s, backcountry farmers were complaining to Governor William Tryon about a whole host of abuses: local officials were corrupt, they claimed, charging extortionate fees for services, seizing farms and jailing farmers for delinquent taxes and debt, and monopolizing local political control through multiple officeholding. Taxation was also an issue: provincial taxes were especially burdensome for people who lived in a cash-poor region, whose economy was based primarily on barter, who saw little in the way of government services, and who were underrepresented in the colonial assembly. Led primarily by Herman Husband, a prosperous yeoman farmer and passionate evangelical who fused country politics with millennarian thinking, backcountry farmers organized as the Regulators. At its height, the Regulation numbered around 6,000 members, approximately three-fourths of the backcountry's adult white male population. Between 1766 and 1771, Regulators repeatedly petitioned provincial leaders, openly refused to pay taxes, destroyed property, disrupted government, and even took up arms against the colonial militia. In September 1770, an angry mob assaulted local officials and judges at the Orange County courthouse in Hillsborough, destroyed the home of one particularly detested official, and staged a mock court. In the wake of the Hillsborough riot, Husband was

arrested, acquitted, and released, but Tryon, determined to put an end to the insurgency, marched into the backcountry with 1,200 provincial militia and arrest warrants for key Regulation leaders. On May 16, 1771, Tryon's forces engaged a poorly armed and undisciplined Regulator army at Alamance Creek. Within three hours his forces had routed the Regulators; thirty were killed, 200 wounded, twelve were tried, and seven were later executed. The remaining Regulators were pardoned. Herman Husband escaped to Pennsylvania, where he would later play a minor role in the Whiskey Rebellion. Tryon's heavy-handed approach ended the insurgency but did not address its causes; unresolved Regulator grievances would surface again in the coming years, fueling Revolutionary sentiment in the North Carolina backcountry.

South Carolina Regulators

Whereas local political corruption drove agrarian protest in North Carolina, the absence of local political control fueled conflict in the South Carolina backcountry. This conflict had its origins in South Carolina's unique demographic makeup. After 1710, coastal rice planters comprised a shrinking white minority surrounded by hostile slaves at home and potentially hostile Indians in the interior. Seeking to create a human buffer zone on the frontier and increase the colony's white population, after 1730 provincial authorities in Charleston sponsored a settlement scheme that brought thousands of white farmers into central and upper South Carolina. By the mid-1760s, the majority of South Carolina's white population was concentrated in the interior, but both political power and the center of provincial government remained in Charleston, some 200 miles from some of the most densely populated backcountry communities. In the absence of local courts, upcountry settlers could not convey property, prosecute debts, or resolve boundary disputes without traveling to Charleston. Law enforcement was weak; warrants were issued from Charleston, and suspected criminals were transferred to lowcountry precincts to await trial.

This institutional vacuum became acute in the wake of the Seven Years' War, when a crisis of law and order erupted in the upcountry. Settlers reported that gangs of bandits were roaming the countryside, stealing livestock, kidnapping women, harboring slaves, and beating, torturing, and robbing settlers. Among these outlaws were veterans of the recent Cherokee War, farmers who had been bankrupted by drought and crop failure, and career criminals capitalizing on the region's weak law enforcement. In addition to these outlaws, backcountry settlers complained of hunters who subsisted through foraging and killing game and whose way of life went against the emerging social order centered on family farms; the settlers demanded vagrancy laws to control the hunting population. When the General Assembly was slow to act on these grievances, upcountry farmers took matters into their own hands. In 1767, they organized as the Regulators. Led by storekeepers, militia captains, and prosperous planters like Moses Kirkland and Patrick Calhoun, the Regulators whipped, banished, and arrested suspected bandits and forced hunters to work on farms. For the most part, provincial authorities in the lowcountry were sympathetic with Regulator goals and methods. However, in July 1768, a lowcountry militia unit clashed with Regulators at Marrs Bluff when a constable tried to arrest Regulator leader Gideon Gibson. In the pitched battle that ensued, Regulators wounded a number of lowcountry militiamen and whipped several others. Although such conflict raised tensions between coastal and upcountry authorities, it also prodded the General Assembly to move swiftly. That year the Assembly extended political representation into the upcountry, and in 1769 it passed the Circuit Court Act, which established district courts and sheriffs in the interior. Thus, whereas the North Carolina Regulator affair only deepened sectional tensions, in South Carolina the grievances of backcountry settlers were amicably resolved and served to build solidarity between the regions.

Shays' Rebellion—Massachusetts Regulators

A different kind of agrarian uprising took place in Massachusetts in the wake of the Revolutionary War. As in the Carolinas, rural Massachusetts was populated by independent family farmers. These yeomen relied largely on family labor to work their small freehold farms, exchanged their meager surpluses with neighbors and storekeepers for goods and services, and participated in a rich communal life based on interdependency and neighborliness. By contrast, in the urban trading centers along the coast, wealthy merchants dominated a commercial money economy centered on profits and long-distance trade. An elaborate credit network extended from these coastal merchants to inland storekeepers and increasingly to small farmers.

Two developments occurred after the war to pro-

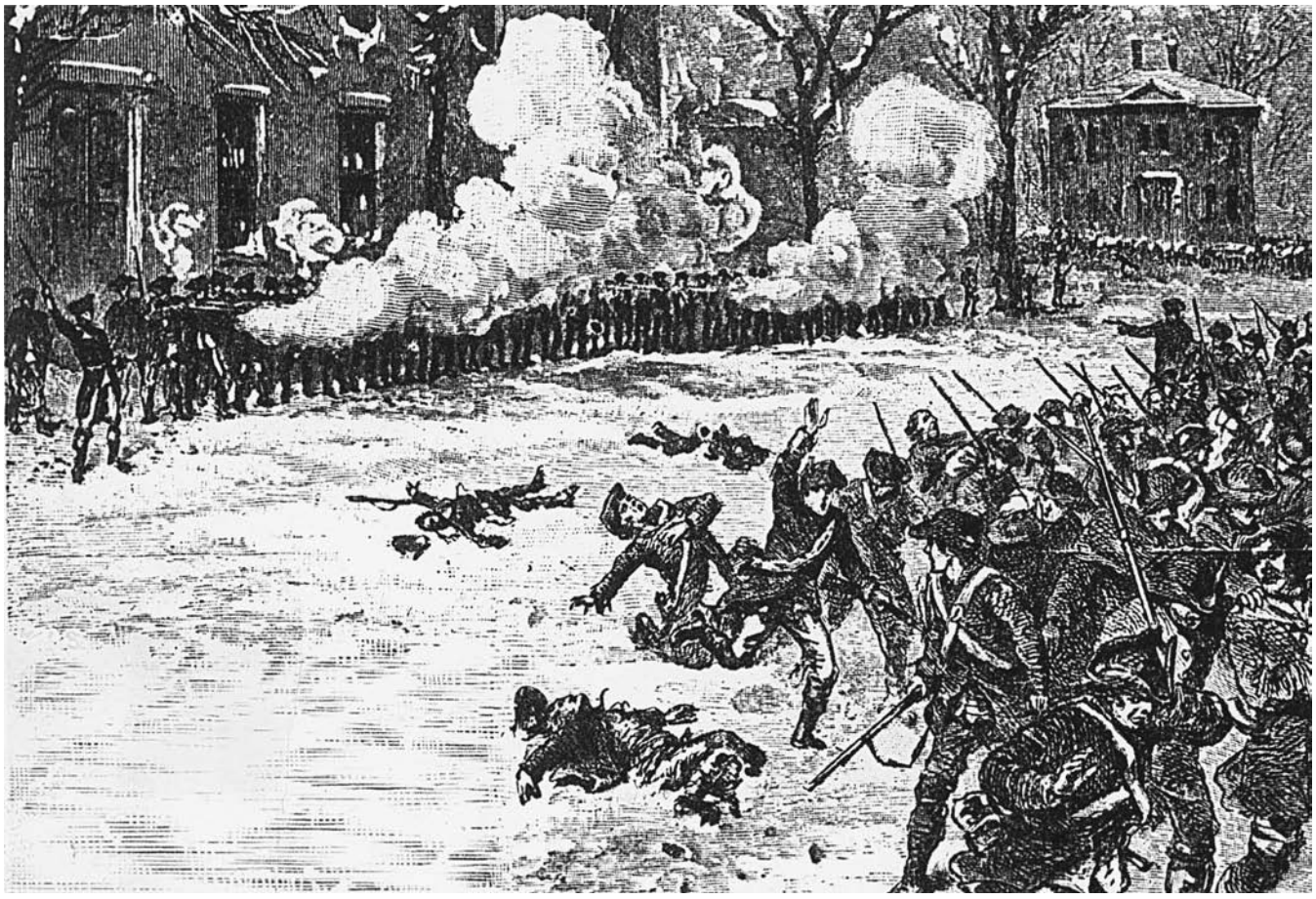
duce an economic crisis and fuel sectional conflict in Massachusetts. First, American merchants reestablished trade with the British. Encumbered with massive inventories, British merchants were only too willing to accommodate American demands for English goods, offering easy credit and reasonable prices. At the same time, however, the British shut American merchants out of the West Indian trade, leaving them with few markets for their exports and little cash to pay for British goods. The resulting trade deficit siphoned off the supply of hard money in the United States, creating an economic depression. When British merchants called in their loans, a debt crisis ensued. Coastal merchants sued country storekeepers, who in turn sued and jailed farmers for debts. (The idea was to force friends and family to pay these debts in order to free the head of household from jail.) Second, the state's need to retire the huge war debt led to increased property taxes. These taxes were especially burdensome to inland farmers, who were accustomed to paying in goods and services and had little hard money, especially as the postwar depression deepened. Thus, while creditors were jailing farmers for unpaid debts, state officials were seizing and selling their farms to recover delinquent taxes.

Inland farmers initially responded to this crisis by organizing county conventions and petitioning for relief and reform through legal channels. Between 1784 and 1787, they pleaded with the state to print paper currency, enact tender laws that permitted in-kind payment of debts, and replace the Court of Common Pleas with elected committees of arbitration to mediate tax and debt delinquency suits. They also called for more equitable taxation through reductions in property taxes and increases in poll taxes. However, the state sided with the mercantile interests and rejected these petitions. Wild rumors circulated about the insurgent farmers—that they were backed by the British, that they were levelers seeking to engender equality, that they were bent on destroying commerce—leaving little room for conciliation between the two parties. In late 1786, farmers organized as the Regulators, forcefully closing several inland courts and freeing jailed debtors. In January 1787, the movement turned more violent when some 1,200 men, led by Daniel Shays, a captain in the Revolution, advanced on the federal arsenal at Springfield. The governor mustered a force of 4,400 coastal militia to meet the "Shaysites" and routed them with little difficulty. Thereafter, the Shays' rebels resorted to guerrilla tactics, leading raids on merchants, lawyers, and storekeepers through the summer of 1787. Violence ceased soon thereafter, when an economic upswing put an end to the depression and brought peace to the countryside. Moreover, the new state legislature proved more sympathetic to Regulator demands, lowering government fees, passing tender laws, and providing tax relief. Similar debt insurgencies took place throughout New England as well as in Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, and Pennsylvania. This agrarian unrest fueled support for the new federal constitution, with its powerful chief executive and its standing federal army.

The Whiskey Rebellion

The new federal government would soon get its first opportunity to test its strength against agrarian protesters in western Pennsylvania. This movement, too, was rooted in the postwar economic crisis. As part of his vision for a strong national economy, Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the Treasury under George Washington, proposed to secure the nation's credit by retiring the national debt and assuming the remaining war debts of the states. Hamilton's plan had several controversial elements. First, it benefited New England states disproportionately because, unlike most Southern and Mid-Atlantic states, they were still mired in debt. (Hamilton won Southern support for his plan by agreeing to relocate the national capital to Virginia.) Second, it benefited wealthy speculators who had purchased bonds from poor, cash-starved veterans at a fraction of their value but who now stood to receive the full face value of these bonds from the federal government. (Hamilton made no apologies for seeking to win the support and trust of the wealthy.) Third, Hamilton proposed to raise the revenue for retiring the debt from a new excise tax on distilled spirits. This whiskey tax gave a break to large producers—the more they produced, the lower the tax per gallon—and hurt small, home-based distillers the most. Despite these controversial measures, Congress enacted Hamilton's credit program in 1791.

The whiskey tax was especially hard on small backcountry farmers who depended on whiskey sales for their livelihood. Corn was too bulky and cheap to ship profitably to coastal markets, but corn liquor could be traded to distant markets for profits or among neighbors as a key commodity in the local barter economy. In the eyes of poor Western distillers and farmers, the excise tax took a big bite out of their already meager incomes; it was imposed by a federal government that did not represent the interests of common people and from which much of the Western



The Massachusetts militia rebuffs an attack by Daniel Shays and his agrarian rebels at the federal arsenal in Springfield in January 1787. Although Shays' Rebellion failed militarily, it induced the state legislature to enact laws providing relief to farmers and galvanized support for a new federal constitution. *(Brown Brothers)*

region was already alienated; and the revenues it produced went to service the debts of other states or line the pockets of rich bond speculators. To further fuel class tensions, large landowners and absentee land speculators frequently served as excise tax collectors. From Georgia to Pennsylvania, agrarian protesters resisted the excise tax through petitions, nonpayment, and violence. Resistance culminated in western Pennsylvania in 1794, when protesters tarred and feathered tax collectors, closed county courts, burned the home of one exciseman, and marched on Pittsburgh, vowing to destroy the town and kill its leading citizens. In September, President George Washington declared western Pennsylvania in rebellion and ordered 12,950 militiamen—a larger force than he had commanded during the Revolution—to occupy the region, put down the rebellion, and arrest the leading insurgents. Although clearly an exaggerated response to an exaggerated problem, Washington's show of force was effective: the protesters dispersed, twenty were arrested, and two were convicted of treason and later pardoned by the president. For the agrarian rebels, the lesson of the Whiskey Rebellion was all too clear: the federal government had proved itself fully capable of dealing with local resistance. On the other hand, Hamilton's whiskey tax was never adequately enforced, even after the rebellion was put down, and the insurgents had shown that the tradition of agrarian protest and the Revolution's spirit of political dissent was still alive and well.

Liberty Men

Many agrarian protest movements turned on issues of land ownership that pitted small freeholders against wealthy, often-absentee speculators or proprietors. Such was the case in post-Revolutionary Maine,

Pennsylvania farmers opposed to the whiskey tax carry a tax collector they have tarred and feathered. Although Americans had long protested higher taxes and economic injustices, the Whiskey Rebellion of 1794 proved the first major insurrection under the new U.S. government. President George Washington sent nearly 13,000 troops to suppress the uprising. *(Brown Brothers)*

where thousands of poor farmers clashed with distant but powerful proprietors (landlords) in the 1790s and early 1800s. A series of proprietary grants for large tracts in Maine had been issued under Charles I in 1632, and they were extremely problematic: there were no precise surveys, claims overlapped, and the proprietors' tendency to contest titles deterred potential buyers and settlers. This changed during the Revolutionary War. Under the assumption that Massachusetts would confiscate the proprietary lands (most proprietors were also Loyalists) and redistribute them to common people, tens of thousands of settlers poured into Maine from southern New England and established themselves on the proprietors' claims. These immigrants were among the poorest of New England's poor; their lives turned upside down by the war, they were desperate for land. Massachusetts did not confiscate these lands, however, and after the war the proprietors regrouped. Recruiting powerful allies like Henry Knox and Josiah Little, both of whom were American military leaders with extensive political connections, the proprietors redrew their boundaries precisely and reasserted their claims to the Maine lands, aiming to lease, sell, or eject the "squatters" from their lands. The region's growing population and its improved farmsteads now promised lucrative returns for the absentee proprietors, who wielded nearly absolute political power in the assembly as well as in the courts.

Much of the subsequent contest between proprietors and farmers turned on the meaning of land ownership. The proprietors' claims rested on legal title that was conferred by a sovereign, regardless of actual physical possession. For their part, farmers argued that legitimate ownership was conferred through their use of the land: it was rightfully theirs because they took only what they needed to support their households and more importantly because they possessed and improved it with their labor. Moreover, they viewed land ownership as essential to a democratic society; only as freeholders could they maintain their autonomy and avoid the slavish dependency of tenancy. Speculators and absentee landlords were in their view parasites profiting from the labor of the common people. Settlers petitioned the state, but they could not match the costly, high-pressure legal tactics used by the proprietors. Instead, they quickly turned to extralegal solutions aimed at intimidating local supporters of the proprietors and terrorizing the proprietors' agents. Disguised as Indians, agrarian insurgents beat and mutilated surveyors, destroyed property of the proprietors' local allies, and vowed to kill anyone who tried to evict farmers or who harbored proprietary agents. Dubbed White Indians by their enemies, agrarian protesters were seen as half-savage, the enemies of civilization and social order. Deeming themselves Liberty Men, militant farmers claimed

the heritage of the Revolution and its promise of liberty and local autonomy. The ongoing struggle between proprietors and Liberty Men was not resolved until the Jeffersonian Republicans defeated the Federalists in 1800–1801 and achieved a compromise on the question of land ownership: labor would not confer title, but neither could landlords extort the improvements of settlers. The proprietors were forced to offer a just price. Nonetheless, agrarian conflict would continue in parts of Maine for more than a decade after the Jeffersonian revolution.

The Context of Agrarian Conflict

Geography interwove with class and cultural differences to create a complex context for agrarian conflict in the late colonial and early national periods. The backcountry was by definition a developing region. Western communities often lacked access to navigable rivers and were forced to ship their goods over poor roads, limiting their access to commercial markets. Farmers were preoccupied with clearing land and providing for the basic survival needs of their families; they exchanged their surpluses locally, but commercial markets took time to develop. Most immigrants were poor, many were desperate, and nearly all were poorly educated. Few owned slaves or servants, depending on family labor and, during peak periods, on the shared labor of neighbors. Not until the second or third generations would these backcountry households achieve a comfortable subsistence or "competence." Even the wealthiest and most ambitious planters and merchants were modest by Eastern standards. Socially and economically, Westerners stood in stark contrast to the established communities to the East, with their rich commercial markets and extremes of wealth and poverty. Furthermore, backcountry communities were far from the centers of power; they were politically alienated, with little or no voice in the decisions that affected their lives. The peculiar economic, social, and political geography of eighteenth-century America provides the context through which agrarian conflict must be understood.

But there was also an important cultural gap between East and West. Religious differences played a role in agrarian conflict. Most North Carolina Regulators belonged to dissenting churches and resented paying taxes to support a distant and, to them, anti-Christian Anglican establishment. In Maine, the insurgent evangelicalism of the Liberty Men glorified the poor and produced charismatic leaders who fused religion and politics, making the land war into a holy war. Cultural differences also surfaced around economic issues. Backcountry communities used a borrowing system based on personal, face-to-face exchanges of goods and labor, not the impersonal money economy based on cash transactions that prevailed along the seaboard. Although grounded in strong notions of private property and economic autonomy, these communities survived because of neighborliness and interdependence. In South Carolina, the absence of local courts made for a low level of litigiousness in the upcountry and forced residents to turn to informal ways of resolving disputes, through their churches or among neighbors. In fact, agrarian protesters frequently targeted the courts, viewing them as the tools of wealthy creditors, distant speculators, and powerful taxmen, not as dispensers of justice. In Maine, Liberty Men fashioned a theory of use-value to justify their property claims, while the proprietors relied on notions of legal right and saw land purely as a commodity or source of profit, not as the source of livelihood and autonomy. These cultural differences deepened the conflict between East and West by making it about basic values, assumptions, and social relationships, not simply about resources.

How Radical Were Agrarian Protesters?

Eighteenth-century agrarian protest movements were not radical in the sense that insurgents hoped to overturn or transform an unjust system. Instead, agrarian rebels typically sought to redress specific local grievances. They regarded the political and social system itself to be sound, but believed it had been betrayed by specific monied interests intent on enriching themselves at the expense of the common good. This was as true under the colonial "patronage" system, where the ruling class was expected to serve the interests of the whole and protect the common people from abuse, as it was under the new "republican" system, where virtuous and enlightened citizen-leaders protected democracy from any who sought to exploit or betray it. When such men failed to protect the interests of the whole, it fell to the people (the "mob," as they were known to the elite) to set things aright. In the absence of interest group or party politics—political parties were viewed as a threat to national unity before 1800—the only workable alternative for oppressed farmers was violence. They thus stood within a long tradition that regarded violence as a necessary and legitimate part of the political process (a senti-

ment echoed by Jefferson himself). After the Jeffersonian triumph of 1800–1801, it became increasingly clear that partisanship and interest-group politics would not destroy the republic. As agrarian protesters were absorbed into the Jeffersonian Republican fold, they abandoned violence as a political weapon. Consequently, agrarian protest movements declined with the emergence of party politics.

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Anti-Rent Movement 1830s–1860s

The Anti-Rent movement convulsed several counties in upstate New York in the period between 1839 and 1865, as tenants living on the estates of wealthy landlords, called "patroons," revolted against leases that were essentially feudal tenures. Through a combination of political activity, rent strikes, and violent action, the Anti-Renters built a movement that at its height threatened not only public order but also the status of land as a commodity to be traded in freely. Divisions in the Anti-Rent movement between those who thought of land as a natural right and those who simply sought to question particular land titles condemned the movement to instability, however, and this, combined with government opposition, led to the decline of the movement in the early 1850s.

Like the populist movement of the late nineteenth century, the Anti-Rent movement was primarily one of small farmers facing untenable economic change. The hill-country tenant farmers of Albany, Delaware, Rensselaer, and surrounding New York counties were united by a common ideology and experience. The tenant farmers were linked to the wealthy families whose manor houses dotted the valleys of upstate New York through a peculiar device called the "lease-in-fee." Through these contracts, most of which had been signed before the Revolutionary War, the land of the farms was conveyed as if outright, but the tenants were contractually obligated to pay a perpetual rent in the form of crops to the landlords. They also owed something approaching feudal service, in the form of an agreement to provide "four fat fowls" per year, along with one day's horse-and-cart hire and personal work for the patroon. Nor were they allowed to sell the farms they occupied, unless they remitted to the patroon families one-quarter of the purchase price. If the occupier of the land violated any of these stipulations, the patroon had the right to reoccupy the land.

The "lease-in-fee" was a legal structure that existed nowhere else in America, and did not even exist in monarchical Britain, where such feudal services had been abolished in the 1200s. Nonetheless, because ancestors of tenants or occupiers of the land had once freely contracted with the patroons, there seemed to be no legal way for the tenants to free themselves from the disagreeable and undemocratic elements of their contracts. The United States Constitution specifically prohibited even legislatures from interfering with the freedom of free individuals to create contracts.

Despite the disagreeable nature of the leasehold system, the tenants had created what historian Reeve Huston has called "independent, productive, patriarchal households . . . marked by rough economic equality, household autonomy, and widespread access to natural resources." They insisted on their version of property rights, having rebelled in the 1750s in support of the Lockean idea that he who actually lived on and cultivated the land should own it. They cooperated with their neighbors through exchanges of labor and produced much of what they needed through the labor of the female members of their families. Like English peasants, they exploited the local woods for fuel and building materials, and allowed their livestock to graze on the common lands of the patroon's estate. Access to the commons meant that poverty was either a life stage or perhaps due to bad luck, but it was not endemic. The rough equality of the hill-country households cohered well with Americans' ideas about economically independent citizens.

Precipitating Factors in Anti-Rentism

The relative contentment of the hill farmers changed with the death of Stephen Van Rensselaer III, one of the area's largest landlords. For several generations, the Van Rensselaer family, recognizing that during

THE ANTI-RENT MOVEMENT

Anti-Rent activism in upstate New York lasted from 1839 to 1865. Tenants living on the estates of landlords were granted property rights analogous to feudal estates. Tenants living on the land revolted, organizing rent strikes and mass action against their landlords, even calling for the end of land as a commodity to be traded freely. The following is an excerpt from "The 'Anti-Rent' Movement and Outbreak in New York," chronicling resistance by tenants against landlords.

Last winter the sheriff was resisted in Cattaraugus by an armed force, when attempting to execute a writ of possession. The writ was against a man who had taken a contract for his farm of 150 acres in 1821, nearly a quarter of a century before, when he had paid one dollar. He paid neither interest nor principal till 1837, when he was induced to take a new contract, and pay *fifty dollars*; and after that he utterly refused to pay any more. He had a most valuable farm, for which he was required to pay, principal and interest, at a rate rather below than above the value of new land. And this was regarded in that quarter, quite extensively, as a case calling for sympathy, if not for violence. The truth is, not that particular form of indebtedness for land which is called rent—it is indebtedness *for land* in any and every form—which makes the trouble. The agrarian spirit of the times is alive with a special hostility to this indebtedness. The claim is for land to every man without paying for it. Property in land, beyond what a man can personally occupy and cultivate, is especially denounced; and so is property, or debts, due for land. It is denounced as monopoly, it is branded as "feudal," and inconsistent, therefore with "the spirit of our institutions!"

We think it not unimportant to put to silence so far as truth can do it, the customary clamor in which many persons indulge about feudal tenures in the "Manor" of Rensselearwyck. Many, we doubt not, are deceived; but some, who use this "argument" most freely, must know better, or they ought to know better.

Source: "The 'Anti-Rent' Movement and Outbreak in New York." *The American Whig Review* 2:6 (December 1845): 587–598.

hard times it was impossible for tenant farmers to pay high rents, had been accepting whatever the tenants could pay and carrying the rest as arrears. This strategy could no longer be followed by the next generation, since Stephen Van Rensselaer IV also had creditors eager to collect mortgage payments. Social and economic changes taking place in the hill towns accelerated the accumulation of rent arrears. The transportation revolution that opened up canals and roads in the 1820s and 1830s enabled the easy transportation of grain from far Western lands to Eastern markets, putting New York tenant farmers with their exhausted soils at a competitive disadvantage. Tenants who did own land were passing regulations that barred the landless from access to the commons. This also made it difficult for marginal farmers to supplement their home production with products gleaned from nature.

In 1839 the tenant farmers appointed a committee to represent them to Stephen Van Rensselaer IV. These were no landless proletarians; the men who were chosen to speak were largely good burghers, 65 percent of whom were forty years of age or older. They were almost all farmers of some wealth, chosen to represent the area's ethnic diversity (English, Dutch, and German immigrants). They had political experience, through leadership positions in their churches, in town offices, or in county-level political parties. They called for their rent arrears to be forgiven, and they also hoped that they would be able to convert their rental contracts to mortgages. They were unwilling to grant the patroon families any compensation for the feudal services they would lose, although they did agree to mortgage values that represented the loss of the perpetual rents. Stephen Van Rensselaer refused their request, adding insult to injury by accusing them of attempting to renege on legal contracts.

On July 4, 1839, the aggrieved tenants crafted their reply—a manifesto in the form of the Declaration of Independence, which set forth their grievances and promised that the rent would not be paid. It was the first, rhetorical, shot fired in what came to be called the Helderberg War, after the Helderberg Mountains of the region. Men who had been deputized to serve warrants on behalf of the landlords were threatened with tar and feathers. Others had to perambulate from one tavern to another, buying drinks for the angry mob. On other occasions, people with sympathy for the landlords were held captive until they agreed to shout the motto of the Anti-Renters: "Down with the Rent!" The war finally abated when Governor William H. Seward threatened the rebels with violence and promised legislative action to consider their concerns.

Anti-Rent and Politics

When Governor Seward appointed the Manor Commission to consider the question of the leases-in-fee, the concerns of the Anti-Renters began to intersect with larger political changes taking place in the nation. The 1840s were a key moment for reformers; white men of little property now had the vote, and the political parties were in flux, so that reform groups could court either party, or both. Ideologically speaking, rank-and-file Anti-Renters had most in common with the Democrats, who argued against monopolies of all kinds. The Bank War of the mid-1830s had been predicated on just this type of opposition. But the tenants were not completely given over to the Democrats. Many of the landlords were Democrats. The landlords insisted on strict construction in interpreting the Constitution because the Contracts Clause prevented any legislative meddling with the power of free individuals freely to contract.

Furthermore, many Anti-Renters believed, along with the Whig party, that government intervention in the economy was necessary to promote social happiness. As the Anti-Rent war developed, the Whigs set forth a potent justification for opposing the feudal titles: that they interfered with a free market in land, the only thing that would ensure the proper economic development of upstate New York. The Manor Commission, populated largely by Whigs, endorsed the Anti-Renters' view of the contracts as oppressive and suggested that the government's power of eminent domain might be used in order to assume stewardship of the land. Unfortunately for the Anti-Renters, these ideas were not successfully translated into action.

Anti-Rent as a Popular Movement

In 1843, William Van Rensselaer, one of Stephen Van Rensselaer's heirs, began to sue his tenants for back rents. The tenants fought the lawsuits with lawsuits of their own. They investigated the patroons' titles and found many areas of weakness in them, including the absence of certain boundaries and the failure of the grantors to fulfill all of their responsibilities. But they were unable to use these weaknesses against the patroons because nothing could excuse the tenants from their obligation to pay rent. Legislative attempts to abrogate the contracts failed when, in 1843, the Supreme Court found unconstitutional any legislation that tended to hinder the enforcement of contracts.

The inability of the Anti-Renters to gain redress through the legislature or the courts caused them to switch tactics again in 1844. Charismatic speakers like Smith Boughton, a doctor with previous radical experience fighting to free Quebec, circulated through the mountain towns, encouraging the tenants to withhold their rent and to form organizations for the promotion of the cause. They also promoted Anti-Rent candidates for the New York State Assembly. By 1845, there were between 25,000 and 60,000 Anti-Rent supporters in eleven counties.

The Anti-Renters also began to model their movement after highly successful evangelical reform movements such as temperance and abolition. They had their own newspaper, the *Albany Freeholder*, which reported on the movement's doings and encouraged Anti-Renters through its documentation of their united strength. Balladeers wrote songs and poems that celebrated Anti-Rent ideas and commemorated the Helderberg War. People who identified with the Anti-Rent cause could express this element of their identities by joining the legally focused Anti-Rent associations, supporting the nexus between Anti-Rent and party politics, or even joining the enforcement arm of the movement—the "Indians."

The Indian bands were coordinated groups of neighbors, presided over by "chiefs" at the neighborhood and town level. Unlike members of the Anti-Rent associations, who were older and more respectable, more than half of the "Indians" were under thirty and owned little property. Their relative poverty was only partly a function of life stage, since the Indians were coming of age at a time when earning a competency from the land was becoming more and more difficult. Since their function was to intimidate and act in raucous ways, the Indians had a lot in common with the early modern ritual of the charivari, a ceremonial harassment of newlyweds or similar notables by local men and boys. The ritual was a holdover from premodern Europe that persisted in rural America. The rite was designed to accommodate change in a community and used as an ad hoc form of social control with a complex ritual world. The Indians concocted their own language. They created their own costumes, which were more than just feathered headdresses; they wore full masks with ears that resembled animals or devils, and long, nightgown-like outfits of multicolored calico decorated with furs and beads. Indian identity provided a focus for young men in the mountain towns to celebrate their masculinity and, since Indians were thought of as "pre-political," to hark back to a time before the patroon land grants.

The Indians were not benign and quaint relics of

early modern Europe; contemporaries both within and outside the movement saw them as a threat to the public order. In December 1844, two men were killed in separate incidents by Indians firing guns at Anti-Rent rallies. Then, on August 7, 1845, Indians interrupted a distress sale of farm equipment intended to satisfy creditors, and killed Sheriff's Deputy Osman Steele. In the wake of this homicide, Governor Silas Wright declared three New York counties to be in rebellion. Posses circulated through the towns of Delaware County, arresting suspected Indians and forcing others to flee. Two of the eighty-four Indians convicted were sentenced to hang for the murder of the deputy, and the Indian violence, which had been a highly effective deterrent to distress sales, stopped.

The Anti-Rent Ideology

In 1844 and 1845, at the same time that the Indians were being stamped out, the Anti-Renters began in earnest to express an ideology as well as a grievance. They developed their ideology in tandem with the National Reform Movement to gain homesteads for workers—a movement founded in New York in 1844. The National Reformers numbered among their ranks gifted writers and working-class theorists like George Henry Evans, trade unionists like John Commerford, and even the former Newcastle Chartist Thomas Devyr, whose close connection with Anti-Rent would bring to the movement a world of British radical experience. The National Reformers, through their newspaper, the *Working Man's Advocate*, later *Young America!*, drew from a whole genealogy of theorists who propounded people's natural right to the soil. The fact that a person was alive, they claimed, meant that one had a right to the wherewithal needed to live—and this included the soil.

The National Reformers recognized the opportunity to expand their constituency, and sent their own lecturers to upstate New York, where they promoted Anti-Rent as a natural part of a larger movement against land monopoly. Thus, the Anti-Renters not only were able to develop their ideology in more detail, but also signed their names to petitions calling for free homesteads, exemption of the homestead from distraint for debt, and limitation on the amount of land that any one man could own. What had started as a provincial movement in response to some discrete conditions in upstate New York was becoming a national—and with the Chartist connection, an international—land reform movement.

By spring 1845, the Anti-Renters had decided that their only entry into politics would be by running independent Anti-Rent candidates; Whigs or Democrats were simply not amenable to the discipline that was necessary to get Anti-Rent goals accomplished. In the autumn of 1845, Anti-Rent candidates won control of the governments of three counties and seven seats in the New York State legislature. The Anti-Rent movement was able to achieve the passage of two laws in 1846 that limited landlords' right to oppress distressed tenants and also taxed landlords' rental income. Even more was accomplished at the 1846 New York Constitutional Convention, which promoted short leases and free trade in land. Unfortunately for the leaders of the Anti-Rent movement, however, many constituents had moved on to consider the essential injustice of land monopoly and feared that these changes would do little to address underlying inequalities.

Throughout 1846, there were attempts—successful in some counties—to fuse Anti-Rent with the more thoroughgoing critique of private land ownership put forth by the National Reformers. Some of the most prominent Anti-Renters, including Smith Boughton and Thomas Devyr, led this shift. But it would be wrong to accuse these men of "agrarianism" or lack of respect for private property, or to see them as backward looking. They were strong believers in economic development, yet they knew that a free market in land would prevent the widespread independent proprietorship that could create a level playing field in America. The year saw a second electoral victory for the Anti-Renters, with eleven seats captured in the assembly, but the split between radicals and more moderate reformers remained.

Decline of the Anti-Rent Movement

During the 1847 legislative session, Anti-Renters saw a New York Assembly Select Committee on leasehold estates endorse not only specific anti-leasehold legislation, but also the general natural-rights argument that the National Reformers propounded. Despite this support, Anti-Rent bills repeatedly failed in the legislature. The energy of the movement began to dissipate in various directions. Some Anti-Renters began to renew their support of the National Reform movement, and some combined land reform with abolition to endorse the new Free Soil Party. At the same time, landlords continued to be effective at fighting off any challenges to the legitimacy of their titles.

Having met permanent obstacles in the legislature and been transformed on its radical wing into the quest for free homesteads, the Anti-Rent movement took a long time to die out. The radical wing of the

Anti-Rent movement went further than denouncing rents and called for free homesteads for every farm family. In 1851, the Supreme Court of New York dismissed lawsuits against the patroons' titles, acknowledging that, although old frauds were bad, allowing the state to tinker with contracts was worse. Some challenges to the rent system persisted into the 1880s, but for the most part the 1851 decision deflated the movement. Its remaining newspaper, the *Anti-Renter*, which had been ably led by Thomas Devyr, folded, leaving the movement without feedback or direction.

In the end, the social revolution promised by Anti-Rent was incomplete. The landholding patterns of the manor towns did change, but the value of independent proprietorship and the importance of contracts did not. Once the depression of 1837–1842 had abated, some of the more prosperous farmers bought their lands outright from the landlords. Other, more marginal farmers had been forced off their lands after the Indians were no longer around to protect them. Landholding in upstate New York was substantially more democratic and fitting of a republic than it had been, but change was achieved through continued recognition of the hated contracts. Even so, the more idealistic land-reforming ideas of the Anti-Renters and the National Reformers did not die. One of the most radical ideas in the movement, that every free white American had a natural right to the soil, persisted into the 1850s. By the middle of that decade, "land for the landless" and "homes for the homeless" had become part of the platform of the new Republican Party. The old New Yorkers who had railed against land monopoly lived to see their ideology encapsulated in the Homestead Act of 1862.

Jamie L. Bronstein

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Southern Exodusters Movement

1860s–1870s

In 1879, an African-American man from Louisiana wrote a letter to the governor of Kansas that read in part: "I am very anxious to reach your state, not just because of the great race now made for it but because of the sacredness of her soil washed by the blood of humanitarians for the cause of black freedom."

This man was not alone. Thousands of African Americans made their way to Kansas and other Western states after Reconstruction. The Homestead Act and other liberal land laws offered blacks (in theory) the opportunity to escape the racism and oppression of the postwar South and become owners of their own tracts of private farmland. For people who had spent their lives working the lands of white masters with no freedom or pay, the opportunities offered by these land laws must have seemed the answer to prayer. Many individuals and families were indeed willing to leave the only place they had known to move to a place few of them had ever seen. The large-scale black migration from the South to Kansas came to be known as the "Great Exodus," and those participating in it were called "exodusters."

Conditions in the Postwar South

The post-Civil War era should have been a time of jubilation and progress for the African Americans of the South. Slavery, officially abolished in 1865, was nothing more than a bad memory; the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution had granted them citizenship; and the Fifteenth Amendment outlawed suffrage discrimination based on race, color, or previous slave status. However, many Southern whites sought to keep blacks effectively disenfranchised and socially and economically inferior.

One way whites in power attempted to prevent black equality was through denial of African-American participation in the political process. Freed blacks were great supporters of the Republican Party, which was the party of Abraham Lincoln and emancipation. Much of the white South, however, remained loyal to the Democratic Party and professed hatred for all Republicans, black or white. When blacks turned out in droves to cast their ballots for Republican candidates, they were often met at the polls by whites employing creative means to keep the African Americans from ever seeing the inside of the voting booth. Many African Americans were prevented from cast-

Ho for Kansas!

Brethren, Friends, & Fellow Citizens:
I feel thankful to inform you that the
REAL ESTATE
AND
Homestead Association,
Will Leave Here the
15th of April, 1878,
In pursuit of Homes in the Southwestern Lands of America, at Transportation Rates, cheaper than ever was known before.
For full information inquire of
Benj. Singleton, better known as old Pap,
NO. 5 NORTH FRONT STREET.
Beware of Speculators and Adventurers, as it is a dangerous thing to fall in their hands.
Nashville, Tenn., March 18, 1878.

One of the many posters calling on southern blacks to leave for Kansas.

***Ho for Kansas!* is a representation of African-American farmers migrating from the South to Kansas and other Western states to stake out land for their own farms.** *(Library of Congress)*

ing their ballots and assuming their places as full members of the society. In addition to maintaining some semblance of the postwar balance of power, these methods also helped elect white Democrats.

Economic obstacles unique to their condition also prevented many freed blacks from moving ahead. After having been slaves for most of their lives, they knew only how to be farmers. Even for those who did possess or acquire alternative skills, the region's lack of alternatives to farming as well as determined white supremacy blocked the freedmen's advance. As farmers, they had no money to purchase land of their own, and many were actually forced to go back to work for the very same whites who had held them in bondage for so many years. The only difference was that the white landowners now paid them with a share of the crop which, after deductions for food and other necessities, amounted to a ridiculously low wage for their work. Although this did not technically constitute a master-slave relationship, it likely seemed hardly better than one to the African Americans who had to endure such humiliation and frustration. Many of the freed blacks had few other skills, however, and often had families of their own to support. It must have seemed a no-win situation.

The era of Reconstruction in the South lasted from 1865 to 1877. During these years, federal troops occupied the states of the former Confederacy to ensure compliance with the laws and regulations governing the Southern states' reentry into the Union. Although the protection these troops provided to African Americans was often minimal, it had been better than nothing. When President Rutherford B. Hayes ended Reconstruction in 1877 and pulled the U.S. troops out of the South, the white ruling class of the South had free reign to terrorize and oppress freed blacks without interference from the U.S. Army or anyone else. Murders, lynchings, and other violent crimes against blacks increased dramatically. It was likely at this point that many African Americans began to feel that leaving the South forever was their only real chance to begin new lives. Movement to parts further west, such as Kansas, began almost immediately after the end of Reconstruction.

Black Migration to Kansas Prior to the Great Exodus

What was it about Kansas that particularly attracted African Americans to that state? At the time many blacks began to consider abandoning the South, there was certainly a good deal of frontier land available elsewhere. Besides slick (and often misleading) promotion of town sites, what drew freedmen and -women to Kansas?

First, purely logistical and geographic factors must be considered. Kansas, though certainly never considered a part of the South (except by pro-slavery Missourians prior to the Civil War), is much closer to the South than far-off spots like California and Oregon. Getting to Kansas was a much simpler and less expensive task than getting to such faraway places. For those coming from many parts of the South, a boat or train ride to St. Louis was the real beginning of their journey to Kansas. Although conditions on these boats and trains were never ideal, riding in any form was certainly preferable to walking. Many arrived in St. Louis with little idea about how they would get across Missouri and into Kansas. They must have felt, however, that whatever hardships they faced on that leg of the journey would be less onerous than those left behind in the South.

Another factor—a human one—also played a role in the selection of Kansas as the new Promised Land. The exploits of antislavery activists like John Brown gave Kansas an almost holy sacredness to many African Americans. In Kansas, blood had been spilled to keep slavery out. The memories of John Brown and other abolitionist warriors lived on in the hearts and minds of freedmen and -women and made Kansas seem the ideal place to begin anew.

Many of the African Americans who migrated to Kansas prior to the 1879 exodus came from Tennessee. There a popular movement had sprung seemingly from nowhere in 1874, leading to a "colored people's convention" in Nashville in May 1875. Many town promoters, including the notable Benjamin "Pap" Singleton, saw this convention as a way to convince people to migrate to Kansas. The convention resulted in the designation of a board of commissioners to officially promote migration to Kansas. This board would later stipulate that would-be migrants needed at least $1,000 per family to relocate to Kansas; very few interested in doing so had such funds. Nevertheless, many freed blacks determined to leave Tennessee anyway. Promoters like Singleton became known as "conductors" and began leading African American families to Kansas.

Obviously, black migration to Kansas did not begin (or end) with the exodus of 1879. Thousands of freed blacks made their way to Kansas throughout the 1870s. Since their migration was more gradual, however, few whites took notice. This was certainly not the case when the well-publicized exodus took place in 1879.

The Exodus of 1879

The great exodus of African Americans in 1879 was largely influenced by the outcome of the elections of 1878 in the state of Louisiana, in which the Democratic Party made major gains by winning several congressional seats and the governorship. Freed blacks, largely Republican supporters, were coerced, threatened, assaulted, and even murdered to keep them away from the ballot box. When the final tallies were in and the Democrats claimed almost total victory, many black Louisianans knew that the time had come for them to abandon their state and join those already in Kansas. Senator William Windom, a white Republican from Minnesota, introduced a resolution on January 16, 1879, which actually encouraged black migration out of the South. The Windom Resolution, together with Southern white bigotry and the letters and newspaper articles of those blacks already in Kansas, led many Southern freedmen and -women to finally decide to make their way to Kansas. By early 1879, the "Kansas Fever Exodus" was taking place.

The 1879 exodus removed approximately 6,000 African Americans primarily from Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas. Many had heard rumors of free transportation all the way to Kansas, but they were sorely disappointed when they discovered that such a luxury did not exist. Very few, however, were dissuaded by this inconvenience.

Many Southern whites had a racist and patronizing attitude about blacks in general and the exodus in particular. As much as whites hated dealing with freed blacks, they still wanted the former slaves there as a cheap labor force. Many Southern whites became so alarmed by the exodus that they began to pressure their elected officials to put a stop to it. They eventually succeeded, and a U.S. Senate committee met for three months in 1880 to investigate the cause of the exodus. The committee disintegrated into partisan bickering and accomplished little.

Nonetheless, blacks continued to leave for Kansas. By early March, about 1,500 had already passed through St. Louis en route to Kansas. Back in Mississippi and Louisiana, thousands more crowded onto riverbanks to wait for passing steamers to give them passage to St. Louis. One white man stated that the banks of the Mississippi River were "literally covered with colored people and their little store of worldly goods [sic] every road leading to the river is filled with wagons loaded with plunder and families who seem to think that anywhere is better than here."

Once in St. Louis, many of the exodusters had little idea how to continue their flight with no resources. Some were so destitute that they could not feed themselves or their families. In response, St. Louis clergy and business leaders formed committees to assist the freed blacks so that they could survive and get to Kansas. Food and funds were collected from the local community as well as from sympathizers from Iowa to Ohio. Lack of shelter, however, became the most serious problem, and many blacks were forced to sleep outside near the waterfronts to which the steamships had delivered them. Care of the exodusters in St. Louis became a political issue, especially after the Democratic-leaning *Missouri Republican* began running antiblack stories and tales of mishandling of donated funds. By the time the last of the exodusters departed St. Louis by rail, wagon, boat, or on foot, even the most sympathetic citizens were likely happy to see them go.

Back in the South, more African Americans continued to plan to depart for Kansas. Black social leaders and ministers often sang the praises of the exodus, comparing it to Moses and the Israelites' escape from Egypt. Of course, some black leaders spoke out against the exodus as well, stating that those leaving for Kansas were jeopardizing the future of those who chose to stay behind and that democracy should be given more time to work. Among the most notable of those who tried to dissuade blacks from fleeing the South was Frederick Douglass.

Southern whites continued to oppose the exodus as well. Many went to extreme measures to try to keep blacks from emigrating, including arrest and imprisonment on false charges and the old standby of raw, brute force. African Americans suffered beatings and other forms of violence at the hands of whites desperate to keep them in the South. Although these typical forms of intimidation did not deter many freed blacks from leaving, the eventual refusal of steamship captains to pick them up did. One can only guess that at least some of these sailors had been threatened or paid not to offer blacks passage to St. Louis.

End of the Exodus

The exodus began to subside by the early summer of 1879. Although some African Americans did continue to head for Kansas, the massive movement known as the exodus basically ended with the decade of the 1870s. That ten-year period had witnessed great changes for blacks both in the South and in Kansas. In 1870, Kansas had hosted a black population of ap-

proximately 16,250. Ten years later, in 1880, some 43,110 African Americans called Kansas home. Between the earlier gradual migrations and the 1879 exodus, Kansas had gained nearly 27,000 black residents in ten years. Though a far greater number of blacks remained in the South, this number still represents 27,000 individual dreams of a better life and 27,000 people who acted on their desires and their rights to enjoy the freedoms to which they supposedly had been entitled since the Emancipation Proclamation. Few found Kansas to be the Promised Land for which they hoped; yet it was a place that enabled them to live freely and with much less racial interference than in the South.

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Grange Movement

The Order of Patrons of Husbandry, as its founders named it in 1867, is generally called the Grange, which is officially the term for its local, county, state, and national units. Members, both men and women, have always been farmers and a variety of other, mostly rural, people. Its purposes, also diverse, have been social, educational, broadly reformist, and briefly, in some of its early years, economically radical. Its size has varied enormously. In 1875, it claimed to have 858,050 members, which was close to its all-time peak. Late in that year the National Grange *Proceedings* reported 761,263 members spread over thirty-six states, several western territories, the District of Columbia, and Canada. Numbers had begun to move downward then, but they were still big, especially in the Ohio River Valley. The allure of its cooperatives and the discounts members received from Montgomery Ward and other vendors had made the Order popular. Then, as the longest depression that the United States had yet experienced dragged on, the Order's economic attractions weakened. Membership dropped precipitously, but the Order did not die. It recovered, becoming what historians have called the Second Granger Movement. Although it inspired enthusiasm among a wide range of reformers, including women who wanted suffrage for themselves and moral betterment for their communities, its growth was slow through the 1890s, perhaps because many rural people who wanted economic reforms were then drawn to the Farmers' Alliances and the People's Party. The Order grew more rapidly in the twentieth century. In 1952, according to Grange leader and historian David H. Howard, membership reached a new high: 858,105. Then it fell. Now, according to the Order's website, membership is about 300,000. It remains, as the Second Granger Movement has consistently been, a social organization with a wide range of reform interests that are connected mostly with rural life.

The First Grange Movement

Oliver Hudson Kelley, a restless Bostonian who became a Minnesota farmer in 1849, was the Order's principal founder. Kelley had claimed Minnesota land near Itasca, which he hoped would become the territory's capital, but Minnesota's legislature decided to let St. Paul keep that honor. Defeated as real estate speculators, Oliver and Lucy Kelley made a difficult start as farmers; she died while delivering their first child early in 1851. But Oliver stayed on the land and soon married Temperance Lane, a fellow Massachusetts migrant who had been teaching in Anoka, Minnesota. Though a novice farmer, Oliver tried to be progressive. He studied agricultural literature, which was burgeoning then, and helped to found Minnesota's first agricultural organization, the Benton County Agricultural Society, in 1852. He hoped, as did organizers of a great many other agricultural societies in his time, that it would help to educate farmers.

In 1864, Senator Alexander Ramsey got Kelley appointed a clerk in the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Trying to farm in Minnesota and work in Washington, with a great deal of help from Temperance who stayed on the land, Kelley wrote articles for the Department of Agriculture and several newspapers. Then, in 1866, he was called upon to survey the condition of Southern agriculture. Kelly, a Democrat sympathetic to the defeated South, spoke with Andrew Johnson before the president's Southern tour. Johnson wanted Kelley, whose writings urged migration to Minnesota, to similarly promote the South and so contribute to its recovery. Kelley tried to do that. Moreover, historians have often taught, his Southern tour inspired him to found the Grange.

Inspiration is said to have begun with the cordiality that fellow Masons in the South showed to Kelley as a fraternal brother, Yankee though he was. Freemasonry, brought to Britain's American colonies from Europe, had about 446,000 American members

in 1870, which was more than twice the number in 1860. The great fraternity, with its rituals and secrets, was enjoying an enormous boom. Kelley recalled in his book, *Origin and Progress of the Order of the Patrons of Husbandry in the United States* (1875), that something like it could be a healing bond between Southern and Northern Americans and, like the existing agricultural societies, an instrument of agricultural education and progress. Those ideas, as historians have repeatedly reported, following Kelley's book, inspired him to found the Grange.

Other historians, informed by Kelley's journal as well as his book, have suggested that he envisioned an agricultural fraternity before visiting the South. His purposes, in their view, were not only social and educational. Historian Thomas A. Woods argued in 1991 "that the Grange originated as a radical organization," which sought "legislative controls on monopoly capitalism."

Kelley did not shape the organization alone. His friends in Washington, D.C., where he worked for the Post Office Department in 1867, also played important founding roles. William Saunders, chief horticulturist for the U.S. Department of Agriculture, wrote the Order's national constitution, including its eloquent preamble, which lauded agriculture and knowledge in the style of contemporary agricultural societies. John R. Thompson, a high-ranking Mason, helped to shape Grange ritual. The Rev. Aaron B. Grosh, a Universalist minister, wrote prayers and collected songs for use in Grange meetings. Francis M. McDowell was the Order's financial planner.

Caroline Hall, Kelley's niece, was not among the founders in Washington, but in 1892 the National Grange honored her as "equal to a founder." In his own history, Kelley recalled that full membership for women "ORIGINATED WITH HER." All of those founders and the near founder gave the Order a moral tone and a focus on social, cultural, and educational objectives. From late 1867 through January 1868, that tone and focus prevailed when the organization was being shaped in Washington. There the Potomac Grange became its first local unit, and its members began the National Grange.

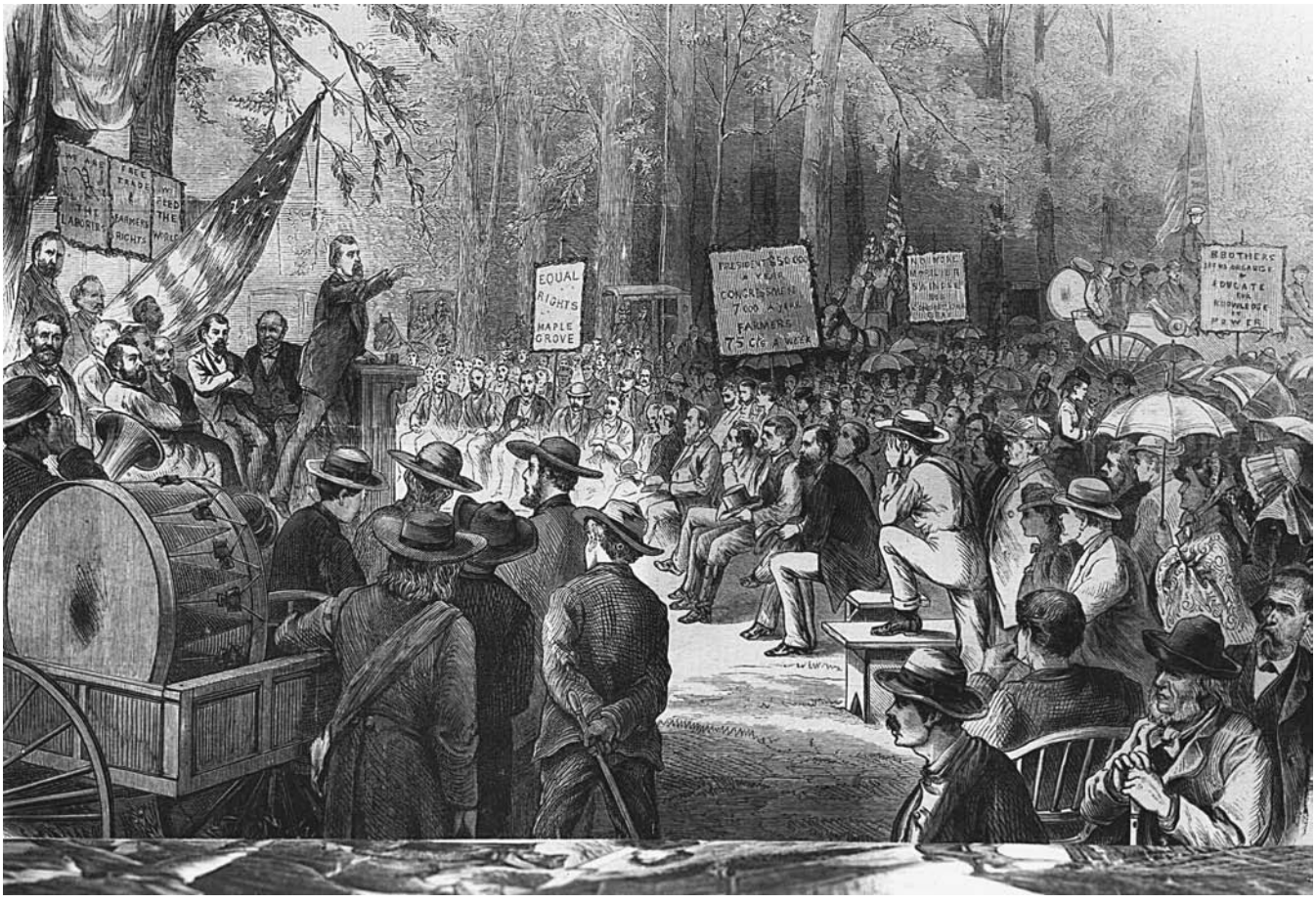
Then, in April 1868, Oliver Kelley left Washington. He founded only one durable local grange, in Fredonia, Chautauqua County, New York, on his way home to Minnesota. Other attempts to start granges on that trip failed, so Fredonia's grange has sometimes been honored as the "First Farmers' Grange in the World." Few of its members, however, were farmers. The organization's first Lecturer, responsible for educational programs, later recalled that he took his office because the other members were also "village people, who cared no more about farming than I did." Woods believes that "Only when Oliver Kelley reached Minnesota" did the Order's "lasting work among the farmers themselves" finally begin. Then, too, Charles M. Gardner, Grange leader and inside historian of the mid-twentieth century tells us, Temperance Kelley "probably saved the Grange" by giving her husband a $500 legacy which she had received during his long absence and which might have been enormously helpful to her and the farm for which she had taken day-to-day responsibility.

Soon Kelley organized two granges near that farm: Granite and Cascade Grange. Neither lasted through 1868, and neither demonstrated that Kelley's movement was exciting widespread or grassroots interest. Most of the Granite Grange members—thirteen men and an unstated number of women—were personal friends of Kelley's. Apart from J.S. Pillsbury, a miller who had already achieved business importance and would later be Minnesota's governor, everyone in the Cascade Grange had become acquainted with Kelley in 1866, when he and they started the Minnesota Fruit Growers' Association. Despite the cooperation that Kelley got from newspapers, notably the *St. Paul Pioneer*, and from agricultural journals, and despite Kelley's passionate class appeals to farmers, his movement had no durable results through the summer of 1868. Then, in September, he started North Star Grange in St. Paul, with fifteen male members.

North Star Grange was important not only because it lasted, soon becoming the state's Grange No. 1 when the first two granges collapsed, but because Daniel A. Robertson, one of its leaders, joined Kelley in rewriting the Order's circular to farmers, promising to build a "co-operative association for individual improvement and common benefit." Then the Order began to grow. It had thirty-six local granges in Minnesota, where it had also formed a state organization, by the end of 1869. By that time, too, it had five local units in other parts of the Midwest: two in Illinois, two in Indiana, and one in Iowa.

The Order began to boom in the 1870s. Daniel A. Robertson volunteered to serve as a deputy and a traveling recruiter; many more deputies, all over the United States and moving into Canada, then enlisted. In 1873, the most spectacular year of growth, 8,667 granges were founded.

At the end of 1873, the Order had more than 10,000 granges in thirty-one states, Quebec, and On-



Grangers assemble at a meeting in Ohio in 1873 to air their grievances and increase their influence. Founded in 1867, the Order of Patrons of Husbandry, as the group was formally known, consisted largely of farmers and rural residents. *(Brown Brothers)*

tario. Growth continued, at a slower pace, into 1875 when the National Grange nearly reached the all-time peak of its membership. Growth owed much to enthusiasm for a wide range of cooperative enterprises that began in 1869 when some leaders of the Minnesota State Grange created a business agency. Hoping to create an assortment of cooperatives, the agency got its first practical results by approaching businesses that dealt with farmers and, in exchange for discounts, helping them to reach grange members. Montgomery Ward, which called itself the "Original Grange Supply House," was not alone in seizing that opportunity. In 1875, Indiana's State Grange agent claimed to have participated in distributing more than $300,000 worth of farm implements, sewing machines, footwear, groceries, and other goods. A year later, his counterpart in the Ohio State Grange claimed that the people he served were getting discounts of 50 percent on sewing machines, 45 percent on garden seeds, 25 percent on footwear and fruit trees, and abundant savings on lots of other goods. However much grangers really saved, such claims surely helped to sell membership in the Order.

Rising membership also inspired entrepreneurial and political interest. In 1874, Master of the National Grange Dudley W. Adams, an Iowa farmer, protested that the Order was infested with "speculators, demagogues, small politicians, grain-buyers, cotton-factors, and lawyers." He wanted to purify the Order, making it an organization of farmers exclusively.

Perhaps that goal was consistent with what William Saunders, author of the Order's constitution, had in mind when he wrote that membership was for people "engaged in Agricultural pursuits." But when the St. Paul, Minnesota, North Star Grange asked whether city folks could join, Kelley welcomed them warmly. Urban ladies who "love flowers and summer visits to their rural friends" were, Kelley thought, particularly

valuable to the Order. Then the constitution was amended to state that members had to be "interested in agricultural pursuits." Of course, flower-loving ladies and the sorts of members who irked Dudley W. Adams had many ways of being interested in agriculture.

The Order was a diverse collection of people, both in its early days and when membership boomed. It only lacked recent immigrants, Catholics, members of the Protestant denominations that distrusted fraternal societies, and black people. Some Southern grangers created a parallel black organization, the Council of Laborers; D. Sven Nordin, an important historian of the Grange who studied in Mississippi, tells us that the Grange there "was often a front for the Ku Klux Klan." Then in the mid-1870s, the Order tried to limit its diversity much further. In 1875, its constitution's original phrase, "engaged in Agricultural pursuits," reappeared. Then the executive committee of the Wisconsin State Grange told a local grange master that he should not admit a rural minister. Grangers had to be farmers.

That lasted very briefly. The Order recruited people who were "interested" in agriculture again after membership took a dramatic drop beginning in 1875. It was down to 124,420 in 1880. People left for several reasons, some of which were surely related to the big depression that started late in 1873 and continued for sixty-five months, longer than any previous American economic downturn. Hard-hit farmers became reluctant to pay dues, which some felt state and national Grange leaders to be wasting, and they turned away from Grange cooperatives, which suffered because of both the depression and falling Grange membership. Some members left the Grange, D. Sven Nordin suggests, because they thought that it had achieved all that it could. A few state and federal laws, notably railroad regulations, satisfied some members. Other people, including Grange founders, left for simply personal reasons. William Saunders, author of the Grange constitution, left in 1875 when the Order moved its headquarters from Washington to Kentucky; Oliver Kelley stopped being secretary of the National Grange in 1878 because, he explained, he wanted to devote his time to Florida real estate speculation. He had been losing influence and interest in the Grange for several years by then. Members and some leaders wandered away, but the Order did not die.

The Second Grange Movement

D. Sven Nordin persuasively suggests that the "second Granger Movement" was "in the long run quite probably more significant than the first one." Its significance came in the "long run" because it did not grow rapidly in the late nineteenth century. According to the figures collected by Charles M. Gardner, who was High Priest Emeritus of the National Grange when the Order published his *The Grange-Friend of the Farmer, 1867–1947* (1949), membership was just above 200,000 in 1893 but did not stay above that level for successive years until 1902. Then it moved rather steadily upward. Soon after World War II, the Second Movement became approximately as big as the first had been at its height in 1875. Before that happened, while its numbers were still down in the nineteenth century, it experienced important changes in its regional distribution.

D. Sven Nordin tells us that the first movement at its height had only 13 percent of its members in Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, and New England. That region had 41 percent of the members in 1880 and 83 percent when the twentieth century began. Oregon Grange leader David H. Howard reports, in his 1992 history of the Order, that membership at the end of the 1960s was greatest in the Northeast, the Northwest, Kansas, and Ohio. Long an important Grange state, Ohio had the largest membership then, but not in the 1970s, when leadership passed to Washington. As membership began what has since been a rather steady decline, a problem shared with many voluntary organizations, most of the states with increasing membership were in the Northwest. The other states where the Order mattered were mostly in the Northeast.

The second movement also differed from the first in terms of women's importance. When the Order began, women held few offices. Their only important activities, other than food preparation, were recitations as the Roman graces Ceres, Pomona, and Flora, on the blessings of grain, fruit, and flowers. The 1869 handbook for local granges called the "graces" officers, which they do not seem to have been at the outset, but gave them no functions other than speaking a few prescribed words about the glories of flowers, fruit, and grain at local meetings. Women had nothing to do or say in state and national granges until 1873 when "four ladies honored" the National Grange by attending its meeting in Oliver Kelley's home, which was then in Georgetown, D.C. The Order's constitution, revised at that meeting, said that women who

had "taken the degree of Pomona," the most advanced then available to them, and were married to state grange masters, were welcome at future National Grange meetings.

Clearly, women's participation in early Grange meetings was purely ceremonial and essentially unimportant. That was illustrated in 1875 when participants in the Wisconsin State Grange meeting cast 253 votes for their master and 35 for Pomona. Scant votes for women officers meant that men, the big majority of participants in early meetings, let women choose their own officers. Perhaps men considered women's roles practically unimportant, but they did not act upon the suggestion that the Order should eliminate women from membership. Women stayed in the Order and soon, in a few places, carved out important roles.

That was notably true in Michigan where Mary Mayo played just such a role. Mayo started her Grange career in Pomona's ceremonial role but began lecturing on the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle in 1877. She later addressed granges all over Michigan and often wrote for the *Grange Visitor*, the monthly Michigan State Grange journal. Founder and long chair of the Michigan State Grange Committee on Woman's Work, and deputy lecturer and chaplain of the State Grange, she was active in the Order almost until she died in 1903. She spoke and wrote mostly about morality, education, food, and housekeeping. Politics and suffrage for women little interested her. Mayo's successor, on the other hand, boldly embraced such causes.

Mayo's successor as chaplain of the Michigan State Grange, Olivia Woodman, was a Universalist minister and a vigorous Progressive. Woodman advocated women's suffrage, prohibition, conservation of nature, laws to protect children from dangerous exploitation as workers, and other Progressive causes. Another contemporary, Jennie Buell, brought her literary energy to all of the reforms that interested both Mayo and Woodman and to Swedenborgian philosophy as well. Her books, including a reverent little biography of Mary Mayo, and her articles in Michigan's *Grange Visitor*, *National Grange Monthly*, *Good Housekeeping*, *American Agriculturist*, and other magazines reached a widespread audience. Other women who were important to the Order became masters of local granges, starting in Howard County, Indiana, in 1877. More big steps came in 1895, when Sarah G. Baird began her seventeen years as master of the Minnesota State Grange, and 1986, when Jeanne Davies, master of the Colorado State Grange, became the first woman member of the National Grange executive committee.

Although regional distribution and gender roles changed, the Order stuck to its broad range of traditional concerns. They included and still include what Master of the National Grange Robert Barrow called in 1987 the "increasing concentration" of American agriculture which "poses a threat to the continued viability of the small- and medium-size family farmers and the rural communities they support." A banker and professional singer, not a farmer, Master Barrow resembled many other grangers, who were and continue to be "interested" rather than "engaged" in agriculture. Such nonfarmer Grange members have demonstrated a desire to help farmers economically and to meet their needs for education, healthcare and insurance, and roads. Moreover, grangers have been and remain conservationists of nature's beauty and resources; Gifford Pinchot, President Theodore Roosevelt's chief forester, was a granger. His tradition continues. Finally, as the resolutions passed at the 135th Annual Convention in 2001 demonstrated, grangers have broad public policy concerns that reach beyond farming. They called for "more prominent alcohol warning labels" and endorsed "stem cell research that involves naturally aborted fetuses and unused harvested embryos."

Conclusion

The Order of Patrons of Husbandry has now existed for well over a century. Membership, regional distribution, women's roles, and the particular issues that engage its attention have varied over time, but some traditions have continued with fair consistency. Predominantly rural but not exclusively for farmers, despite the purist hope of some early leaders, the Order has always wanted to serve farmers' economic interests. That goal meant a kind of radicalism in its early days; today it means lobbying Congress for policies that may help to block the concentration of agricultural wealth in fewer and fewer hands. Moreover, the Order has always interested itself in a wide range of issues, not all directly connected with farming, and has offered its members a diverse assortment of services. Now Montgomery Ward is gone, but other merchants give grangers discounts on computers, pharmaceutical products, hearing aids, and a good many other products and services. The Order itself offers credit cards, insurance, and, of course, a cookbook. Abundant information about current ideas and services is available to prospective members and the inquisitive public at http://www.nationalgrange.org.

The Order has made available a great deal of information about Grange history, and has published several historical studies. In 1961, it donated Oliver, Lucy, and Temperance Kelley's farm to the Minnesota Historical Society to serve as a museum. Despite the Order's many efforts to explain its organization and objectives and win adherents, membership is not presently at one of its peaks. But grangers, knowing their history, are aware that they have faced that problem before.

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Farmers' Alliance Movement

The Farmers' Alliance was the first mass agrarian protest movement in the history of the United States and one of the largest mass movements in American history. The brief life of the Alliance left an enduring legacy of economic self-help, political activism, and moral reform, and led directly to the rise of the Populist Party.

The Farmers' Alliance had its beginnings in Lampasas County, Texas, in 1874–1875 as a way to address essentially Western issues such as government land policy, land fraud, restriction on fencing, and the control of cattle thieves. A dispute over the issue of political involvement in the Greenback Party resulted in its demise, but the idea had spread to other areas, including Parker County where farmers reorganized the Alliance in 1879 to promote self-help strategies such as cooperatives, boycotts, land reform, and other locally based mass action. The growth of the Alliance was painfully slow in the early years. In 1880, the Alliance had twelve local organizations (later called suballiances) in three contiguous counties in North Central, Texas. By 1882, there were only 120 suballiances in twelve Texas counties. By 1886, however, the state meeting of the Texas Alliance reported 104 Texas counties organized. Eventually, in the late 1880s, after it spread throughout the Southwest, Great Plains, and Midwest, the organization would claim a membership of over one million members.

The Crop Lien System and Rural Poverty

Most historians have attributed the popularity of the Alliance to a rational Southern response to adverse economic conditions among cotton and tobacco farmers. These adverse conditions included a chronic lack of capital and credit in the postbellum South, the emergence of the crop lien system, and the dependence on cotton production in defiance of dropping prices. The crop lien system, which affected both tenants and some landowners, pushed Southern farmers deeper into debt. Local merchants and plantation owners furnished farmers with the necessary supplies for the year for making a crop, taking collateral in the form of a lien on the future crop. Seldom, however, did the sale of the crop pay off the debt incurred to the local merchants or landowners. Because of the crop lien system and low prices, farmers sank deeper and deeper into indebtedness. A report in 1889 showed that 75 percent of the farms in Arkansas were on the verge of insolvency, and another report revealed 70 percent of farmers in the hill counties of Louisiana faced insolvency.

A dissenting voice to the economic cause theory of the rise of the Farmers' Alliance comes from Richard Hofstadter in his influential book *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to FDR* (1976). Hofstadter attributes the farmers' protest movement to status anxiety with the rise of powerful, wealthy, and intellectually sophisticated urban elites and the modernization of industry and commerce with the declining importance of the farm population.

Rural Rebellion

Whatever the exact motivation for farmers to join in protest, the Alliance took a rather circuitous route to national prominence. In the early 1880s, these local county groups combined in Texas to form a statewide organization that enabled the movement to enter new areas of economic cooperation beyond the local level, to mobilize a larger number of members, and to prepare for further expansion. In 1884 at the state convention, W.L. Garvin, president of the Alliance, appointed S.O. Daws to full-time salaried "Alliance Lecturer" to tour Texas to increase membership, a decision that paid rich returns in the next couple of years. His speeches on the need for cooperative efforts to overcome the effects of monopoly struck a responsive chord among many farmers in Texas. At the same

time, the state leadership promoted cooperative economic strategies such as joint stock cooperative stores, cottonseed oil mills, and corn mills, as well as cooperative cotton gins. Suballiances set up trade agreements with local merchants to provide the lowest possible prices in return for the guarantee of Alliance members' trade on a cash basis. These efforts to establish financial independence meant vigorous opposition from local merchants, retailers, and manufacturers. Furthermore, the poorest farmers, enmeshed in the crop lien system, were unable to take advantage of the cash-only trade agreements.

The state convention of 1886 in Cleburne marked yet another key turning point in the history of the Texas Alliance. With the local-based activities of co-ops and trade agreements having reached a point of diminishing returns, the stage was set for a new approach to solving the plight of farmers through new cooperative efforts and political activism. The delegates approved a list of political demands of which the most radical were an overhaul of the monetary system to increase the amount of money in circulation and a demand for government regulation of the railroads. However, a group of economic self-help advocates that included the president, treasurer, and others bolted and called a rival convention to denounce what they thought was too partisan a political approach of the Cleburne meeting.

Those who insisted on avoiding partisan politics feared that this might result in the organization of a third party that would ultimately destroy the one-party system in the South. Rather quickly, Charles William Macune, who took over leadership of the Alliance when the economic self-help group left, worked out a compromise based on three proposals: unification of the local cooperatives into a state exchange, spread of the Alliance to the surrounding states, and the development of a national organization. Macune's "State Exchange" idea appeased those who wished to stay with economic strategies and yet caught the attention of farmers trapped in the crop lien system and those suffering from the low prices of cotton. The Exchange (funded by two assessments on each member) was to act as the agent for supplying the farmers with necessities and to function as a marketing agent for the sale of the farmer's cotton after it had been harvested.

This exchange would reduce the cost of supplies by negotiating directly with manufacturers, thus eliminating the local merchants and the middleman; on the other end of the farmer's economy, bulk marketing of crops would increase the prices farmers got for their crops. The idea spread to other Southern states, with exchanges organized in Georgia and Florida. After a year, the Texas Exchange went bankrupt, in part, for the lack of capital, while the other exchanges, after some initial successes, also failed because of a starvation of money and inexperienced management. The second initiative of the 1886 convention was to take the organization to a new regional level. A plan to send some 350 lecturers throughout the South to organize new local suballiance chapters and state organization became the ultimate logical step to increase the size of the alliance. Implicit in this move to transform the group from a state or regional institution to a national movement was that the problems of the farmer could be addressed at the national level more effectively than at local or state levels.

At the same time as the Alliance experienced a phenomenal increase, Macune recognized the value of consolidating with like-minded groups throughout the South and Great Plains and with labor unions, including the Knights of Labor. In 1887, the Texas Farmers' Alliance merged with a similar group in Louisiana; in 1888, the National Farmers' Alliance merged with the Agricultural Wheel. By 1890, the Alliance, with its name changed to the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, claimed membership and suballiances in thirty-three states.

The Alliance Expands

During the period of rapid expansion of membership, the Alliance recruited diverse and, often, conflicting classes of farmers: tenants, yeoman farmers, and large plantation owners. The interests of the large landowners often worked against those of the poorer farmers, an inherent conflict that weakened the overall efforts to institute meaningful change. The Alliance also took hesitant steps to join forces with African Americans in the South by supporting the creation of the Colored Farmers' National Alliance. The Colored Farmers' Alliance was organized in Houston County, Texas, in late 1886. By 1891, the black organizers had chartered groups in every Southern state except Arkansas and had organizations outside the South. Farmers, both black and white, realized that they too shared common economic interests and goals, and tentative cooperative strategies were worked out at the national meetings in Ocala, Florida, in 1889. However the two alliances remained separate. Although historians praise the efforts, they conclude that the white Alliance's overall attitude represented paternalism rather than a sincere attempt toward racial equality.

A similar source of ambiguity arose with the in-

clusion of women in the movement. Unlike the Grange, which insisted that women participate in membership and provided a separate and complementary organization, the Alliance encouraged female membership without clearly defining their role and extent of involvement in activities. In many local chapters and state alliance organizations, women faced no obstacles to joining, but a few local suballiances showed less willingness to accept female members;, some even prohibited them from joining. Those women who belonged to the Alliance joined because they believed in the goals and objectives of the group, not to create changes for the role of women in society. By 1890, women constituted 11 percent of the total membership of the Alliance.

Social Movement and Third-Party Politics

Responding to pressure from below, the Alliance inevitably moved closer to political activism, first at the state level by putting pressure on the Democratic Party and then in states where a two-party system existed, on the Republican Party to incorporate their reforms. On the state level, they experienced some success and then turned to the national level with new schemes to relieve the economic difficulties of farmers. These proposals took the form of monetary reform to bolster the amount of money in circulation to relieve debt and push up the price of agricultural commodities. The subtreasury idea, hailed by some historians as a noble approach, called for the abolition of the national bank system for the deposit of federal money and the establishment of government warehouses by the U.S. Treasury Department to store the crops. The treasury would loan farmers 80 percent of the market value at the local prices of the stored crops at a very low interest rate. This solved the problem of cash-strapped farmers being forced by debt to sell crops immediately after harvesting when prices tended to be traditionally low, and at the same time increased the amount of money in circulation. The Alliance also demanded increases in the coining of silver, which was another way of putting more money into circulation. Like the Exchange, the subtreasury offered farmers a way to end their dependence on the crop lien as a source of credit and held out the promise of control of their commodity market.

In 1890, after failing to induce the Democratic Party to support their subtreasury idea, after being unable to generate cooperative support from the Democrats for Alliance demands, and after initial success in endorsing candidates for state office, the Alliance leaders decided the time was auspicious for the third-party movement. The members and leadership went en masse to the new political party, along with the political platform and ideology of the Alliance. With the creation of the Populist Party, the demise of the Alliance came quickly. The Alliance did not hold national conventions after 1890, and the suballiances and state organizations soon followed in closing out their activities. The death of the Populist Party at the national level came as a result of their 1896 endorsement of the Democratic presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan.

Historians of the movement have debated the extent to which the farmers' movement challenged the existing status quo. Some hold that the movement had a backward looking approach to reform by emphasizing the Jeffersonian myth of the small, independent, landowning farmer. Nevertheless, the demands for government regulation of railroads, monopolies, and the subtreasury plan represented a radical alternative to the capitalist industrial economy. At least several historians argue that moral reforms were equally important as the economic and political objectives of the farmers. Among those concerns expressed in the Alliance newspapers and demands issued at state and national meetings were the regulation of the sale of alcohol, the need for renewal of piety, prohibition of Sunday labor, and control of pornographic material.

Economic Depression and Rural Crisis

Whether radical or conservative, in the final analysis, the self-help economics programs failed to improve the permanent condition of farmers, even though Alliance efforts were more sweeping than those of the Grange. The rate of tenancy, indebtedness, and insolvency jumped in the late 1880s and early 1890s, in part as a result of the economic depression that swept the country in the early 1890s. On the other hand, benefits from the political reforms called for by the Alliance resulted in more far-reaching changes for farmers and American citizens. Alliance and Populist political demands included the regulation of railroads, the regulation or destruction of monopolies and trusts, the institution of more democratic election laws, and various social reforms, most of which were implemented under the Progressives.

Conclusion

Perhaps the enduring lesson that farmers learned from the Alliance was that a mix of self-help, lobby-

ing, and political pressure on the two major parties worked best in the long run. The third-party venture that killed both the Farmers' Alliance and Populist Party proved a dead end.

The later successes of the National Farmers Union (formally called the Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America) best illustrate this point. This third mass-farmers' organization in American history was established near Point, Texas, in 1902. The movement initially experienced phenomenal growth with a membership of 120,000 in 1910 and over 140,000 in 1919, mostly in the Gulf States but eventually spreading to the Midwest and Far West. Following in the footsteps of the Grange and the Alliance, the union promotes cooperative warehouses, grain elevators, stores, and grain and corn mills, establishes plants for manufacture of farm products, and advocates diversification in the production of agricultural commodities, good farm-to-market roads, and improved farm management techniques. These essentially economic and social reforms have been balanced with effective lobbying of the two political parties for programs and public policies to benefit farmers.

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Greenbacker Movement
1870s–1880s

Greenbackers proposed the government issuance of paper money in order to break the private banks' monopoly over the money supply. This approach was the broadest and most popular manifestation of antimonopolist sentiment, which was central to the politics of the post–Civil War period. Greenbackers built the largest unsuccessful third-party movement in American history, representing a complex movement in terms of its origins, scale, and legacy.

Roots of Greenbackism

Greenbackism originated in three currents. First, only a generation before, discontented voters had built the most successful third-party movement in the American experience, bringing the Republicans to power. Older policy had created a tight money supply largely controlled by banks, but the Lincoln administration met its unprecedented expenses by having the government print "greenbacks." This move created an inflation that fueled wartime prosperity and minimized the seasonal indebtedness of farmers and rural people. Some Civil War Republicans had also advocated black civil rights, a shorter working day, and woman suffrage. Such topics faded, however, with the presidency of Ulysses S. Grant, notable for its corruption and its plans to restore the gold standard. Midwestern farmers, as well as many abolitionists, saw their party as having sold itself to business interests and contemplated a repeat of their earlier third-party movement.

The second current important to originating the Greenbacker Movement flowed from the Democrats. "New Departure" Democrats understood that dwelling on their constitutional hostility to the excesses of wartime and Reconstruction Unionism would gain them nothing against Republican efforts to depict Democrats as disloyal. Their approach was new in that they favored reforms like the Granger laws, but most importantly because they avoided "dwelling on their constitutional hostility to the excesses of wartime and Reconstruction Unionism."

Thus far, the Democrats had established a "Solid South" at the price of holding a permanent minority status elsewhere in the country. Those urging a "New Departure" tapped the older antimonopolist rhetoric of Andrew Jackson to criticize the Republican fostering of industrial and commercial privileges.

Third, Greenbackism had clearly radical origins. Before the Civil War, Cincinnati stovemaker Josiah Warren had formulated his version of anticapitalist communitarianism by establishing cooperative stores based upon "Labor Notes" that offered to exchange labor on an equitable basis. He also founded the community of "Modern Times," where he worked with Edward Kellogg who urged adopting paper money as a means to blunt the excesses of antebellum capitalism. Another antebellum writer, William B. Greene, urged cooperative banking as an alternative. For such thinkers, money had ceased to represent wealth and had now become a means of controlling economic life, as well as something of an allegory for representative politics.

The 1872 Elections

Such ideas captured the growing movement of trade unionists and labor reformers who began pressing on the legislative agenda such matters as industrial working conditions and a shorter workday. By 1868, adherents of the postwar National Labor Union formed state Labor Reform parties in Massachusetts and New Hampshire and, in 1871, launched a National Labor Reform Party (NLRP). It faced a presidential election in 1872, even as the Republican Party split between the "Liberal" critics of Grant and the regulars, largely leaving Democrats to bloc with the Liberals.

In this context, the prospect of power politics seduced the NLRP convention at Columbus on February 21–22, 1872. It adopted a lackluster platform that embraced "the Ohio idea" of limited paper money advocated by that state's Democrats, and it nominated an Illinois Democrat, David Davis, who after the convention predictably declined the nomination in order to avoid losing his strength with his Democratic Party comrades. The Democrats nominated the Liberal Republican, Horace Greeley. Those that did not want to support Greeley held their own convention and nominated Charles O'Conner on what they called a "Straight-Out Democratic" ticket, which the NLRP leaders endorsed.

The more radical insurgents subsequently convened on May 9–11, in New York's Apollo Hall where they launched the Equal Rights Party. It nominated "the Women's, Negroes, and Workingmen's ticket," Victoria Woodhull and Frederick Douglass. A flattered but loyally Republican Douglass declined, while Woodhull faced arrest over alleged libels in her paper. Woodhull was always facing arrest over libels in her newspaper, *Woodhull and Clafflin's Weekly,* most famously in the Beecher-Tilton scandal.

Midwestern Third-Party Movements

The "hard times" that swept the Midwest with the Panic of 1873 politicized mass organizations like the Patrons of Husbandry, "the Grange." When the elected Supreme Court of Illinois declared unconstitutional the state's efforts to regulate its railroads, angry farmers built a Peoples' Antimonopolist Party that defeated the combined efforts of the more well-heeled parties to reelect the justices. So, too, a similar Independent Party emerged in Indiana. By 1874, there appeared Missouri's Peoples' Party, Michigan's National Reformers, Nebraska's Independents, and the Antimonopolists of Iowa and Minnesota, in addition to the Independent Reformers of Kansas and Wisconsin.

With the exception of Missouri, these parties emerged in states with Republican majorities. Since they posed the clearest possibilities for Democratic victories in these states, adherents of that party, along with "fusionists" within the third party eager to broker power, pressed continually for a shared agenda. For genuine insurgents, a stable third party required a national movement, which seemed to require a unifying issue like the Kansas-Nebraska Act of twenty years before. The government's decision to replace wartime "Greenbacks" with a "resumption" of metal specie and "the gold standard" supplied the unifying issue.

Currency and the National Third Party

On June 10, 1874, coordinated state conventions in Illinois and Indiana adopted the call to save paper money. When the Democratic conventions did not address the issue, a small but important conference met on November 25 at Indianapolis. It united the new rural insurgents with former NLRP groups from Illinois, New York, Ohio, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia. Some NLRP leaders favorable to a broader platform met at Harrisburg on March 3, 1875, but failed to win much support.

The new party called itself the "Independent Party" or the "National Party" to distinguish itself from the state parties in Illinois and Indiana and the sectionalized Republican and Democratic parties. Nevertheless, the press called their creation the "Greenback Party," and most insurgents readily accepted the name.

The 1876 Cooper-Cary Campaign

A presidential nominating convention gathered on May 17–18, 1876, at the Academy of Music in Indianapolis. As with the earlier NLRP, larger delegations nominated "favorite sons," mostly prominent "New Departure" Democrats, Ohioans pressing for former Ohio governor William Allen and many Illinoisans still wanting to name David Davis, who had beached the NLRP four years before. Eager to get beyond the impasse and to reach potential voters in the Eastern cities, the convention turned to the "Greenback Democrats" of New York City, who had briefly stopped at the convention while seeking allies for the upcoming Democratic National Convention.

Oddly, a party of mostly rural Midwesterners predisposed to vote Republican nominated an octogenarian urban Jacksonian, Peter Cooper, and Democratic Senator Newton Booth of California. When Booth declined, he was replaced with Samuel F. Cary, the popular Cincinnati Democrat. The Greenback Party ultimately won nearly 82,000 votes in the presidential election of 1876, about 1 percent of the turnout. In the end, the Greenback ticket represented little more of a serious third-party effort than had the earlier NLRP slate.

More generally, American politics faced a crisis in the "Stolen Election" of 1876. Several Southern states filed conflicting returns. The Democrats and Republicans each turned in different vote counts in three states, on which the election would turn. Setting aside the question of which returns were valid, the Federal authorities established a national Electoral Commission to decide who would be the president. Ultimately, this solution allowed Republican Rutherford B. Hayes to become president if he abandoned any further federal Reconstruction of the South.

Labor Politics

In the wake of the NLRP, advocates of a more independent and radical strategy had continued on to socialism. The ethnic self-fragmentation of the International Workingmen's Association had continued into 1874 when various suspended sections combined with a Newark labor party to launch the Social Democratic Workingmen's Party of North America, which in 1876 led to the Workingmen's Party of the United States.

By then, broader numbers of workers had turned to political action. In 1877, after several years of worsening economic conditions, the railroads announced yet another round of pay cuts in July. Driven to desperation, railroad workers walked off the job, detonating a national "general strike" that led to the seizure of cities by strike committees at Toledo and St. Louis. Often over the objection of local officials, the national authorities sent troops against the strikers; this was in sharp contrast to their unwillingness to protect the rights of the Southern freedmen. The national authorities used U.S. troops against striking workers, even as they withdrew the last of those troops in the South to sustain the Reconstruction project.

In the wake of the strikes, working-class organizations proliferated. The Knights of Labor began growing rapidly, subsuming preexisting unions and organizations. At the polls, they began electing Socialist and labor candidates in numerous communities. In places, they became Greenbackers or formed a natural alliance with the earlier insurgents.

The Greenback-Labor Party

Insurgents met again in a drafty schoolhouse on Washington's birthday during the bitterly cold winter of 1878. Embracing their new composition, strategy, and orientation, the rebuilt coalition called itself the Greenback-Labor Party (GLP). A coalition of "Greenback" and "Labor" organizations, this represented a rebuilding of the groups that had attempted the National Labor Reform Party in 1872, but on a vastly greater scale. Notably, an important coalition of clubs chose to keep their Union Greenback organization independent of the GLP. So did the Socialists who reorganized as the Socialistic Labor Party (SLP) that winter. One faction of the Workingmen's Party of California, which blamed the oppression of labor on the presence of the Chinese, was interested in the national movement, but much of its leadership was drawn inexorably toward the Democratic Party. So, too, the triumph and hegemony of the white "Redeemer" Democratic governments in the South inspired a series of independent splits from the Democrats, including such statewide formations as the Readjusters' Party, which sought to renegotiate the payment of Virginia's indebtedness. Freethinkers, hostile to a rising tide of militant Protestantism, had also launched a National Liberal Party.

Nevertheless, in places the GLP subsumed the social and community functions of groups like the Grange. It also gained some localized strength beyond the Midwest, winning elections in places as diverse as northern Alabama or the more isolated parts of northern New England. If a successful national movement required such successes, the strategy of fusion seemed to offer a shortcut. Fusion involved making joint nominations with the weaker of the two major parties, a process that generally allied Southern Greenbackers with Republicans and Northern Greenbackers with Democrats.

The 1878 Peak

The off-year national elections saw the largest third-party movement in twenty years and proportionately the largest in U.S. history. Although the insurgents claimed 1 million votes for their congressional candidates that year, accurate numbers reveal a more complex reality. Between 802,000 and 852,000, ballots went to the exclusively Independent, National, Greenback, or Independent Greenback tickets, with another 25,000 divided roughly equally between Prohibitionists and Socialists. In addition, third-party candidates running either with Democratic endorsements or, at least, no Democratic opposition, added another 303,400, while another 217,000 went to insurgents with apparent Republican support. Independent Democrats running against Democratic candidates won another 150,000, and Independent Republicans, by the same criteria, gained over 18,000. Such addi-

tions nearly doubled the purely insurgent vote to a total of about 1,600,000.

This deluge of independent ballots elected twenty-two independent congressmen, most of whom had some ties to the third party. The Midwestern heartland of the movement elected several new representatives, including: Adlai E. Stevenson and Albert Palaska Forsythe of Illinois; Rev. Gilbert De La Matyr of Indiana; and James B. Weaver and Edward Hooker Gillette of Iowa. In addition, voters in the Northeast elected the following to Congress: Hendrick B. Wright, William D. Kelley, and Seth H. Yocum of Pennsylvania; Hezekiah B. Smith of New Jersey; Daniel O'Reilly of New York; Bradley Barlow of Vermont; and George W. Ladd and Thompson Murch of Maine. More surprisingly, the GLP also cracked the solid Democratic South before it had even hardened: Nicholas Ford of Missouri; Daniel L. Russell of North Carolina; William M. Lowe of Alabama; and George W. Jones of Texas. (Other victorious independents included Henry Persons, William H. Felton, and former Confederate Vice President Alexander Hamilton Stephens in Georgia, and Noble A. Hull, who won a Florida district with no party affiliation.)

The 1880 Election

On January 8, 1880, sixteen of these independently elected congressmen invited "all classes of people, of men and of women, too, who . . . are willing to act with us" to join in planning united action in the upcoming presidential election. The June national convention at Chicago's Exposition Hall moderately expanded the GLP platform and adopted the SLP's plank: "We declare that land, air, and water are the grand gifts of nature to all mankind, and the law or custom of society that allows any person to monopolize more of these gifts of nature than he has a right to, we earnestly condemn and demand shall be abolished."

The GLP nominated for president Representative Weaver, who shared the ticket with the elderly Texan Barzillai J. Chambers. Weaver spoke of Greenbackism as opposition to the idea not only of a monopoly over the money supply, but of land and the means of transportation as well. Weaver also stumped the country and directly confronted the nationally untenable nature of fusion. State parties like that in Maine hoped to continue winning victories through an alliance with the Democrats, which would doom the party in Alabama. Making a direct issue of genuine independence (and the Democratic denial of black civil rights in the South), Weaver found himself marginalized, then misreported, and finally rendered invisible in the national press, even as many state leaders tore the national party to pieces. In the end, fusion in Maine, for example, reclassified the 65,310 ballots cast for mostly GLP electors into officially Democratic votes, and reporting of the official insurgent totals as merely 306,867, a considerable decline from the total of two years before.

Legacy

The GLP survived, particularly at the edges of the large insurgency, in places like Kansas. However, in the wake of the election, the National Antimonopoly League declared itself a National Antimonopoly Party, which stole a march on the remnants of the Greenbackers in 1883 and 1884. This left the GLP simply to endorse Benjamin F. Butler, the Antimonopolist candidate, who openly did the inverse of Weaver by actively courting funding from factions of both major political parties. Again in 1887 and 1888, a nominally insurgent Union Labor Party acted before the Greenbackers and got their endorsement.

Perhaps the real legacy of the Greenbackers was their role in becoming the proponents of a People's Party (the Populists) after 1890. The Populists ran an older but energetic Weaver for president in 1892, and found itself succumbing to the same problems with regard to fusion.

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Populist Movement 1890s

Populism is the common name for an agrarian democratic political movement of the 1890s, formally identified with the People's Party of America. The Populist movement attracted veterans of earlier reform movements, including Greenbackers, Prohibitionists, union organizers, and dissident Republicans and Democrats. But the party's most significant forerunner was the Farmers' Alliance, which initiated an agrarian revolt in the 1880s. The Alliance attempted to influence the two major political parties, but by 1891, when the national parties had failed to champion the reforms advocated by the Alliance, many within the movement argued for the creation of a party that reflected their interests.

Organization

From 1889 to 1891, efforts were made to unite farmer and labor organizations into a single political lobby. In December 1889, sectional Alliance organizations met in St. Louis to discuss the development of a national political strategy to resolve the struggle between organized capital, corporations, and organized labor, unions, and farmer alliances. In June 1890, Alliance members in Kansas formed the statewide People's Party and challenged the dominance of the Republican Party in that state. Six months later, representatives of the Southern Farmers' Alliance, the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, and the Colored Farmers' Alliance met in Ocala, Florida, where they compiled a list of demands that resembled the interests debated in St. Louis. These interests included cheap currency, the abolition of national banks, and the adoption of a subtreasury plan. The subtreasury plan held the most interest for farmers.

Developed by Texan Charles Macune, the subtreasury plan called for the federal government to build and operate warehouses, which could hold nonperishable crops that enabled farmers to obtain government loans of up to 80 percent of their crop values at 1 percent interest. Leaders at the meeting advised their members to support candidates of either major party who would pledge themselves to the list of demands drawn up in Ocala.

The failure of the two major political parties to enact the demands of the Alliance organizations led to the call for a national meeting by Leonidas Lafayette Polk of North Carolina. President of the Southern Farmers' Alliance since 1889, Polk argued that the only viable alternative for his members was the formation of a third political party. In May 1891, more than 1,400 delegates from thirty-two states met at Cincinnati. Resolutions to create a new political party to represent farmers' interests passed easily. Formally organized in February 1892 at St. Louis, the People's Party of the United States of America held its first national convention at Omaha in July 1892. Many of the most ardent advocates for labor and farmer rights attended the meeting, including Tom Watson of Georgia, who argued that "you must organize, agitate and educate." The new party attempted to educate the public through the publication of 150 newspapers and by using experienced lecturers from the Alliance movement who traveled to forty-three states reaching over 2 million farmers. Members expected Polk to be the party's nominee for the presidency, but he became ill following his return from St. Louis and died in North Carolina in June, one month before the party selected its standard-bearer.

The Party

The Populists, as the new party quickly became nicknamed, nominated James B. Weaver of Iowa, a former Union general and Greenback presidential candidate, as president. Joining him on the ticket for vice president was James G. Field of Virginia, who had served the Confederacy during the Civil War. The sectional flavor of the ticket was a deliberate attempt to overcome the animosity that lingered from the war and to

undercut the Republican political strategy of "waving the bloody shirt," calling attention to the sacrifices of the Civil War to promote their political agenda. The new party wanted to focus voter attention on contemporary economic and political issues and not relive the Civil War.

The new party's platform made this position very clear. Written by Ignatius Donnelly of Minnesota, the platform consisted of twelve short paragraphs that included quotations from the U.S. Constitution and a call for immediate action to save the nation from a "vast conspiracy against mankind." He reminded the delegates that "we meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political and material ruin." Since the two political parties no longer represented the interests of the people but the interests of profit, Donnelly called upon the new party to restore democracy to the nation.

Following Donnelly's preamble, the party's platform listed the specific measures to be taken in order to achieve the restoration of democracy by focusing upon finance, transportation, and political reform. Among the list of demands was a national currency, to be issued by the federal government without the use of banking corporations, government ownership of all transportation and communication lines, a graduated income tax, the establishment of a postal savings system, direct election of U.S. senators, the adoption of the secret ballot, the initiative and referendum, restrictions on immigration and immigrant ownership of land, and an eight-hour working day for industrial labor.

Political Development and Reaction

Although Weaver was defeated in the 1892 presidential election, the new party received over a million votes (8.2 percent of the popular vote) and demonstrated considerable strength in Texas, Georgia, North Carolina, Nebraska, and the Dakotas. The party won the governors' races in Kansas and Colorado. Most affected by Populist support were Southern Democrats who became alarmed by the People's Party's attempt to recruit black farmers to their cause. Democratic leaders in the one-party region could not afford a division of the Southern white vote between Democrats and Populists, for that would allow the black vote to determine the balance of power in the old Confederacy. By the mid-1890s, Southern Democrats took action to disenfranchise the black community. The use of such measures as the "Grandfather clause" (if your grandfather could not vote neither could you, thereby disenfranchising descendants of slaves), literacy tests, and the poll tax resulted in dramatically decreased black participation in the electoral process in the South. In Louisiana, for example, the number of black voters decreased from a historic high of 130,000 in 1896 to just over 5,000 four years later. Alabama saw its black participation drop from 121,159 to 3,742 during that same four-year period.

Southern Democrats had reason to be alarmed. Shortly after the 1892 election, the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad collapsed, initiating a Wall Street panic and resulting in the worst depression the nation had suffered since the end of the Civil War. By 1894, millions were out of work, 500 banks closed their doors, 16,000 business firms collapsed, 750,000 workers went out on strike, and demands that the federal government take action climaxed with a march on Washington. The Army of the Commonwealth of Christ, led by Jacob Coxey, a former wealthy businessman turned Populist who organized Coxey's Army of the unemployed and poor, arrived in the nation's capital to demand that the government respond to the needs of the people. Although Coxey and some of his followers were arrested shortly after they arrived, the march suggested the level of frustration that citizens felt and the desperate measures they were willing to take. Both major political parties realized that the upcoming mid-term elections could not be reduced to re-fighting the Civil War.

In 1894, the People's Party received 1.5 million votes in the congressional elections, sending to Washington six Populist senators and seven Populist representatives. But party leaders had hoped for better results and were disappointed by the strength of the Republicans. Democrats, however, saw more defections from their party and felt pressured to respond to the demands of the Populists, especially those in Southern states. As a result, many Democrats began to publicly endorse much of the platform of the People's Party. Their actions initiated a national debate over silver.

As a result of a drain on the gold reserve of the country, President Grover Cleveland asked for and received from Congress the repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchasing Act. The gold reserve of the country continued to decline, however, and the president negotiated with private corporate leaders, most notably J.P. Morgan, to purchase gold in exchange for federal bonds. Many in the country saw the deal as evidence of the predominance of private business interests over the interests of the people. As the depression worsened, silver advocates argued for a return to a bimetallic currency. Publications such as William H.

Harvey's *Coin's Financial School* (1894) and Ignatius Donnelly's *The American People's Money* (1895) became required reading for Populists and Democrats. The Republican Party remained loyal to the gold standard.

The Election of 1896

As the election of 1896 approached, the Populists debated whether to concentrate on the silver issue at the expense of their other interests. Pro-silver Populists argued that the People's Party should hold their nominating convention after the two major parties met in order to attract "silverites" who might abandon their parties following their own conventions. But pro-silver Democrats captured their convention and nominated William Jennings Bryan. The young former congressman from Nebraska galvanized the convention with his "Cross of Gold" speech. Bryan's speech, which endorsed silver and much of the People's Party platform of 1892, presented a problem for silver Populists who held their convention two weeks later in St. Louis. Suddenly, the Democrats provided an opportunity to secure the goals of those who favored a return to silver. Led by the national chair of the party, Herman E. Taubeneck, pro-silver Populists advocated dropping the Omaha platform and building a coalition with the Democratic Party on the issue of free coinage of silver. Ignoring a minority in the party who argued that fusion with the Democrats would result in the death of the Populists, the new party endorsed Bryan as their presidential candidate. To soothe those who feared that the party might lose their identity, the People's Party nominated one of their own, Tom Watson, as Bryan's running mate.

Silver, however, was not the sole issue in the election of 1896. As in 1860, the differences between the two candidates were sectional and economic, but they were also social and cultural. Bryan cast himself as a crusading prophet who would reform not only his party but the country as well. The Republican candidate, William McKinley of Ohio, followed the direction of his party boss, Mark Hanna, who recognized the need to create a coalition of business and labor in the urban Northeast, thus presenting a campaign that would not offend the rising Protestant middle class, Catholic immigrants, or the economic elite of Wall Street. Thus, the campaign conducted by Bryan and McKinley pitted the promise of moral reform against the promise of the melting pot. The Republicans assured those who had aspirations of economic and social mobility that their platform offered more opportunity. This strategy and changing demographics resulted in a Republican victory. McKinley carried the industrial Northeast, which had increased its population over the previous twenty years, thus increasing its electoral count. Bryan won in the South and the West, but the population of those regions produced fewer electoral votes. Just over 7 million people chose McKinley, resulting in 271 electoral votes, while 6.5 million people cast their ballots for Bryan, producing 176 electoral votes.

Decline and Legacy

Those who feared that fusion with the Democratic Party would destroy the People's Party proved correct. By the end of the campaign, many state Populists had lost control of their organizations to Democrats, especially in the South. The economy recovered in 1897, as discoveries of gold in South Africa and Alaska inflated the currency. The following year, the country went to war against Spain. A wave of patriotism swept the country, and Americans showed little patience with critics of the nation. As Tom Watson put it, "the blare of the bugle drowned the voice of the reformer." Economic prosperity, patriotism, and political fusion explain the rapid decline of the Populist movement. The party would remain an organized entity for three more elections. In 1900, the fusion Populists once again endorsed Bryan, with the results the same as four years earlier. In 1904 and 1908, the party turned to Tom Watson.

Watson's political career suggested an inherent problem faced by Southern Populists. Western Populists risked little more than political failure in challenging those who held political power. Southern Populists, on the other hand, not only challenged the economic and political relationships of their region but the racial relationship as well. As a result of their attack on the political establishment of the old Confederacy, Southern reformers risked not just their political security but also their personal security. By the early 1900s, the race-baiting tactics of New South politicians created an atmosphere that resulted in the monthly lynching of black citizens and segregation as a way of life, convincing many reformers, including Watson, that making overtures to the black community would be a political liability. As a result, Watson and others convinced themselves that a biracial political partnership was the source of the failure of the People's Party. Watson ended his political career by using the same race-baiting techniques as the New South leaders that he opposed in the previous decade.

The Populist movement proved to be successful in the long run, however. The party's critique of the modern corporate industrial state created the political

Following his "Cross of Gold" speech at the 1896 Democratic National Convention, presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan tries to ride three parties to victory. His loss to Republican William McKinley spelled the doom of the Populist Party. *(Brown Brothers)*

agenda for the country for the next thirty years and proved to be the forerunner of the reform movements of the twentieth century—Progressivism, the New Deal, and the Great Society. Much of the Omaha platform of 1892 became a reality, including the direct election of senators, the initiative and recall measures, a personal income tax, a Warehouse Act that allowed farmers to store produce as collateral for short-term loans, and a Federal Farm Loan Board.

The words "populism" and "populist" took on new meanings in the last four decades of the twentieth century. After World War II, populism migrated

from the political left to the political right as public figures began to refer to themselves as populist to distance themselves from those entrenched in Washington, D.C. Individuals such as Senator Joe McCarthy (R-WI) in the 1950s, Governor George Wallace in the 1960s, and Reform Party candidate Ross Perot in 1992 presented themselves not as advocates for economic and social change, but as defenders of the status quo. In reality, figures like McCarthy, Wallace, and Perot had little in common with the Populists of the 1890s and were, instead, self-proclaimed crusaders who thrust themselves into the role of savior. In contrast, Populist leaders of the 1890s were members of the class they sought to represent, and they challenged the economic and political assumptions of those in power.

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Agrarian Socialist Movement
1890s–1920

The Birth of Southwestern Socialism

Early twentieth-century agrarian socialism was an extension of and yet fundamentally different from the Populist movement. Agrarian socialism would be centered in the Great Plains and Southwest, with its most active leaders and voters in Oklahoma and Texas. The first voices to call for dissident Populists to make the break to socialism, indeed, came from Oklahoma and Texas. Radicals in northern Oklahoma formed a local Socialist Party in 1895 and briefly flirted with the Socialist Labor Party (SLP). They soon discovered, however, that the SLP had no interest in farmers. Dominated by its founder, the orthodox Marxist Daniel De Leon, this group made little effort at electoral politics and concentrated instead on enforcing doctrinal purity within a rank-and-file of mostly Northeastern, immigrant industrial workers. Socialist thought and organization also flickered to life here and there among laborites and intellectuals, either in Marxian ideology or in uniquely American hybrids such as the Knights of Labor.

Most of the early Socialist impetus among agrarians came during and after their failed struggle against fusion with the Democratic Party in 1896. Their disagreement with conservative, pro-Bryan elements of the party forced the dissidents to consider their alternatives. Disgusted with fusion, ex-Populist William Farmer of rural north Texas soon founded the first Texas Socialist Party. Of even greater import to the Great Plains and Southwest, in 1895 ex-Populist editor Julius A. Wayland moved *The Appeal to Reason* to Girard, Kansas, specifically to preach socialism to farmers. Wayland's *Appeal to Reason* and its message of socialism would reach tens of thousands of rural readers every week well into the second decade of the twentieth century.

Near the same time that Farmer was announcing his party in rural Texas, former American Railway Union (ARU) president Eugene V. Debs announced the formation of a similar loosely knit group in the Midwest. Debs's railroad union had been crushed by its defeat in the Pullman strike of 1894, but in 1898 Debs began to reassemble the fragments of the ARU as the Social Democracy of America. Debs toured the country organizing party locals and found a number of ex-ARU members now homesteading in Oklahoma. Together with Farmer's Texans, Debs gathered them into the somewhat utopian Social Democracy.

In 1901, however, Debs's Social Democracy joined New York dissidents bolting the SLP in a coalition with Midwestern Socialists led by Victor Berger to form the Socialist Party of America (SPA). Meeting in 1902, Farmer and other Texas Socialists formally joined their state party with the new Socialist Party of America. Thus, from the most radical Populists and through Debs's Social Democracy, the new Socialist Party of America gained a coterie of militant Southwestern agrarians. Consequently, this new coalition became the vehicle of protest in the last widespread agrarian political revolt in United States history. It would be nearly a decade, however, before it became a significant rural movement.

Slow Growth in the Countryside

The Socialist Party of America would grow slowly during its first decade of existence among rural Americans. It grew slowly because of contradictions between rural values and the SPA's central message of collectivization. That it grew at all among rural people testified to increasing levels of dismay among farmers. The rapid triumph of turn-of-the-century nationwide capitalism displaced culturally entrenched structures. Although country people's values and expectations regarding economic behavior sprang from their old culture, their new societal reality was a nationwide marketplace impervious to face-to-face relationships or moral codes.

In the Southwest, angry middle-aged farmers found it increasingly difficult to acquire ownership of land. Considered a normal but temporary step up the "agricultural ladder," sharecropping and tenancy had become the permanent occupation for the majority of southwestern farmers by 1910. Most tenants and sharecroppers continued to hope that they would someday work themselves into ownership of their own land. Others, more embittered, began to consider alternatives.

The Socialists' critique of the new marketplace—if not necessarily their proposed solutions—resonated with the rural poor majority's belief that all behaviors, including economic behavior, should conform to locally defined moral standards. At the same time, belief in the individual ownership of land remained a nonnegotiable cornerstone within their culture. Furthermore, the values within rural culture that found the most resonance in the Socialists' message of radical economic equality tended to grow from the plain folk's religious beliefs. Yet, one of the most oft-repeated and effective criticisms of socialism was that it emanated from an atheistic scientific materialism. In the Southwest, at least, by 1910, local Socialists had taken action to minimize the aspects of socialism that were most objectionable to rural people, while emphasizing those aspects with which they would most agree. Culturally, this meant an energetic emphasis on "Bible socialism" through a heavy reliance on rural preachers as lecturers, organizers, and candidates. In the case of land ownership, this meant changing the party's platform to protect the property rights of family farmers.

Eugene Debs carried the Socialist banner in five of the first six presidential elections of the twentieth century. At the Socialists' highwater mark in 1912, Debs's best state percentages came from the West where sparse urban middle-class populations gave the militant unionized workers' votes relative clout. Historians ascribe Debs's 1912 double-digit percentages in the Mountain and Pacific states to the militant Western Federation of Miners and other radical industrial workers in the six-year-old Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). Debs also scored tens of thousands of votes in the industrialized Midwestern and Northeastern states among organized workers, especially old railroaders. Historians also have been fascinated with the Socialists' short-lived burst of support among rural voters in Oklahoma, Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas. Yet, until Oklahoma and Texas Socialists changed their party's land policy in 1910–1912, the SPA made few gains among these former radical Populists. Only Texas and Oklahoma have had precinct-level analysis of SPA support in the early 1900s, and most of the scholarly exploration has focused on Oklahoma where Debs won 16.4 percent of the vote in the presidential election of 1912. The most comprehensive of these studies, historian James R. Green's *Grass-Roots Socialism: Radical Movements in the Southwest, 1895–1943* (1978), includes Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas.

At the 1908 SPA national convention, agrarians and pragmatists tried to soften the party's stance on land collectivization. Agrarians at the convention sought to reassure farmers that socialism did not require the seizure of land from the farmer "which he himself occupies and tills." These moderates argued that small landowning farmers were indeed not members of the capitalist class, as doctrinaire Marxists insisted, but were fellow workers. Ironically, Southwestern delegates led the fight against a land compromise and made some of the most rigidly collectivist speeches offered at the convention. Texan Jake Rhodes cast the land question as a contest between landlords and tenants. As a former organizer for the Farmers' Union—a movement taken over by landlords in Oklahoma, Texas, and elsewhere—he warned of the dire consequences of landlord influence. Those who bemoaned calls for land collectivization did not really farm, Rhodes claimed, but, instead, were those "who farms the farmer." Rhodes argued that if railroads should not be exempted from public ownership in order to woo the votes of railroad stockholders, then land should not be treated any differently. Texan Laura B. Payne and Oklahoman Stanley Clark took similar vocal stands at the 1908 SPA convention and helped to persuade the delegates to reject the agrarians' land compromise.

Zenith of the Agrarian Period: Oklahoma Leads the Way

Before it could prosper in Oklahoma, the Socialist Party had to "get right" with "Jefferson and Jesus." In *Agrarian Socialism in America: Marx, Jefferson and Jesus in the Oklahoma Countryside, 1904–1920* (1999), historian Jim Bissett shows that the party had to democratize and embrace the property rights of small farmers (Jefferson) and adopt the morality of the rural, Protestant, evangelical church (Jesus) before it could effectively appeal to rural people. The orthodox Marxists who had founded the party in Oklahoma proved unequal to this task and gave way to

an indigenous radicalism led by ex-Farmers' Union veterans. First, these local agrarians successfully fought to democratize and decentralize their party. Having accomplished that by 1910, they sought their next goal—winning over the rural poor majority—with a two-pronged strategy. On the one hand, Oklahoma Socialists attacked the excesses of monopolistic early twentieth-century American capitalism in a Bible-based critique, while, on the other they revised their Socialist creed to protect the property rights of small farmers who worked their own land.

The Rev. J.T. Cumbie, a small farmer and ordained Baptist minister, typified this effort with nominations for governor and for congressman. Furthermore, in a critical move to expand their appeal, Oklahoma Socialists promised the redistribution of government-controlled land to the growing class of sharecroppers and tenant farmers. Inspired in part by the Homestead Act, the Oklahomans promised future government renters the right of permanent occupancy—if not ownership—of the land that they worked. The Oklahoma Socialist rank-and-file had taught their state leadership a crucial lesson that migrated to other state platforms, most notably Texas.

The Agrarian Plank in Texas

Texans showed little interest in rural radicalism—SPA style, at least—before adjustments similar to Oklahoma's were introduced. Battles between the orthodox Marxists and the democratic agrarians colored Texas' early Socialist experience. While party zealots sorted out their differences, rural Texans stayed away from the party on Election Day. In 1908, Jake Rhodes received only 1.6 percent of the total vote for governor. By 1910, however, the agrarians were in the ascendancy and had adopted a compromise land plank in the platform assuring farmers that Socialists did not seek total collectivization of land. In a move very similar to Oklahoma's, the Texas party promised to respect the property rights of farmers who themselves had "use and occupancy" of their land and who did not exploit another's labor.

The 1910 Texas platform contained eighteen separate provisions. The first of these called for increased democracy through the initiative, referendum, recall, female suffrage, abolition of the poll tax, and "the unrestricted right of peaceable assembly, free speech, and free press." The platform also promised relief to industrial labor through the adoption of labor's traditional wages, hours, child labor, workplace safety, and insurance demands. The Socialists promised "humane and scientific" treatment of prisoners and the insane, a system of socialized healthcare, free public school textbooks, maintenance of "destitute children," and the extension of political asylum to oppressed peoples.

The platform also prominently featured the new land policy. The Socialists called for an end to sales of public lands and the reclamation of all leased land after the current leases expired. The platform demanded that all lands sold for taxes should be bought by the state and added to the public domain, and that foreign landowners should appraise their own holdings for taxation purposes, with the state having the right to purchase such holdings at the appraised value plus 10 percent. Any land held for "exploitation and speculation" (i.e., land farmed by tenants or hired labor or unoccupied land owned by individual speculators or corporations) would be subject to an annual "graduated" land tax roughly equal to a year's rental income, thus forcing the landlord to sell on reasonable terms to tenants or forfeit ownership to the government. Tenants could apply for ownership of farms and pay a normal rent-share to the state until one-half the land's market value had been met. At that time, the tenants would stop making payments and would be issued "a permanent right of occupancy." Furthermore, the Socialists promised that their election would mean tax exemption for the "tools, teams, and implements of landless farmers" up to $800. The platform also called for public ownership of gins and other agricultural processing facilities that were "in their nature public."

The Paradox of Agrarian Socialism

Of course, herein lay the paradox of agrarian socialism. Of all those who have written on the subject, historian Jim Bissett most closely captures the internal tension of the movement. Bissett finds that agrarian Socialists sought a "marriage of Jefferson and Marx." Steeped in Southern yeoman culture, Oklahoma agrarian Socialists' first choice would have been widespread ownership of the land among working farmers. As changing societal and economic structures impinged upon their ability to achieve their first goal, a significant minority proved willing to use Marxian analysis and ideology to achieve widespread "use and occupancy" of the land for the benefit of the rural majority. But this substitute for outright ownership proved too bitter a pill for most of Oklahoma's rural voters to swallow.

The Agrarian Socialist Press and Camp Meetings

More than through any other medium, agrarian socialism spread throughout Texas and Oklahoma through Socialist "camp meetings" and through the writings of radical newspaper publishers. The Socialist camp meetings were drawn directly from the Populists before them who got the idea from rural outdoor religious revivals. Sometime in the summer, usually in July after the crops had been "laid by," the plain folk would often gather to sing, preach, and pray together in great "protracted meetings" with the worshippers, of necessity, camping on the meeting grounds. The Populists had recruited preachers from plain folk religious traditions—Baptist, Methodist, and various Holiness sects—who first politicized the rural camp meeting in the 1890s. By the 1910s, Southwestern Socialists had perfected such gatherings throughout Oklahoma and Texas. The largest such gathering in East Texas boasted an attendance of 50,000 during a week's worth of preaching, singing, and propagandizing. For those not religiously or politically inclined, the East Texas Socialists promised a hamburger stand, a Socialist rodeo, and a Ferris wheel.

Perhaps of even greater importance in spreading the message were rural Socialist newspapers. It would be difficult to exaggerate their number, which must have been over three dozen in the Southwest; only a few, however, had significant readership and influence. Kansan Julius Wayland's *Appeal to Reason* claimed a circulation greater than the *Saturday Evening Post* nationwide with over 70,000 subscribers in Oklahoma and Texas alone. Oklahoma also produced more than its share of influential Socialist newspapers, including Oscar Ameringer's *Oklahoma Pioneer* and Pat Nagle's *Tenant Farmer*. The Socialist press in Texas likewise thrived for about a decade. Former East Texas farmer Joshua Hicks published the *Farmer's Journal.* A primitive Christian, Socialist, and pacifist, Hicks also argued that believers should take a stand against racism and poverty. The successor publication to the *Farmer's Journal* was publisher E.O. Meitzen's and editor Thomas A. Hickey's *The Rebel*. Begun in 1911, *The Rebel* would eventually claim a circulation of over 30,000 before wartime repression shut it down in 1917. From its inception, *The Rebel* concentrated almost exclusively on the task of appealing to rural readers, especially tenant farmers and small farm owners.

The Renters' Unions

Socialists in the Southwest attempted to organize the rural working class. As rates of tenancy shot upward, Socialists reached out to landless farmers who now made up the majority of all farmers. Oklahoma Socialists organized a Renters' Union in 1909; that group called for militant, class-conscious cooperation among sharecroppers and tenant farmers. *The Rebel*'s Tom Hickey organized a Texas Renters' Union in 1911 with calls for a "confiscatory tax" on absentee landlords. The Texas union at first excluded blacks, but, according to James Green, union organizer Hickey saw the error of his ways after witnessing black-white solidarity among East Texas IWW timber workers in 1912. Whatever real chances such organizations had were weakened by relatively low membership totals and the inexorable rise of land ownership concentrations among the most highly capitalized farmers and landlords. These organizations either died out completely during World War I (1914–1918) or existed in name only and in the imaginations of the remaining faithful. Yet, such memorable embers died hard; some would be fanned back into ignition in the form of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union during the Great Depression of the 1930s.

Support in Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas

Socialist voting in the Southwest peaked in 1912–1914. The largest rates of SPA voting occurred in the poorest agricultural counties in Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas. In Texas, Socialist votes also tended to come from former Populist and agrarian protest strongholds. Lavaca County Judge E.O. Meitzen exemplified this tendency with his sojourn from Greenbacker, Allianceman, and Populist to, finally, Socialist. Socialists did not manage to win any statewide elections anywhere in the country in 1912. One congressman, Victor Berger, was elected from Wisconsin. And in 1912 and 1914, voters across the Southwest elected a number of Socialist local officials such as a justice of the peace, a constable, and a county judge in Texas to a mayor in Arkansas. In 1914, Oklahoma elected six state legislators, five representatives, and a state senator.

The 1912 presidential vote gives some idea of the effect of the agrarian compromise within the Southwestern SPA, at least on the state level. Arkansas gave 6.5 percent of its presidential vote to Debs, up from 3.8 percent in 1908. Louisiana reported a 6.6-percent Socialist vote, exactly double the 1908 showing. Oklahomans voted for Debs at the rate of 16.4 percent, over 40,000 votes. This almost doubled the Socialists' 1908 finish in Oklahoma. In Texas, Debs received 8.3

percent statewide, a 207-percent increase over 1908. Analysis of rural versus town precincts shows that in one typical county where the Socialist vote mirrored the statewide SPA share of 8 percent, rural dwellers voting Socialist at almost the same rate as Oklahomans at 15.7 percent.

Reddin Andrews, Texas' SPA gubernatorial candidate in 1912, finished with slightly more votes than Debs with a little over 25,000. Andrews exemplified all of the elements the Socialists sought to bring together in the Southwest. Backed by a suitably agrarian platform, Andrews also packed plenty of appeal for rural Texans. A Baptist minister, the candidate had pastored country churches throughout central and East Texas and had served briefly as president of the state's largest Baptist college, Baylor University. His status as a Confederate veteran, his gray beard and Stetson hat, only served to further strengthen his cultural credentials with rural voters. Andrews did almost as well in 1914; thereafter, the Texas Socialist vote declined precipitously as it did in Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Louisiana.

Why did few Southwestern rural voters support J.T. Cumbie and Reddin Andrews at the height of the movement? First, the Socialist Party stood against absolute property rights and for a fundamental restructuring of the economy. No amount of maneuvering could obscure that issue or change the fact that belief in property rights lay at the heart of rural culture. Second, tradition favored the Southern Democrats who represented themselves as the party of the Lost Cause, the Confederacy. The Civil War still defined partisan loyalty for many voters, North and South. And, finally, the Socialists were not to be trusted with protecting white supremacy.

Race and Southern Socialism

Of all the charges their critics might level, for Socialists in the South the most devastating was the charge of sympathy to the cause of African-American equality. Because of the region's recently passed disenfranchisement laws (poll taxes, etc.), Socialists were facing a seriously truncated electorate. For example, Texas' 1902 poll tax eliminated much more than the 12 percent of Texans who were black; it effectively cut the Texas voting lists in half. Consequently, those among the rural poor majority most likely to be attracted to the SPA were no longer members of the polity. As a result, agrarian Socialists in Texas faced an electorate of only the economic top half of the population and one that was virtually all white as well. Furthermore, many agrarian Socialists came from a staunchly white-supremacist culture and adhered to such views themselves. Herein lay another killing contradiction for agrarian Socialists. The clearly elucidated antiracist ideals of international socialism—and the declarations against racism by such SPA leaders as Debs—were about to run afoul of the intractability of culture. This hurt the Socialists' chances of winning elections in two ways. Obviously, lukewarm stands for racial equality would win few of the remaining handful of black votes. Even more critical, the suspicion of even scant sympathy for racial equality guaranteed the loss of many, perhaps most, of the Socialists' potential white support in the countryside.

The Oklahoma Socialist Party came closest to upholding Socialist ideals concerning race. In his excellent study of southwestern radicals, Green shows that the Oklahoma SPA wholeheartedly defended voting rights for African Americans. Others in the region tended to avoid the topic when they could and finesse their party's position when they could not.

Patriotism, Repression, and Decline

The outbreak of World War I (1914–1918) forced a momentous crisis within the ranks of international socialism. Purists urged the national parties to reject their countries' war efforts. They argued that the working class had no vested interest in the outcome of a battle between imperialist, capitalist regimes. Yet, in most cases, European Socialists compromised their ideals in the name of pragmatism or patriotism and more or less heartily supported their individual nations. Only the SPA stuck to its ideals and remained staunchly antiwar throughout, thereby committing political suicide. The SPA's symbolic spokesman, Debs, eventually would be convicted under the wartime Sedition Act and sent to federal prison for speaking against the war. Opening themselves and the party to charges of cowardice, disloyalty, and even treason, Socialists never recovered from their failure to support the American war effort. U.S. Postmaster General Albert S. Burleson, a Texas cotton landlord, energetically used his special wartime mandate to shut down the Socialist press. Arrested and questioned in connection to a crackdown on draft resistance in the Southwest, Tom Hickey was soon released but saw his newspaper effectively repressed by Burleson's denial of the use of the mails. The last issue of *The Rebel* came out in June 1917.

The death of the Socialist Party of America in the Southwest did not mean the end of agrarian discontent. It did, however, mean the end of the last significant agrarian electoral protest in that region. A few

rural protesters elsewhere carried on through the Nonpartisan League of the Dakotas in the 1920s and in the Farmer-Labor Party in 1930s–1940s Minnesota. Perhaps the closest successor to Southwestern socialism came with the 1930s-era Southern Tenant Farmers Union, founded in Arkansas by agrarian veterans of the Socialist Party of America.

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NONPARTISAN LEAGUE 1915–1920s

The Nonpartisan League (NPL) was a rural political organization active in thirteen states between 1915 and the 1920s. Feeding on the discontent of exploited farmers, the League operated through the political primaries of the old parties in a nonpartisan spirit. It enjoyed great success for a time, especially in North Dakota, where sweeping reforms ameliorated conditions for small producers. Founded and initially run by Socialists, the Nonpartisan League made state intervention in the market economy widely acceptable and thus laid the foundation for modern Midwest liberalism.

RURAL POVERTY

Ever since the late 1800s, North Dakota farmers should have been making good money growing wheat. While their product was high quality, many did not own their own land and nearly all of them had high debts—and conditions only grew worse with time. Grain brokers and railroads headquartered in Minnesota controlled the market (and North Dakota's political elite), leaving the state weak economically. Without terminal markets in their home state, farmers had no choice but to sell their grain through the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce (a grain exchange) and the Duluth Board of Trade.

Once their grain went to market, farmers lost all control over the product; middle men and processors docked them at every turn. Wheat was not weighed fairly. Brokers often sold it to each other several times, taking a commission every time. They graded the wheat low and then regraded it upward once sold, thus taking a little more out of farmers' pockets. Railroads charged exorbitant fees, as did local banks in North Dakota, two thirds of which charged usurious (more than 10 percent) rates. The Granger movement of the 1880s and the Populist uprising of the 1890s had little impact on late-developing North Dakota, although some historians have argued that Populism was a vital social precursor of the NPL.

FARMER ACTIVISM

By 1915, North Dakota stood ready for change. Arthur C. Townley wanted farmers to form a nonpartisan organization to bring about reform. A former school teacher, plasterer, and small farmer, Townley and his brother started growing flax in 1907 and expanded to 8,000 acres before losing everything when frost destroyed most of their crop and speculators caused prices for the rest to plummet. Farmers like Townley became attracted to the Socialist Party (SP) and a platform that included immediate demands for rural credit, state-owned mills and grain elevators, state insurance on crops, and help to the unemployed. Several Socialists had been elected to local offices, but the program became more popular than the party. So the SP tried an experiment designed to reach out to non-Socialists drawn to the immediate demands. Townley and others toured the state with party-owned Ford automobiles filled with literature and talked farmers into voting for Socialist candidates who supported the platform without pushing party membership on them. The drive was a success but was stopped by the North Dakota SP in early 1915, much to Townley's disgust.

NONPARTISAN FARMERS LEAGUE

Historians disagree about what happened next. In his seminal work on the League, *Political Prairie Fire: The Nonpartisan League, 1915–1922* (1985), Robert Morlan asserts that Townley came up with the idea of creating a nonpartisan league for farmers after a conference with Socialist leader Albert E. Bowen. More recent scholarship asserts that Bowen himself should be given credit for the League scheme. In any event, Townley and Fred B. Wood of the American Society of Equity went on to found the Nonpartisan League,

with the ambitious goal of capturing all three branches of state government by putting up League candidates in both Republican and Democrat primary elections, a recent Progressive reform designed to make the old parties more democratic. The League platform said that the state should own the elevators, mills, and storage facilities, inspect the grain and how it was moved, provide tax breaks for farm improvements, insurance against hail damage, and nonprofit rural credit banks.

Townley recruited organizers, training them in what he understood to be proper psychology. Recruiters bought Fords on installment from the League and followed systematic routes throughout the state. Farmers paid dues in the form of checks postdated to October, after their harvests. At first, most all of the League organizers and leaders were men who had been Socialists, but unlike the SP, which tended to view farmers as small-time capitalists, the NPL blamed all the farmers' problems on big business. Townley understood that the League needed its own press to keep the movement together, so by September 1915 the *Nonpartisan Leader* was up and running, with leading Socialist journalist Charles Edward Russell recruited to write. The paper provided news directly to members, offered guidance, and countered anti-League propaganda. Most all North Dakota newspapers denounced the NPL, which made little difference to members forearmed with the *Leader*'s version of the truth. League opponents refused to recognize farmers' problems and thus had no solutions of their own. Farmers felt a burning sense of loyalty to a cause reinforced by literature, songs, and art that set down roots in their culture.

Electoral Politics

The NPL prepared to take over the state government in 1916 by holding a series of election rallies. Lynn Frazier, university graduate, small farmer, and rock-ribbed Republican, emerged as the League's candidate for governor. Most NPL candidates ran in the Republican primary, although some stood for nomination in the Democrat contests. Frazier overwhelmed all opponents in the spring primary and kept his momentum up through the summer at a series of all-day picnics for farmers. In September, the NPL took control of the Republican State Central Committee, writing a platform that reflected the League agenda. The Democratic State Central Committee's platform proved to be remarkably similar.

Faced with a political juggernaut, conservative opponents of the League focused on keeping the NPL out of the state Supreme Court, but League men prevailed anyway. Frazier won the fall race in a landslide, while NPL candidates won 62 percent of the seats in the state House. However, the League failed to capture the state Senate.

Wasting little time, Governor Frazier asked the new legislature to pass the entire NPL agenda, as well as reduce the legal limit on interest rates, set a minimum wage for women and children, create a labor bureau and a system of nonpartisan primaries and elections, start civil service reform, and come up with a lot more money for rural education. The NPL schooled new legislators in public speaking and parliamentary procedures. Members lived together in the same hotel, with their leaders controlling political caucuses from the top down. The League agenda was rolled up into House Bill 44, a new state constitution; it passed the lower house easily but failed in the Senate. In the end, the legislature passed many laws, including state grain grading, farm tax breaks, state woman suffrage, a nine-hour day for women, banking reform, regulation of railroads, and better financing for rural schools. The Senate refused to pass a nonpartisan election scheme, workers' compensation, a slashing of railroad freight rates, and a minimum wage for women.

World War I

In the spring of 1917, a hysterical patriotism spawned by American entry into World War I derided everything German. Still, millions of people were unsure about the great departure from traditional American isolationism, especially in the rural Midwest. Many NPL members opposed the war as did most Socialists. In the end, the League generally supported the war but wanted to pay for it by taxing the rich. Like the Progressives, the League favored expanded government control over food, prices, railroads, utilities, and energy. Superpatriotism proved to be a rallying point for conservatives who hated the NPL.

North Dakota attracted attention from all over the country from conservatives, Socialists, and Progressive reformers alike. Responding to inquiries, NPL organizers went to Montana, Washington, Kansas, and Wisconsin. The Land League of Texas dispatched Ernest R. Meitzen to North Dakota in the spring of 1917, and he became a convert to the NPL. Meitzen's partner in the popular Socialist weekly, *The Rebel*, Thomas A. Hickey, worked for the League too, but in the end, Southwestern tenant farmers and sharecroppers were too poor and had little in common with grain farmers far to the North. The NPL leadership thought all

Certificate of Membership
in
The National Nonpartisan League

This Certifies that John Larson
of North Dakota is a member in good standing in The National Nonpartisan League and is entitled to participate in Conventions and other gatherings of the League with full privileges as such member

The National Nonpartisan League
Date of joining June 16, 1917
This certificate good to December 1st-1918.
1481
A. C. Townley
NATIONAL PRESIDENT

Founded by Socialists in 1915, the Nonpartisan League drew thousands of adherents in thirteen states, primarily in North Dakota and the Midwest. The group favored many Populist and Progressive reforms, including increased government aid and protection for farmers, state regulation of railroads, a minimum wage, and workers' compensation. *(State Historical Society of North Dakota A5623)*

along that it would be easy to capture South Dakota, although farmers there did not share the same sense of political urgency. Self-styled "Theodore Roosevelt Republican" South Dakota governor Peter Norbeck proved to be a formidable opponent, co-opting the League with Progressive-style reforms, including rural credits, workers' compensation, and state marketing.

The League also targeted Minnesota where farmers faced problems similar to those in North Dakota. Beginning in the fall of 1916, a small army of Fords (the only car at the time) and recruiters began crisscrossing the Gopher State. A rival group of reactionaries formed the Minnesota Nonpartisan League to sow confusion among farmers, but the effort flopped. A more dangerous adversary arose in the Minnesota Public Safety Commission, a committee consisting of the governor Joseph A. Burnquist, the attorney general, and five cronies given unlimited power to persecute those perceived as disloyal to the war. The commission branched out county by county and created its own Bureau of Intelligence, modeled after the new federal agency headed by young J. Edgar Hoover. Needless to say, the conservative commission, financed in part by the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce, saw the NPL as disloyal.

Opposition to Nonpartisan League

Violent attacks on the NPL led to a series of resolutions to clarify the League's position. It supported American intervention and free speech, but opposed war for the purpose of annexation of territory and denounced indemnities and secret diplomacy. NPL speakers invoked the name of President Woodrow Wilson whenever possible to further blunt charges of disloyalty. Townley was attacked verbally because he denounced war profiteers in angry terms. The NPL accepted the Food Administration's setting low prices for wheat out of patriotism. Still, the League faced criticism even in North Dakota, where newspapers accused it of being behind the appearance of Kate Richards O'Hare, an outspoken antiwar Socialist sentenced to five years in prison for making a speech in Bowman.

Townley toured in the East to educate Americans about his organization. He and President Wilson both spoke to an American Federation of Labor Convention in Buffalo. Townley also lectured at Cooper Union in New York City and received good press no-

tices. He stopped in Washington, D.C., for private meetings with Wilson, George Creel of the Committee on Public Information, and Food Administration czar Herbert Hoover.

In Minnesota, opposition to the NPL organized swiftly, with the loyalty issue proving to be a handy club. The governor gave sheriffs a blank check to break up meetings so that they could not become riots. In a subsequent reign of terror, organizers and speakers received severe beatings followed by tar and feathers. Farmers who dared to attend NPL meetings were pelted with eggs, stones, and yellow paint. By the spring of 1918, the Minnesota Public Safety Commission had shut the League out of many counties. Townley appealed to George Creel, who regarded the League as a significant voice of farmers, and so supplied loyalty speakers under NPL auspices. League spokesmen attacked the commission for supporting war for democracy while denying free speech to its own citizens. Eventually, Townley and Joe Gilbert, League organization manager, were indicted in Minnesota for sedition. After the war, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld Minnesota's sedition law with an eloquent dissent from Justice Louis Brandeis that would serve as a basis for an eventual reversal.

Nonpartisan League in North Dakota

It was a different story in North Dakota, where little blood was shed because the NPL controlled the government. The League remained active in Montana during the war with only a few incidents of violence. In South Dakota, Governor Norbeck ordered no interference with League activities, but he looked the other way when local vigilantes broke up meetings. Self-appointed secret police hassled NPL organizers in Iowa, while Washington and Texas saw much violence. In April 1918, east Texas vigilantes whipped three organizers, doused them with salt water, and shot at them as they fled for their lives. The terror subsided after the spring primary election season in most states. The Nonpartisan League did not use violence against its enemies, and members were not actively disloyal. On the contrary, they bought liberty bonds and grew lots of grain for the war effort.

Undaunted, the North Dakota NPL drew up new plans to achieve what had been proposed the year before in House Bill 44. Again, the spring election campaign revolved around the Republican primary, where loyalty did not prove to be an issue. With Townley at the height of his popularity, the League enjoyed a great victory, emerging in control of all three branches. Few realized it at the time, but in losing, conservative Stephen Joseph Doyle had put together a coalition that would eventually put an end to League dominance.

In Minnesota, the League backed popular Congressman Charles A. Lindbergh, Sr. for governor. (Lindbergh's son, Charles A. Lindbergh, Jr., would later become famous as the first aviator to fly from New York to Paris.) The ambitious platform resembled North Dakota's with its plan for state-run enterprises in meatpacking, dairy, and wood products. Lindbergh supported the war once the United States took the plunge, but he had been vehemently opposed to entry. Conservatives amassed a huge war chest (paid for by Public Safety Commission) to beat the man who was a hero in some areas of the state and a villain in others. At several stops, vigilantes bombarded Lindbergh with garbage and even shot at him. The incumbent defeated Lindbergh by 50,000 votes. Elsewhere the League made little headway, owing to the strategy of concentrating on North Dakota and Minnesota because most of the other eleven states had some Progressive laws on the books already and farmers needed more education on what needed to be done next.

The fall elections brought few surprises, with the NPL triumphing in North Dakota and losing in Minnesota and South Dakota. In Idaho, the League elected several members as state legislators, while Colorado, Nebraska, and Montana also sent some members to their state houses. The new national NPL was held together at the center by the National Executive Committee, with Townley having the deciding say. All dues (minus commissions to organizers) went directly to the committee, which passed funds out to the states.

At last, in early 1919, the North Dakota League could implement its full economic agenda: a comprehensive nonprofit state-ownership system for farmers, paid for by state credit, and authority to run the system through a powerful new board. The caucus still made decisions behind closed doors, with Townley's opinions carefully considered. Even at the height of the postwar Red Scare, the NPL legislators refused to consider passing laws criminalizing syndicalism (aimed at the Industrial Workers of the World) or making it a crime to fly a red flag.

Opponents tried to smear the League with accusations of sexual immorality because women were encouraged to play an active role outside of their homes. In 1919, the NPL created a Women's Auxiliary that gave an opportunity for improved networking among rural women. The League supported full suffrage and,

once in power, ratified the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which granted women the right to vote nationally. The NPL devoted significant space to women's issues in its publications as well. In 1922, Minnie D. Craig became one of two women elected to the North Dakota state legislature, where she worked on banking reform. She would eventually rise to a position of leadership as speaker of the state house.

The most important law under consideration would create an Industrial Commission to oversee cooperative state organizations. As proposed, the commission would be made up of the governor, the attorney general, and the secretary of agriculture and labor, responsible for every state agency except schools, prisons, and charitable organizations. A new Bank of North Dakota, keystone to the entire scheme, would loan money to farmers, regulate other banks, and finance state agencies. Virtually every bill passed by more than two-thirds in both houses, which meant that they would come into effect immediately after the adjournment of the legislature. The NPL legislative agenda was complete, with every platform plank having been turned into law. Yet in several of the other twelve states where the NPL operated, conservative forces successfully countered the League by banning direct primaries.

Shortly after its legislative triumph, schisms developed in the North Dakota NPL. Three leaders, Attorney General William Langer, Secretary of State Tom Hall, and State Auditor Carl Kosizky, began to attack the League in bitter terms to prepare the ground for a takeover. Conservative opposition coalesced around the Independent Voters Association (IVA), which attacked the NPL as Socialist. The League proved to be vulnerable after all. While the Bank of North Dakota began its business quickly, other parts of the scheme would take some time to construct. During the Red Scare, many violent acts were perpetrated against the NPL. Ensconced in power, League leaders sometimes overreacted to criticism, as when they created an investigating committee with broad powers to acquire information on any person or group attempting to bring about harm to others, especially the NPL.

In 1920, the NPL renominated Frazier to run in the primary. Opponent William Langer was tough because as a former insider he could claim the League had lost its way due to corruption. Frazier won easily, but voters also passed an anti-Red flag law, an ominous sign that the tide was turning against the League. In the nationwide Republican landslide that fall, the North Dakota NPL won again but took a beating in all other states. Governor Frazier saw no need for new reforms as some existing programs, especially the Bank of North Dakota, came in for criticism. Several investigations in the state legislature proved critical of the administration. The next year, the IVA led a drive to recall NPL-elected officials even as a full-fledged fight for control of the organization in North Dakota weakened the insurgency further. Townley stayed on the sidelines, as did many members preoccupied with a farm recession. The voters recalled Frazier and two other high officials.

With the IVA in charge of the government, conservatives discovered that the Bank of North Dakota had some virtues after all. The NPL decentralized, shifting more of the dues and real power to state organizations in 1921. Townley finally served his ninety days in jail for his wartime conviction and then resigned as president. In 1922, Lynn Frazier was elected to the U.S. Senate, while the NPL lost control over both Houses in North Dakota. Conservatives lost a U.S. Senate race in Minnesota, not to the NPL but the Farmer-Labor Party. Clearly, the League was on its way out, folding the *Leader* in the summer of 1923. The national office closed its doors two years later. The League lived on as a major force in the North Dakota GOP for a few more years. William Langer bought his way back into the NPL and made it his personal power base for twenty years. He served two scandal-ridden terms as governor before moving on to the U.S. Senate. In the 1950s, the NPL merged with the Democratic Party in North Dakota, where it has continued to work on behalf of farm interests.

Conclusion

The NPL was never as radical as its conservative opponents wished to believe. If anything, it provided a more moderate alternative to the Socialist Party and the Industrial Workers of the World. Farmers and former Socialists created the League as part of a struggle between small capitalists and bigger ones—in other words, people who farmed for profit and the capitalist bankers, railroads, and grain brokers who made money off of the land indirectly. Using modern sales techniques and making effective use of print media, the League entered state government through the old political parties in primary elections. In North Dakota, where the NPL takeover of government was complete for a short time, the League expanded state government to reform the system of marketing so that farmers could make higher profits and live more stable lives. The League is perhaps best seen as a rural variation of Progressivism, which

was also nonpartisan, reformist, and effective in alleviating some of the grosser abuses of the capitalist system.

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Women's Home Demonstration Movement

1920s–1930

The Home Demonstration movement was a confluence of the domestic economy movement and the scientific farming movement in the early Progressive Era (1890–1910). Reformers became alarmed by the attrition rate of American farmers, whom they saw as the Jeffersonian core of U.S. society. They believed that by improving rural living conditions, they could turn back the growing tide of urbanization. Agricultural extension education was a means of showing rural Americans better ways to farm and to live, with an eye toward middle-class values. Spurred by the boll weevil invasion throughout the South—an infestation that destroyed cotton crops—individual states began sponsoring agricultural extension agents to work with male farmers. Some states recognized the significant impact that food, shelter, and clothing had on the lives of rural people, and they engaged home demonstrators to improve women's homemaking skills. Schools of agriculture, established under the Morrill Act (1862 in the North; extended to the South in 1890), embraced extension work as one of their primary functions.

At farmers' institutes across the nation, expert agronomists showed farmers how to create larger yields, and domestic science professionals began lecturing to farm women. The U.S. Department of Agriculture established a national extension service in 1907. The Smith-Lever Act of 1914 further institutionalized the extension service, appropriating $10,000 annually to each school of agriculture and stipulating that a portion of the money go for home demonstration. Local counties supplemented federal and state payments for salaries and supplies. Recognizing the value of home demonstration work, organizations such as urban women's clubs lobbied vigorously for adequate funding for women's work.

Women's Crucial Work

Although agricultural reformers acknowledged the importance of farm women's work, they strongly believed in the separation of men's and women's work. In the reformers' conception of farm life, men raised the crops while women took care of all domestic duties. Accordingly, the Smith-Lever Act divided men's and women's programs with little recognition of the symbiotic nature of the farm family. Extension work was also completely segregated by race, with separate programs for whites and blacks. In some Southern states, African-American programs began shortly after white ones. But in other areas, such as Durham County, North Carolina, work by and with African Americans did not begin until the 1930s. African-American programs were uniformly underfunded and, consequently, understaffed.

Women's Programs

Reflecting the pressing need in the rural South where most extension work began, women's programs at first emphasized the most basic aspects of life: food, shelter, and clothing. With increasing knowledge about nutrition, home demonstration agents sought to improve farm families' diets. They often began by working with girls, encouraging them to plant small garden plots of tomatoes and to can the results for home consumption. The young charges, sometimes organized into "corn clubs" and "canning clubs," competed on the size and quality of their yields. For farm women, activities such as planting year-round vegetable gardens, canning vegetables and meats, and drying fruits extended the time when home-grown food would be available.

Canning was particularly important, and women enthusiastically embraced the hot work of preserving produce over wood stoves. In many communities, the home demonstration agents sponsored community canning centers, with up-to-date equipment, receiving a portion of the canned goods as payment for the use of the equipment. In 1924, for example, black Texas women canned more than 224,000 quarts of fruit and vegetables and more than 46,000 quarts of meat and fish. Aspiring cooks also learned improved techniques for such difficult procedures as bread making. Agents

Members of the Housewives' League gather at Washington Market in New York City. Women played the central role in the Home Demonstration movement in the early 1900s. *(Library of Congress)*

introduced an array of goods to make cooking more convenient. One homemade appliance was an early-day slow cooker, known as a fireless cooker. Often, agents stressed the purchase of goods, bringing farm women into the world of consumption. National emergencies, such as World War I, also provided fodder for agents, as they taught about the use of wheat, sugar, and meat substitutes.

Supplementing Income

In the South and Southwest, where lack of income was particularly acute, farm women learned to develop home industries, manufacturing goods that could be produced and sold to bring cash into the family economy. They sought to improve chickens, eggs, and butter, the petty commodities most typically sold by farm women. Farm women also learned to make crafts such as baskets and rugs. The home demonstration agents sought to improve marketing for all of these products.

Home improvements were also a significant part of home demonstration work. Some of the issues were basic matters of public health, such as installing window screens, building sanitary privies, and constructing home water systems. Needs for food and shelter united in an emphasis on more efficient kitchens. Clubs sponsored competitions such as "better kitchen contests" for women who made improvements on limited budgets. Farm women learned to make mattresses for their families. For more prosperous clients

whose basic needs had been met, home demonstration agents stressed aesthetic and decorative elements such as making curtains and rugs and reupholstering furniture. Others emphasized yard beautification with transplanted plants.

Farm women also received instructions on clothing. Agents believed that the farm women would fare better socially and economically in dealing with city-dwellers if they looked less "country." Thus, agents taught sewing techniques, including ways to make over old garments, which often emphasized style and appearance.

Demonstration Clubs

For some farm women, home demonstration clubs had profound impacts on their lives. In some areas, however, home demonstration clubs had limited effectiveness. In the South, clubs were strictly separated by race, and significantly fewer services were offered to African Americans than to white women. Locations with concentrations of recent European immigrants sometimes rejected the efforts of the government workers, preferring to keep their knowledge within the circle of their kin. And class often divided farm women. Poorer women lacked the cooking utensils, stoves, sewing necessities, and garden implements needed to carry out the programs of work, and they lacked the time to attend meetings. In many instances, the work failed to reach the people who could have benefited from it most.

With the coming of the New Deal and World War II, rural areas of the nation lost population, and membership in home demonstration clubs peaked. No more than a quarter of farm women belonged to home demonstration clubs, but for their members, their impact could be profound. The women whose husbands owned land and adapted to business-oriented agriculture after World War II continued to enjoy sessions on canning, cooking, and sewing throughout the 1950s. Like many agricultural reforms, however, home demonstration's goal of a decent farm home for all farm families was accomplished not by the agency itself but by the departure from farming of those people who had most needed the assistance.

Rebecca Sharpless

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Southern Tenant Farmers' Union

For a few years during the Great Depression, African-American and white tenant farmers in the Arkansas Delta's cotton country fought for relief from their economic misery through the vehicle of a potentially radical biracial organization called the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union. Tenants were galvanized into action after the federal government's New Deal Agricultural Adjustment Act provided for paying cotton planters to reduce crop production and the planters (the landlords) systematically denied tenants their share of the payments. Historians agree that the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union (STFU) was a reaction to the operation of the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA), but they differ about the meaning of and ideological commitment of the movement the STFU tried to become. Almost all agree that the basic goal of the STFU was to secure tenants' portions of AAA benefits paid to planters as part of the Act's crop-reduction program. Other analysts see the STFU as going further and attempting to lead agricultural laborers in the economic and political overthrow of the planter class. For their part, Delta cotton planters chose—through mass tenant evictions—to sever the relationships through which they had traditionally maintained their social and economic power. When they evicted tenants to reap the benefits of the AAA, they sacrificed the economic leverage so critical to their control. Thus, when former tenants began to join the STFU, planters could not rely on traditional modes of economic coercion to defeat the organization. Instead, they relied solely on methods that brought national attention to the plight of the union's membership and tenants throughout the South.

Union leaders H.L. Mitchell, Clay East, and others hoped to build a more democratic society in the Arkansas cotton-growing country, but the membership, for the most part, had more limited goals. Rank-and-file members wanted a division of AAA benefits consistent with the division of profits from crops under the tenancy system. If the union could win more for them, tenants would take it, especially if they secured their own land. But the story of the STFU is one of a desperate struggle by men and women to stop the unraveling of tenant farming inadvertently triggered by a government aid program.

Unintended Consequences: The Agricultural Adjustment Act

The AAA's designers hoped to aid agriculture through a program of crop restriction. Government officials told producers how much acreage to take out of production and paid them for each restricted acre. Theoretically, crop restriction would aid both landlords and tenants by forcing price increases while sustaining all producers until such price increases occurred. But, through various methods, the planters managed to keep the tenants' share of government payments. Planters often persuaded tenants to sign agreements waiving their rights to benefit payments. More often, planters simply renamed their tenants as laborers, who were not entitled to benefits. Furthermore, restriction of the number of acres in production reduced the planters' need for tenants, thereby encouraging widespread evictions of tenants.

Planters in the Arkansas Delta counties joined this trend away from tenancy. From 1930 to 1940, the number of tenants in Cross, Crittenden, Lincoln, and St. Francis counties fell 20 percent. Indicative of the relationship between the AAA crop-restriction program and this decline in tenant population is the fact that most of the decrease occurred between 1936 and 1940. Those ex-tenants who were retained as wage laborers were, to be sure, more fortunate than those who were evicted and could find no work in the crowded labor market. In a letter to the New Deal's chief relief administrator Harry Hopkins, one of these unemployed former tenants described his plight: "I have Bin farming all my life But the man I live with Has Turned me

loose taking my mule all my feed. . . . I have 7 in family. I ploud up cotton last yeare I can rent 9 acres and plant 14 in cotton But I haven't got a mule no feed. . . . I want to farm I have Bin on this farm 5 years. I can't get a job So Some one said Rite you." Tenants and ex-tenants in many parts of the South apparently accepted their losses with little protest. In northeastern Arkansas, however, they joined the STFU in an effort to preserve the social relationships that held the Southern plantation system together. They did not enter the union because tenancy assured them of comfortable lives; they did so because the alternatives were so much worse.

Arkansas Socialists and a Biracial Union

Arkansas Socialists organized African-American and white tenants into the union beginning in 1933. That year, a group of displaced tenants and unemployed workers complained to H.L. Mitchell, the operator of a dry cleaners in Tyronza, Arkansas, about plantation owners' practice of placing their favorite tenants in Civil Works Administration projects during the winter to reduce the planters' costs, thereby keeping the genuinely unemployed from getting the jobs. Mitchell, his friend Clay East, and the Tyronza Socialist Party led in the formation of an Unemployed League to protest this practice. When the League held a meeting to present its grievances to the state relief director, over 600 people attended, many of whom were former tenants. At the meeting, the relief director promised to take care of the people's complaints. Mitchell then disbanded the organization.

As a result of its leadership in the formation of the Unemployed League, the Tyronza Socialist Party gained a few more members. The protest of the League is more important, however, as an early expression of the growing discontent in northeastern Arkansas as plantation owners began to trim their workforce in response to the Depression. With the passage of the AAA and mandatory crop restrictions, planters evicted and/or reduced to day labor more of their tenants. Discontent grew with the number evicted. Mitchell and East met with representatives of the families at Sunnyside School on Fairview plantation and suggested that they organize a union. The men representing the Fairview families agreed with Mitchell and East that through a union they might be able to force an end to displacement.

From the beginning, the STFU included African-American members. Fairview's owner evicted black families and white families from his lands, as did other landowners in northeastern Arkansas. If the union could not win the support of both races, planters would use one against the other to undermine union activities. In the past, Southern labor organizations had tried to bridge the racial divide by organizing blacks and whites into separate organizations. Rarely had this approach proved successful in the long term. Isaac Shaw, one of the African Americans at the Sunnyside schoolhouse meeting, warned Mitchell and East against such a policy. He stated that blacks feared that if they joined an organization that did not include whites, they would become the targets of planter retribution. Shaw's argument convinced the founders of the STFU that African Americans and whites would have to be organized within the same organization.

Although the STFU did not adopt separate black and white organizations, most locals were still not integrated. The racial makeup of a local depended upon the racial makeup of the plantation from which members came. Because most plantations were either all white or all black, STFU locals were either all white or all black. If the union had pursued a more aggressive policy of integration, it would have had much more difficulty securing the white support that was a prerequisite for African-American participation. As it was, the two races joined together for major union functions, such as large protest meetings. This level of racial cooperation distinguished the STFU in the South.

Religion and the STFU

Having decided upon a racial policy, the founders turned to the task of recruiting members. From the beginning, the STFU used the evangelical Protestant religious idiom and traditions of most tenants to spread its message. Meetings resembled camp-meeting revivals as preacher-organizers such as Ward Rodgers, Claude Williams, and E.B. McKinney spoke about the sins of the planters and the righteousness of the tenants' cause. Claude Williams, stressing the importance of such appeals, observed that "religion speaks a language that southern people understand. Southern people know more about Moses and the children of Israel in bondage than about Jefferson and Washington." African-American preachers were especially important in the STFU's recruitment of members. Mitchell urged organizers to include ministers, such as A.B. Brookins, in their appeals to blacks as well as whites. White tenants and laborers felt that African-American preachers understood the condi-

tions in which they lived better than did most white ministers.

The STFU's use of religion and its racial policy reflected the leadership's understanding of the South in general, Arkansas in particular. All of the leaders were natives of the area or had lived there for extended periods of time before organizing the union. Mitchell, a native Southerner, had been in Tyronza for seven years. East had lived in the Delta all his life. E.B. McKinney had been a tenant and a long-time circuit-riding preacher in Arkansas as was Ward Rodgers. J.R. Butler, another Socialist who joined the union shortly after its formation, was from Pangburn, Arkansas, and had been active in labor organizing in Arkansas for years. Only Howard Kester, a West Virginian and Vanderbilt graduate who began working for the union in 1935, could be considered an outsider.

Hopes for Intervention—Fears of Planter Repression

Union leaders did not initially embrace direct action in their efforts to roll back evictions. Instead, they appealed for government intervention on behalf of evicted tenants and sought relief in the courts. Throughout the South, people believed that President Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration would take the side of those who suffered from the effects of the Depression. Government officials were concerned about the unintended consequences of the AAA, but for political reasons would not challenge local control of New Deal programs. Mitchell and the union's Executive Council then filed a lawsuit on behalf of the tenants evicted from the Norcross plantation based on Section 7 of the cotton acreage reduction contract, which, in theory, protected tenants both from being dismissed or displaced from their homes except for bad conduct. Both provisions protecting tenants were weak. As planters pointed out, Section 7 did not, in fact, compel them to do anything; they only had to "endeavor in good faith" to prevent displacement. Who could prove they had not been at least trying to retain the same number of tenants they had before the AAA? In addition, some would later argue that membership in or sympathy with the STFU constituted bad conduct. Therefore, those who were guilty of union activity could legally be put off the plantation. C.T. Carpenter, the union's attorney, argued that Section 7 provided legal protection against eviction for tenants, not just an expression of the government's hope that planters would provide that protection. He also contended that union activity alone did not constitute bad conduct and that tenants who joined could not, under the law, be evicted.

In the meantime, Ward Rodgers conducted public gatherings at which he denounced the actions of planters. These meetings triggered a campaign to destroy the union. The deputy prosecuting attorney for Marked Tree, Arkansas, had Rodgers arrested and jailed in Jonesboro, Arkansas. He charged Rodgers with conspiracy to overthrow the government, anarchy, and intimidation of landowners. Because Sheriff J.D. Dubard empaneled a jury of planters, Carpenter, who defended Rodgers, realized that a vigorous defense would be an exercise in futility. For this reason, he brought forth no evidence or witnesses. The prosecutor, on the other hand, introduced witnesses who testified that Rodgers threatened to lynch planters and to lead in the overthrow of the plantation system. The prosecutor also noted, for good measure, that Rodgers addressed a "nigger" as "mister" at a union meeting. As was expected, the jury found Rodgers guilty. The publicity the Rodgers case brought to the union proved to be vital to its continued existence. Socialist Party and liberal groups such as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and the Southern Organizing Committee (SOC) for Economic and Social Justice began protesting against the Rodgers verdict and the conditions of which the STFU complained. These groups, as well as the Strikers' Emergency Relief Committee, the Church Emergency Relief Fund, and others provided the union direct financial help.

Recognizing the problem the STFU posed, planters stepped up their campaign against the organization. Having failed to intimidate members and prospective members through disruption of meetings, illegal arrests, and other forms of harassment and now lacking the economic sanctions that had been fundamental to their control of the rural South, planters resorted to more brutal methods. This new phase of the planters' anti-union campaign began in a town named Birdsong. On March 16, a crowd of tenants gathered to hear the most prominent supporter of the STFU, Norman Thomas, speak. When Thomas began his speech, a group of planters and riding bosses, reportedly drunk, pulled Thomas from the platform and said "that they would take care of their labor, and weren't gonna have no outside interference from any white haired Yankee son-of-a-bitch." The mob then escorted Thomas and his entourage to the Tennessee line. After the attack on Thomas at Birdsong, attacks on prominent union members were numerous. Gangs fired into the homes of A.B. Brookins and C.T. Carpenter shortly after the Birdsong incident. On March

30, a mob fired on an African-American church near Lepanto and attacked a group of church members.

Planters also employed more subtle tactics in their war against the union. They encouraged Abner Sage, the minister of the Marked Tree Methodist Church, to set up an alternative organization called the Marked Tree Cooperative Association (MTCA). Although Sage denied that he was a puppet of the planters, a *New York Times* reporter noted that Sage consistently spoke for the planters through his letters to newspapers and to Senator Joe Robinson (D-AR). But the support for Sage's organization revealed more than the reporter understood. In his remarks, Sage expressed alarm at the STFU's racial policy that many white tenant farmers in the area shared. Although the MCTA attracted few followers in the beginning, it reminded Mitchell and other union leaders of the tenuous nature of the racial accord they had negotiated. Without progress in their struggle to redress their members' grievances, appeals such as Sage's might gain more widespread support from white members.

The Strike of 1935

Such concerns moved Mitchell to propose a strike in April 1935. As Mitchell wrote in July, the membership wanted "action and has for some time," and a strike would give them what they wanted. He proposed that cotton pickers demand $1.00 per hundred pounds of cotton picked, a 40- to 50-cent increase in the rate. If planters refused, pickers would go on strike. By the time Mitchell submitted the proposal to the membership, planters had announced their intention of reducing the picking rate. Not surprisingly, union members supported the strike plan. The action would begin at the end of September 1935 when the cotton had to be picked or it would die in the fields.

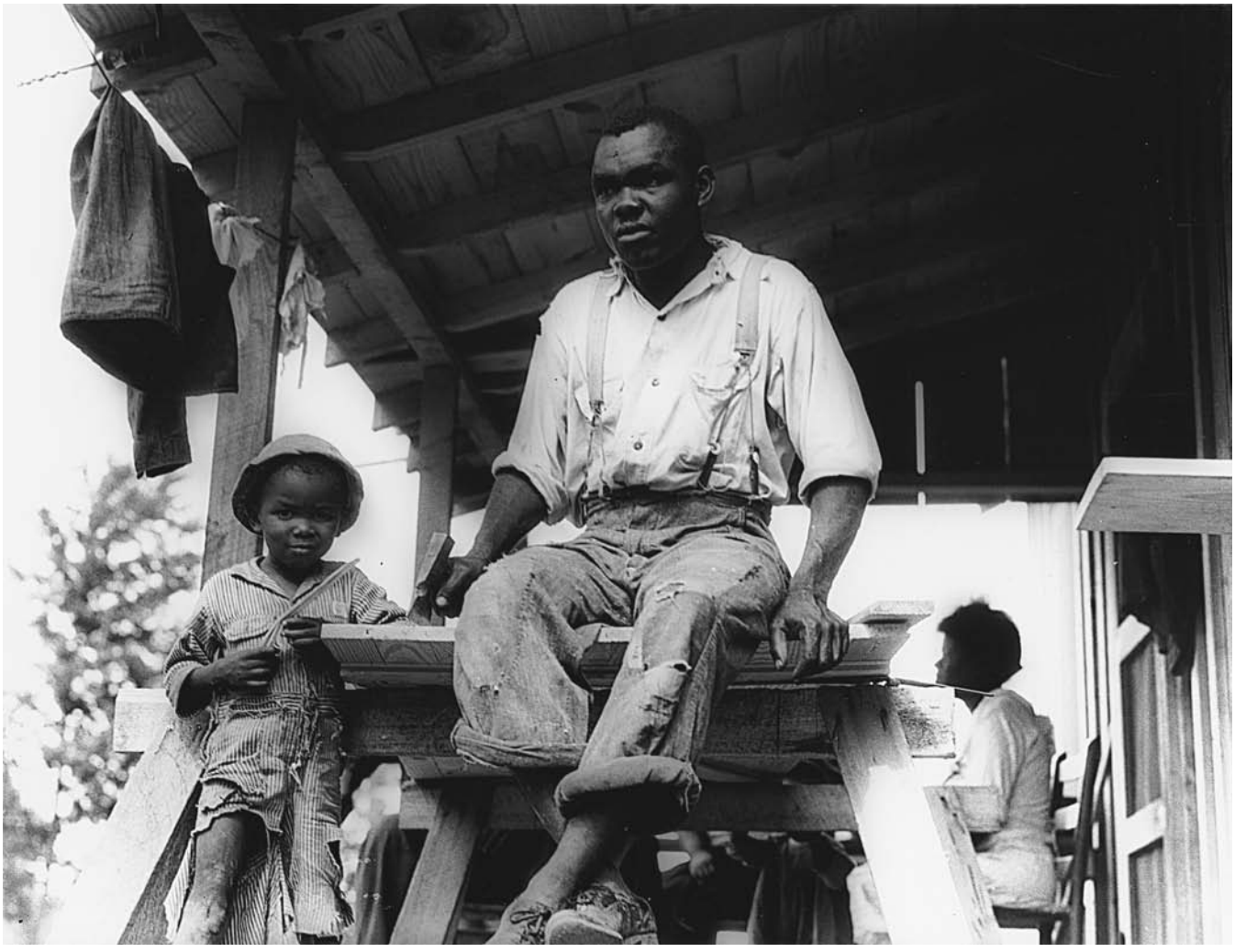
On the night of September 22, representatives from locals began spreading handbills throughout Crittenden, Cross, and Poinsett counties announcing the beginning of the strike. The next day, 4,000 to 5,000 pickers failed to report to work. H.C. Malcolm, Arkansas deputy labor commissioner, reported that he could only find five pickers working. Planters quickly began to grant wage increases to strikers rather than watch their crops rot in the fields. By October 4, when leaders called the strike off, most locals had won at least $0.75 per hundred pounds and many had won the full $1.00. Because the walkout surprised planters and strikers never directly confronted their employers, little violence occurred during the strike.

The ease with which the STFU won the 1935 strike fostered confidence in the union among eastern Arkansas tenants. Mitchell received more requests for organization of new locals than he and other organizers could handle. Those clamoring for organization knew they faced more evictions in the coming year and looked to the union to assist them.

Evictions

In early January, the expected new wave of evictions began. Letters to union leaders from displaced tenants pleading for help indicate the misery they suffered. J.J. Lynn, for example, wrote that since his eviction, he had no food, no money, and only a self-built shack with a dirt floor in which to live. He stated in a letter to Mitchell that he was "in the worst shape I ever were in in my life." As planters reduced the number of tenants on their lands before the 1936 planting season began, the number of people in similar circumstances would increase. Indeed, a plantation owner named C.H. Dibble intended to evict all the tenants from his place on January 16. In the first two weeks of January, STFU leaders concentrated on stopping the evictions of these families but failed. Dibble forced tenants out of their homes, onto roadsides in freezing weather, with no shelter or food. Other plantation owners offered them places if they would sever their ties to the STFU, but they refused to accept.

After Dibble evicted his tenants, union leaders appealed for donations to be used to provide the families with shelter and food. Kester wrote James Myers of the Church Emergency Relief Committee, Charles Garland of the Garland Fund, and Mary Fox of the League for Industrial Democracy to request relief funds from these organizations. Myers, who had already sent money for use in the union's relief effort, sent food and some tents and assured Kester of continued support as needed; the others soon sent money to assist the union. A few of the Dibble families were fortunate enough to be allowed to live in the Mount Zion church near Parkin, Arkansas; those for whom there was not enough room in the church lived in the churchyard in the tents Myers sent. For the next two months, the church and the tents would be home for the Dibble group as well as other displaced tenants. In addition, the Parkin church colony provided the union with dramatic evidence of planter tyranny with which to mobilize tenants and laborers. For some, such symbols were unnecessary. On the day Dibble ejected the tenants from his plantation, the St. Peters local of the STFU met to protest the planter's action and to demonstrate their determination to fight evictions. Unfortunately, plantation owners and local law enforcement agencies were just as determined to fight



A former Arkansas sharecropper builds a new house in Mississippi after being evicted from his land for joining the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union. The interracial union of poor farmers and laborers fought for higher wages and better working conditions and attracted thousands of members in the 1930s. Their actions were often met with violent resistance from planters. *(Library of Congress)*

the STFU. Shortly after the meeting began, a deputy sheriff arrived, disarmed those guarding the proceedings, entered the church, and ordered everyone to leave.

Union officials continued to appeal for assistance from the federal government, doubting the prospects of assistance from state and local authorities. Mitchell and the others thought they had convinced government officials to assist evicted tenants and to do more to prevent further such actions by planters. But when some in Cross and Wynn counties applied for government relief, they were rejected unless they were widows, orphans, or elderly. Local officials controlled relief programs and generally were reluctant to follow direction from Washington. STFU officials demanded more direct intervention from Washington but elicited little more than promises to investigate violations of the civil liberties of union members.

Such promises won for the union some national media coverage but offered little of substance to tenants facing eviction. Henry Craft, Jr. of Proctor, Arkansas, evicted twenty-four families from his plantation in early February. When planter George Berry ordered several families off his place, twenty-nine men, women, and children were left without food or shelter. On February 21, the STFU reported that hundreds had lost their places on plantations since the beginning of the month. Landlords told many of their former tenants that they could return in March if they wanted to work as day laborers. In the meantime,

they relied on more fortunate neighbors, and the STFU provided food, shelter, and clothes to displaced families; by the end of February, however, its resources were almost exhausted. Now the euphoria of the months following the successful 1935 strike gave way to doubts about the viability of the union. Tenants fearing eviction did not want to antagonize their landlords when the STFU proved helpless to do anything for them. A union official near Trumann informed Mitchell in early February that people there would not join the union. At least one union local folded during this period because its tenants lost interest in the activities of the STFU. Union leaders, understanding the need to act, in early March decided that the union would have to fight "with its only weapon," a general strike of all tenants and laborers in northeastern Arkansas.

The Strike of 1936

Mitchell distributed a strike proposal to locals that met with a tepid response. The unfavorable reaction of tenants to the strike proposal exposed a more deeply felt skepticism concerning union activities than union leaders thought. For example, J.J. Lynn, a union official in Poinsett county, the only county in union territory in which tenancy did not decline between 1935 and 1940, stated that tenants there did not consider a strike to be in their interest. Tenants on the Golightly plantation, in another county, would not even meet to vote on the strike proposal because they feared the owner would evict them. In mid-March, a local union official reported that two-thirds of his tenant members quit the union completely because they feared they would lose their places on the plantations if caught openly participating in union activities of any kind.

Predictably, evicted tenants were much more supportive of the strike proposal. After eviction they had no place to live and often had no food, shelter, or clothes. Even if a displaced tenant could find work as a day laborer, he usually could not earn enough to pay rent on a house, or to purchase food and clothing sufficient to his needs. People in this condition were quick to take the opportunity to strike back at those responsible for their misery. Although union records do not indicate what percentage of the over-6,000 votes for the strike came from evicted tenants, certain evidence suggests a relationship between loss of tenant status and support for direct action tactics. A local secretary, for instance, reported to union offices that four families did not decide to support the strike until a planter kicked them off of his plantation. More revealing of the connection between eviction and support for the strike was union leaders' decision to hold the strike only in St. Francis, Crittenden, and Cross counties, where displacement was the greatest in northeastern Arkansas, and to limit the action to day laborers. If the laborers could win a victory, the STFU leadership hoped, tenants might renew their commitment to the union.

During March and April, support for the proposed strike grew as the number of homeless people in northeastern Arkansas increased. On March 9, Henry Peters wrote Mitchell to report the eviction of four families from the H.J. Johnson, a plantation near Parkin. M.E. Holland reduced the number of tenant families on his land by four several days later. These and thirty to forty other families set up another tent colony on Highway 64 near Wynne, Arkansas. Lula Parchman, secretary of the STFU local at St. John, Arkansas, was among those who lost their places on plantations during April. She had been on the J.H. Blunt place since 1933, she wrote Mitchell, and did not want to start working as a day laborer. Parchman, like hundreds of other tenants, who suffered the same fate, believed that she could only gain from a strike against those responsible for her misery.

STFU leaders planned to hold the strike in May when cotton had to be "chopped" to keep grass from taking it. Day laborers would demand $1.00 per day for a ten-hour day and 15 cents for overtime. Usually, planters paid day laborers 75 cents to $1.00 for a day that began at sunrise and lasted until the sun went down. If planters entered into negotiations with the union before the May deadline, the strike would be canceled. Union leaders also would cancel the walkout if, as Jackson stated in a memorandum to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the federal government took action on their complaints against planters. As expected, plantation owners refused to negotiate with the STFU. For a short while, however, it appeared that the federal government would act. Since becoming the STFU's representative in Washington, Jackson had lobbied for a presidential inquiry into conditions in northeastern Arkansas. He and Norman Thomas persuaded Rexford Tugwell to discuss the matter with President Roosevelt. In early March, the president brought up the Arkansas tenant problem at a cabinet meeting. Frances Perkins, the secretary of labor, urged the president to dispatch a government mediator to Arkansas to settle disputes between landlords and tenants. Because Vice President John Nance Garner feared such an investigation would embarrass Senator Joseph Robinson in an election year, little came of Per-

kins's suggestion or Mitchell's proposal for a government commission to investigate conditions in Arkansas. Officials at the Agriculture Department informed Mitchell that complaints had been investigated and found to be exaggerated; nothing more would be done.

Because further efforts to find solutions failed, the STFU leaders and rank-and-file were committed more than ever to a strike at the end of April. As in 1935, Mitchell had union officials in the three strike counties set up strike committees. Each committee consisted of a representative from every organized plantation in a local's territory. The committees were responsible for explaining the union's demands to members and for informing them of the time and date of the walkout. In addition, the local strike committee would negotiate with planters if they decided to negotiate with the STFU.

On May 18, 1936, strike committees began spreading leaflets announcing the start of the strike. Although the union claimed 4,000 to 5,000 strikers, reports from members, organizers, and others revealed limited participation. The events of the early part of the year, division within the union, and planters' preparation for the strike all contributed to its failure. Those who remained on the land or even had work as day laborers understood the risk they took if they joined the union. Clearly, planters were willing and able to simply dismiss strikers, thereby depriving them of a means to survive. Internecine bickering also undermined the union's credibility among many.

Under the circumstances, planters' well-planned response had maximum effect on those who did strike. Unlike 1935, planters made arrangements to import unemployed workers from Memphis to replace strikers. Mitchell, anticipating this strategy, enlisted the assistance of the Memphis Workers' Alliance in trying to discourage those who would go into the Arkansas cotton fields, but he failed to stop the replacement of strikers. Local law enforcement officers assisted the planters by arresting anyone who interfered with "strikebreakers." Deputy Sheriff Paul Peacher arrested thirty-five strikers for vagrancy and put them to work on a "county farm." By the end of May, the strike was hardly noticeable. Mitchell and union officials decided to call it off.

Conclusion

The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union would continue to exist in various forms through the remainder of the 1930s. But the failure of the 1936 strike marked the end of its effectiveness in fighting the effects of agricultural change in the South. Even if they had temporarily succeeded in rolling back evictions and other immediate effects of New Deal farm policy, they could not preserve the farms of rural Arkansas, or their ability to subsist in rural areas. The AAA began a long-term process in the South that encompassed mechanization of the cotton harvest, production of less labor-intensive crops, and the end of tenancy. Tenants and rural laborers rendered superfluous by such fundamental changes found their ways to the factories of the South's expanding the urban-industrial economy, if they were fortunate. Others joined the ranks of the chronically underemployed in the countryside and in the city. With its struggle to control this revolution in Southern agriculture for the people who worked the land, the STFU joined a lengthy list of similar failed movements.

Henry M. McKiven, Jr.

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Farmer-Labor Party

Minnesota's Farmer-Labor Party, and the larger movement of which it was a part, represents one of the most successful progressive third-party movements in American history. For about a twenty-year period, in the 1920s and 1930s, workers and farmers combined to elect hundreds of candidates to public office and promote an agenda that included fair prices for farmers and fair treatment of workers.

Although the seeds of third-party activism existed in many states, few movements flowered as the Farmer-Labor Party did in Minnesota. Situated at the boundaries of the industrial East and the agricultural West, Minnesota had both well-developed farmer organizations and strong labor unions. Leaders from both groups came forward at critical times to promote the formation of the party. The Minnesota movement, therefore, was in a position to take advantage of circumstances favorable to third-party formation—namely, an unpopular war and economic depression.

The history of the Farmer-Labor Party can best be understood in four stages: emergence (1917–1924), consolidation (1924–1930), high tide (1930–1938), and decline (1938–1948).

Emergence

In the first stage, emergence (1917–1924), two broad-based organizations, the Farmer's Nonpartisan League and the Working People's Nonpartisan League, joined forces to challenge Minnesota's ruling Republicans by running opposition candidates in the primaries. Although their immediate aims were different, the two movements found little trouble agreeing on a political program. Both opposed the state's business and political elites who controlled the agricultural markets and viciously fought workers' attempts to organize unions. Both favored programs to curb corporate powers through state regulations and public ownership.

In autumn 1917, organizers from the Farmer's Nonpartisan League crisscrossed the state, signing up 50,000 farmers on an antimonopoly program patterned after the successful effort of North Dakota farmers the year before. From the beginning, opposition was intense. League organizing took place during the heat of U.S. involvement in World War I. Main Street "patriots" broke up meetings and ran organizers out of town. The Republican administration carried on a campaign of harassment, branding both farm and labor militants as disloyal and jailing leaders for sedition.

Still, the organizing continued. In 1918, Congressman Charles Lindbergh Sr., father of the famous aviator, came within 50,000 votes of defeating Governor Joseph A. Burnquist in the primary. The Farmer-Labor coalition elected a respectable number of state legislators and firmly established itself as the second-most powerful political force in the state—well ahead of the hapless Democrats.

Key players in the formation of the Farmer-Labor movement were farmer Henry Teigan and labor leader William Mahoney. United by their Socialist political views, they saw the coalition as a natural step toward achieving real political power. In 1918, Mahoney convinced leaders of the Minnesota Federation of Labor to abandon the electoral philosophy of American Federation of Labor President Samuel Gompers and pursue an independent political course. Teigan wrote frequently for both farm and labor publications on the need for unity. Both men ultimately became elected officials—Teigan as a member of the U.S. House of Representatives in 1936 and Mahoney as mayor of St. Paul in 1932.

Other Farmer-Labor advocates came to Farmer-Laborism through religion, particularly the Social Gospel, and the Prohibition movement. The Rev. Howard Y. Williams, a Congregational minister from St. Paul, and Susie W. Stageberg, an evangelical Lutheran crusader from Red Wing, were attracted to Farmer-Laborism's high purpose and moral activism. Stageberg would be remembered, Millard Gieske

wrote in *Minnesota Farmer-Laborism: The Third-Party Alternative* (1979), as "the very personification of the religious disciple in politics."

Consolidation

The position of these activists and others who favored the creation of a genuine third party was strengthened by success in the 1920 and 1922 elections. In 1924, the two organizations founded the Farmer-Labor Federation—renamed the Farmer-Labor Association the following year. This event marked the beginning of the second stage of the movement's history, consolidation, (1924–1930).

The Farmer-Labor Association was the year-round, participatory body of the movement; the Farmer-Labor Party was its electoral arm. The development of a Farmer-Labor Party did not at first result in any dramatic improvement in Farmer-Labor fortunes. In 1924, the charismatic Hennepin County attorney, Floyd B. Olson, fell short in his bid to win the governorship. Throughout the rest of the decade, the association found itself swimming upstream, keeping its "loyal opposition" status in the legislature but unable to catch up with the Republicans.

Unlike many third-party efforts, however, the Farmer-Labor Party held together, less as a "movement" now with all the unfettered energy and participation the term implies, but as a viable organization. The continued support of the labor unions and the widespread network of ideologically committed Farmer-Laborites from both city and country kept the program and spirit alive.

A former dockworker and member of the Industrial Workers of the World, Floyd B. Olson served as governor of Minnesota from 1930 to 1936. Under his leadership, the state legislature passed many laws favored by the Farmer-Labor Party, including securities regulation, expansion of public works, conservation of natural resources, and aid to farmer and worker cooperatives. *(Minnesota Historical Society/St. Paul Daily News)*

High Tide

In 1930, the steady work paid off. Olson was elected governor, beginning the third and most successful period of Farmer-Labor history, the high tide (1930–1938). A gifted orator, Olson articulated the feelings of the one in five Minnesotans in search of work during the Great Depression and the many more who experienced both insecurity about their own situations and outrage about poverty and social injustice. The immensely popular Olson was elected governor three times and was a shoo-in for U.S. Senate before he died of a stomach tumor in 1936.

Olson's success was paralleled throughout the organization. Dues-paying membership in the association rose to almost 40,000 as organizers set up clubs across the state. Hundreds of Farmer-Laborites held elected offices at all levels of government—from city council to U.S. Senate. In 1936, Farmer-Laborites captured five of eight congressional seats, the governorship, and a solid majority in the Minnesota House of Representatives.

Political success was buoyed by the spectacular reemergence of mass movements. The Farm Holiday movement revived the dormant populist spirit of Minnesota farmers as thousands participated in strikes and direct action tactics to resist foreclosures. In Minneapolis, the Teamsters Union faced down the Citizens Alliance, the country's most notorious anti-labor organization, and won an epic battle that opened up the state's largest city to the labor movement. In 1936–1938, the newly organized Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) set northern Minnesota's Iron Range on fire with militant campaigns among timber workers and iron ore miners.

Labor and farm organizing was complemented by other efforts as well. The Workers Alliance set up councils of the unemployed across the state, leading

the fight for adequate relief and modern social security programs. Cooperatives of all kinds sprung up in town and country alike: electric power cooperatives, food cooperatives, marketing cooperatives, hardware stores, gas stations, and grain elevators. All of these movements allied themselves with the Farmer-Labor Association, oftentimes formally, as affiliated organizations. The association became the political extension of the great social movements of the 1930s.

Although the Farmer-Labor Party controlled the governorship for eight years, it was never able to control the state senate and was thus stymied in its efforts to enact its agenda. Pieces of the platform did become law, however, putting Minnesota in the forefront of New Deal–era reform. Successful Farmer-Labor legislation included a moratorium on farm foreclosures, ratification of the national child labor amendment, passage of the state income tax, and creation of thirteen new state forests.

Decline

The late 1930s signaled the end of the glory days of the Farmer-Labor movement. In 1938, Olson's successor, Elmer Benson, was overwhelmingly defeated by a reform Republican named Harold Stassen. The inability of successive Farmer-Labor administrations to solve the economic problems of the Great Depression; the people's weariness of class confrontation politics; a systematic anti-Semitic and anti-Communist campaign from both within and outside the association; and serious divisions within the association itself were all factors in the overwhelming Farmer-Labor defeat. The period of decline (1938–1948) set in.

With the United States' entry into World War II, the economy improved, and most Farmer-Laborites joined enthusiastically in support of the war effort. There was little inclination—and less of a constituency—for vintage Farmer-Labor antimonopoly politics while the war continued. In 1944, the association merged with the Democrats to become the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party (DFL). Unity prevailed until the war's end.

In 1946, the struggle for the political direction of the new party began. Farmer-Labor opposition to the consolidation of corporate power and the Cold War politics of President Harry Truman's administration met head on with the corporate liberalism of the Democrats. When Farmer-Laborites moved to endorse the independent presidential candidacy of Henry Wallace in 1948, the Democrats, led by young Hubert Humphrey, united behind Truman. In a brutal six-month battle fought in precinct and district caucuses across the state, the Democrats soundly defeated their opposition. The Farmer-Labor wing never recovered its influence and was soon subsumed by the Democratic forces within the party.

But the Farmer-Labor movement was far more than an electoral party. It was a genuine social movement with its own educational and cultural components. It was *participatory*, the collective expression of thousands: farmers, workers, professionals, and small businesspeople. Many had inherited their outlook from parents, participants in earlier populist movements and labor struggles. Thousands more came to the association through their own experiences.

Conclusion

The Farmer-Labor movement encompassed but extended beyond the association itself. The movement included the Farm Holiday, the CIO, and the cooperatives. In an organizational sense, these movements often connected directly to the association as affiliates. But even when they did not, the collective energy of popular protest in Minnesota formed the social soil in which the Farmer-Labor Association could take root and grow.

As participants in progressive social movements, Farmer-Laborites developed a political viewpoint and program that were far to the left of both the New Deal of the 1930s and the Democratic Party today. The Farmer-Labor program contained "socialistic" proposals (public ownership of utilities, banks, packing houses, railroads) without advocating socialism as a total system. Farmer-Laborites believed that economic democracy was a necessary component of political democracy, that the unchecked power of monopolies was the greatest threat to both economic security *and* individual freedom, and that workers and farmers had the courage and intelligence to reshape society.

To be sure, some Farmer-Laborites were indeed Socialists. Veterans of the Socialist Party formed the nucleus of the Nonpartisan League, organizing efforts among farmers in both North Dakota and Minnesota. Socialists were prominent in the Twin Cities labor movement as well. They provided much of the ideological leaven for the foundation of the Farmer-Labor Federation in 1924.

The fullest expression of the Farmer-Labor Socialist current was the famous "Cooperative Commonwealth" platform of 1934. The term itself, "Cooperative Commonwealth," was vintage American socialism. It symbolized an economic-political system based on individual freedom and the common good. It countered the dominant cultural image of a

free individual in a free market with a vision of a free *people* controlling both their political and economic institutions. The program itself, with its emphasis on grassroots economic organization through producer and consumer cooperatives, as well as state ownership, further reinforced this image.

But the imagery and poetry of the 1934 platform, while reflecting a continuous current within Farmer-Labor thought, was the exception. More typical was the platform of the Working People's Nonpartisan League in 1919. It would serve as a prototype for Farmer-Labor platforms throughout the 1920s and 1930s. It called for the eight-hour day and forty-four-hour week; the establishment of cooperatives; state compensation for injured workers; equality of men and women and equal pay; abolition of unemployment; and public ownership of railroads, banks, terminal grain elevators, and public utilities. The Farmer-Labor movement was nourished by diverse social traditions: the radicalism of the Finns on the Iron Range; the reform tradition of the Norwegians; the moral fervor of the Social Gospel; the crusading spirit of the temperance and suffrage movements; the populism of the Red River Valley wheat farmers; and the democratic dream of the Jeffersonian tradition itself.

The relationship between Communism and Farmer-Laborism was a matter of controversy throughout Farmer-Labor history. The American Communist Party supported the formation of the movement in the early 1920s, only to move to active opposition by 1924. Beginning with the United Front period in the latter half of the 1930s, the party once again actively supported the Farmer-Labor Association, adding strong organizing energy to the movement, but also creating conflict within movement ranks. Given the strength of anti-Communism in Minnesota and elsewhere, participation by party members provided the Republican opposition with a powerful political issue against Farmer-Laborites.

The Farmer-Labor movement had a lasting effect on Minnesota politics, not only in conventional political terms and in ideology, but also on the culture of civic participation itself. Not only did it elect hundreds to public office, keeping Minnesota's Democrats in their place, and challenging the dominant Republican Party for the top rung, but it produced in Floyd Olson a political leader of national stature—"presidential timber" according to the era's pundits. Even after the merger creating the DFL Party, the progressive populism that was at the heart of the Farmer-Labor movement influenced the careers of such exemplars of postwar liberalism as Hubert Humphrey, Eugene McCarthy, Walter Mondale, and, more recently, Paul Wellstone. Minnesota's Republican Party changed fundamentally as it coped with the Farmer-Labor challenge. From the election of Harold Stassen in 1936 until the emergence of President Ronald Reagan's conservatism in 1980, Minnesota Republicans accepted a positive role for state government—a core value of Farmer-Laborism. The success of the Farmer-Labor Party established a tradition of third-party efforts in Minnesota, the political space for electoral success by Green Party candidates at the local level and Reform Party (later Independence Party) governor Jesse Ventura in the early twenty-first century.

Students of American political culture credit Minnesota with a high level of civic participation and an underlying commitment to public action for the public good. This "moralistic" approach to politics and public life has multiple roots. Chief among them is the progressive legacy of Minnesota's Farmer-Labor tradition.

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Farm Workers Labor Movement

One of the poorest occupations in the United States is that of the landless, migrant farm worker. During the twentieth century, most seasonal workers labored on the enormous farms and ranches in California. Historically, how have members of America's rural proletariat responded to their lack of steady work and income? By what collective actions have they sought to change the conditions that they face? Have their efforts been, on the whole, successful or not?

The Economic Context

Prior to World War I, agriculture in the United States was by and large family based and small scale. Independent family farmers, tenant farmers, and sharecropping families lived on the land that they cultivated. They directly consumed a goodly portion of what they raised. Production was fairly diversified, with a few specialized products, such as wheat and cotton, raised for domestic and international markets.

For historical reasons, California was an exception. After winning the Mexican-American War, the United States signed a treaty that promised to respect Mexican deeds for haciendas and ranchos, where large herds of cattle grazed on thousands of acres. Shortly after statehood was achieved in 1850, the California government, in hopes of encouraging economic development, sold much of the territory's unclaimed public lands. The government also sold a fair amount of land previously owned by Mexican citizens (partly because of real and alleged confusions over the content and location of deeds).

During the massive transfer of property, former Mexican estates were only partially broken up. Wealthy private investors, such as the Southern Pacific Railroad, shrewdly amassed prime farming property from the government, often through graft and corruption. A few thousand of California's wealthiest private proprietors soon owned most of the state's 128 million acres of arable land. Sometimes a company's real estate exceeded 100,000 acres, and single "plots" could take a day or more to walk across. As political historian and activist Carey McWilliams has noted, Henry George wrote in 1871: "California is not a country of farms but a country of plantations and estates."

By the time the government had completed its decisions about whether and how to transfer former Mexican landholdings, America's second industrial revolution had begun in earnest. After the Civil War, electrically powered machines were being invented and rapidly refined; and the transcontinental railroad was almost complete. Intrigued by the sales potential of America's enormous market, owners of California's gigantic farms soon invested in electrical-powered irrigation and underground pumps, harvesting machinery, storage facilities, and fertilizers, pesticides, and other chemicals. Modern railway technology (including refrigerated cars) enabled large landlords to focus on perishable fruits and vegetables that were in great demand and to ship them quickly to urban consumers in the Midwest and along the Eastern seaboard. Some ambitious growers branched out into ancillary businesses, such as food processing and preparation. (In the upper Midwestern states, in contrast, a clear division of labor developed between private farmers and large private processing companies, such as Campbell, Heinz, and Vlasic.)

The new machinery and facilities required lots of capital, which few of California's largest growers could amass by themselves. The state's financial institutions soon developed close ties with major growers. Complementary economic interests also led to friendships between leaders in California's booming agricultural sector and leaders of its transportation and utility sectors, creating a network of interlocking directorates among the state's wealthiest companies.

The titular owners of California's gigantic agri-

businesses seldom resided on their lands or directly worked the ground. Large growers, visiting their holdings from time to time, usually lived and worked in cities, where they helped set production goals and planned market strategies, and dickered with banks, railroad companies, and retailers on prices and rates. To run the farms, owners hired supervisors and small year-round crews that maintained machines and watched the crops. In addition, growers authorized the hiring of large temporary workforces to harvest crops for a few weeks each year.

Except for grains, which could be harvested by machines, many commercial crops needed to be harvested within days by hand (and in the cases of some fruits, within hours). Otherwise, the crop would spoil. An inadequate number of workers thus could create an immediate financial crisis for a large farmer—a crisis whose dimensions few private industrialists could appreciate.

The transient laborers were paid piecemeal for the number of pounds they harvested each day. Workers either rented housing from the growers (which sometimes might be merely a tattered tent) or huddled at night in makeshift camps along public roads. Often pickers were not allowed to leave the ranches in the evening and were forced to buy groceries, toiletries, and other daily goods at exorbitant prices in company stores. Temporary workers sometimes were paid in scrip. This was done partly to encourage purchases on the ranch, partly to deter workers from leaving early for better paying jobs, and partly to cover damage to property, which was deducted from the field hand's pay when the scrip was exchanged for cash at the conclusion of the harvest.

As soon as a harvest was completed, a large grower usually had no further need for the hundreds (and sometimes more than a thousand) field hands. They were quickly pushed and pulled to new ranches. Vagrancy laws punished stragglers, but the need for food and wages usually provided enough incentive to prompt workers to move constantly up and down the state, according to the harvest schedules of different crops.

Traits of Farm Workers

California's system of agriculture, featuring both large land holdings and a huge migrating workforce, has persisted for almost a century and a half. During that time, the ethnic and racial composition of the rural proletariat has changed dramatically.

At first, California's large agribusinesses recruited down-on-their-luck miners, Native Americans, bankrupt former farmers, and newly arrived Europeans. Toward the turn of the century, growers began to import laborers from China, Japan, Mexico, and Hawaii. By the 1880s, Chinese field hands made up more than half of the state's rural workforce. Later, waves of Japanese, Filipino, Mexican, and Middle Eastern immigrants provided most of the transient workforces that California's agribusinesses required. In the middle of the twentieth century, approximately two-thirds of the workforce was Spanish speakers from Mexico and the Philippines. In the late 1980s, growers began to rely on large numbers of non-Spanish speaking Native Americans from southern Mexico. Only for a few years in the late 1930s were a majority of the rural proletariat U.S citizens of northern European descent.

The ethnic diversity of the migrant workers has in some ways compounded their economic troubles. Not only are most of California's field hands very poorly paid and without secure jobs. They are shunned by most of white California, denied equal treatment when looking for housing and loans, and compelled to send their children to inferior schools and medical centers.

Throughout the twentieth century, members of the rural proletariat—regardless of national origins—tried to improve their material circumstances through individual and group actions. During boom years, many field hands migrated to cities in hopes of securing better paying jobs and, in the long run, of purchasing small amounts of property and joining the middle class. (Conversely, during early twentieth-century depressions, desperate urban workers in California sometimes would migrate to the countryside and seek work as pickers.) Of those who remained in the countryside, a large minority participated in local and spontaneous strikes and slowdowns in hopes of securing better pay and working conditions. A few farm workers attempted to create permanent labor organizations.

Partly because of the constant turnover among field hands (inasmuch as most workers leave sooner or later for the cities), the history of rural labor movements has been episodic. Different ethnic groups have become active at different times and have pursued different strategies and goals. There has been little organizational, ideological, or tactical continuity.

One can demarcate three periods in the history of California's farm workers' collective efforts to change working conditions. The first predated the New Deal and arguably was the most radical in terms of activists' aspirations. Chinese, Japanese, and Mexican immigrants, without outside support, launched strikes

and walkouts; and members of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) tried to organize a grand anti-capitalist, quasi-Anarchist labor movement across skill levels.

The second period coincided roughly with the New Deal. Once again, Mexican workers initially spearheaded local acts of resistance; but the social and political landscape had changed, partly because of the newly arrived field hands who formerly were small farmers in southwestern states, such as Oklahoma and Arkansas. The widely publicized sufferings of these workers prompted the federal and state governments to intervene in California agriculture and to provide services, such as resident camps, that would make the lives of citizens more bearable. Government interest in the plight of farm workers waned, however, once the United States entered World War II and white laborers found better paying jobs in military-related industries.

The final period of farm-worker resistance began in the 1960s and flourished in the early 1970s, when Cesar Chavez used boycotts to defeat growers and temporarily broke through big business's grip on California's government. The final period of activism ended in the mid-1980s, after George Deukmejian, a conservative Republican, became governor of California and rolled back many of the political rights secured by Chavez's movement organization, the United Farm Workers (UFW).

Walkouts and Wobblies

Many California growers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries believed that rural workers from Asia and Latin America were culturally passive and therefore more controllable than white-skinned laborers. Growers therefore repeatedly lobbied the federal government for the right to import field hands from abroad. Once on U.S. soil, non-European workers faced multiple forms of discrimination, ranging from daily exclusion from movie theaters and restaurants to the denial of opportunities to purchase stores and rent homes. Many white-skinned workers, competing with Chinese and Japanese immigrants for low-paying jobs, and many owners of smaller businesses, competing with larger companies that relied heavily on inexpensive Asian labor, formed the California's Workingmen's Party in the late 1870s and 1880s. The party called for an end to immigration from Asia, the deportation of Asians and the seizure of their property, and the strict restrictions on foreigners' rights to own businesses. As early as the depression of 1894, bands of unemployed white rural workers, partly out of resentment and partly in hopes of generating jobs, attacked the homes of Chinese and Japanese workers, forcing them to flee to cities, where they were attacked by urban white workers and small shopkeepers.

Despite their vulnerability, immigrant field hands organized local strikes and attempted to establish unions. In the 1880s, disgruntled Chinese workers staged brief walkouts to protest landowners' policies. Some labor leaders asked for recognition and support from the American Federation of Labor (AFL). The AFL refused to help, partly to protect its meager financial resources for winnable strikes and partly because AFL members held anti-Chinese prejudices and wished to protect jobs for "white" Americans.

In 1902 and 1903, Japanese and Mexican sugar beet harvesters joined forces and formed a union, despite growers' efforts to promote ethnic rivalries. The AFL once again refused the workers' requests for help, partly because it viewed workers from non-European descent as unfair competitors, who undermined the wages and employment opportunities of U.S. citizens. Meanwhile, the large landowners increasingly used the threat of deportation to reinforce the purportedly "naturally" passive propensity of nonwhite workers.

In 1905, a group of Socialist-leaning labor activists met in Chicago to form the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). The so-called Wobblies advocated the creation of one large union that would unite workers across craft and skill levels, races, and ethnic heritage. According to the union's theoreticians, workers should secure new rights through general strikes, in which workers across all crafts and skills, in a spirit of solidarity, would stop working at once. The Wobblies were not of one mind about violence, despite their critics' frequent accusations to the contrary. Some Wobblies considered violence counterproductive and therefore advocated nonviolent actions. Some believed that violence could on occasion be productive but was usually unnecessary. A vocal minority of Wobblies believed that violence, when applied wisely by workers, could be productive and in America probably was necessary.

Most Wobblies, regardless of their outlook on violence, considered themselves bitter rivals of the AFL. According to IWW spokespersons, the American Federation of Labor pursued only winnable strikes and was inspired by a narrow dream: the improvement of wages for skilled workers. The AFL (the Wobblies said) simply wanted to reinforce the economic status quo, to nurture quiescence among well-paid skilled workers, and to ignore the plight of the most vulner-

able workers in the land, who were overwhelmingly either low-skilled or unskilled.

The AFL's behavior partly accorded with the Wobblies' analysis. Seeing farm workers in California as too indigent, transient, and legally vulnerable (because of their immigrant status) to organize, the AFL's leadership decided early in the twentieth century to abandon the countryside and to focus on organizing artisans and skilled factory workers in the cities. Seeing a political opportunity, the Wobblies soon began to communicate with and organize farm workers in California, especially those of Asian and Mexican descent.

In 1913, approximately 100 Wobblies joined a spontaneous strike at a ranch outside Wheatland, a small agricultural town in northern California. The Durst brothers, the state's largest single employer of agricultural labor, owned the ranch and, to secure a large enough workforce for the one-month hops harvest, advertised widely for workers. More than 2,800 workers arrived, but only half that number was in fact needed. This situation contributed to depressed wages and left hundreds of hungry and desperate families stranded in Wheatland without employment. The field workers who were hired were angered by the absence of toilets and drinking water in the fields (where temperatures exceeded 100 degrees by noon). At night, no shelter was provided, save dirty straw and ragged tents that the ranch rented to workers at exorbitant rates. Last but not least, the wages for harvesting at the Dursts' ranch were far less than the newspaper ads had promised and were appalling even by the standards of California agriculture. Facing unusually demeaning working conditions, many pickers in Wheatland planned to protest even before the IWW activists arrived.

The Wobblies quickly organized a general strike in the roughly dozen rural communities surrounding the Dursts' ranch. The Wobblies also held public meetings, circulated radical literature, and aided the workers in drafting a list of demands. At one rally, a sheriff's posse arrived and tried to disperse the crowd. In the heat of the moment, some members of the posse accidentally fired their guns, prompting a melee, in which four people (including a deputy sheriff and a district attorney) died.

California's political elite was stunned by the turn of events. Large growers were outraged and declared that a revolution was taking place, not because of deplorable wages and working conditions, but because of outside agitators spreading anti-American beliefs. Growers quickly hired a private detective agency to search for Wobblies throughout the state. Meanwhile, to restore order to Wheatland, the governor dispatched four companies of the National Guard. Over the following months, more than 100 Wobbly organizers were arrested, beaten, and held in prisons on grounds of fomenting violence for the purpose of undermining established patterns of property (even though many had in fact counseled nonviolence). State judges sentenced two of the Wobbly activists who had been present at Wheatland to life imprisonment.

The so-called Wheatland riot was in many ways a turning point in the history of farm workers' movements. In the course of covering the events, the popular press began to investigate the plight of field hands. This, in turn, led to growing popular outrage toward big growers. According to journalist Dick Meister and labor historian Anne Loftis, an editorial in the *Sacramento Bee* denounced the growers' "absolute disregard of the rights of others." Even the relatively conservative AFL openly denounced the condition of farm workers as well as the governments' and growers' undue repression of the Wobblies.

The public outcry prompted action by Governor Hiram Johnson and his fellow Progressive Party members in the state legislature. They created a Commission on Immigration Housing that investigated the events at Wheatland. The Commission's report denounced the growers' treatment of harvest workers. The government also began to enforce labor statutes more rigorously. Backpedaling, large growers began to improve work conditions—for example, installing bathhouses, water hydrants, and enclosed toilets—in hopes of obviating further legislative action.

Meanwhile, IWW activists, afraid that the owners' actions would placate farm workers, criticized the government's investigations and businesses' actions as illusory and minimal. Allegedly, such reforms might distract workers and prevent them from understanding the need to form independent unions and sooner or later to seize property from private growers through general strikes. Workers should be able, according to Wobbly literature, to tell a boss where, when, and for what compensation they would work. This would require, sooner or later, a complete transfer of property from absentee landlords to those who directly tilled the land. To recruit and motivate members, IWW writers and speakers employed incendiary language that exaggerated the purposes and consequences of local acts of everyday resistance. For example, they talked about workplace "sabotage" when

referring to a simple slowdown to pressure owners to raise wages.

In 1915, a group of Wobblies formed the Agricultural Workers Organization (AWO), the first broadly based farm workers' union in U.S. history. Unlike earlier IWW organizations, the AWO played down radical rhetoric and concentrated on winning short-term benefits for workers. For a few years the union succeeded in organizing strikes leading to basic pay raises, overtime pay, and better housing. At one point, more than forty IWW and AWO locals were functioning in California.

In some ways, 1915 was the zenith of California farm-workers' resistance. The actions of California's Progressive politicians and the successful strikes organized (but seldom initiated) by the Wobblies had led to a significant improvement in the material standards of living of California's farm workers. The formation of the AWO seemed to foreshadow the creation of a permanent workers' organization with political clout. But the workers' victories proved to be short-lived.

The California government, which temporarily had sided with workers and had challenged the prerogatives of growers, returned to its old ways. By 1915, the Progressive movement had begun to disintegrate, partly because of members' disagreements over economic policy and over the wisdom of the United States' plans to enter World War I. In 1919, California governor William Stephens, a politician with socially conservative views, helped the state legislature pass the so-called Criminal Syndicalism Law. This piece of legislation prohibited not only acts of violence, but also the teaching of doctrines that encouraged changes in industrial ownership through the use of force. With this law in hand, state and local government officials began to arrest, try, and convict labor organizers who were planning violent attacks on growers and illegal seizures of property.

Meanwhile, California's growers, in the wake of the Wheatland debacle, formed several political organizations, perhaps the most famous of which was the Farmers' Protective League. The League hired private guards and detectives to spy on and harass union activists, lobbied the state legislature to pass laws against the IWW, and pressured newspapers to publish stories favorable to the growers' particular view of agricultural conditions and unions.

Last but not least, the United States' decision in 1917 to enter World War I effectively ended the Wobblies. Since 1915, the IWW had vigorously opposed U.S. entry into the war and had called it "a businessman's war" motivated by profits and indifferent to the working-class lives that would be lost. After 1917, the Wobblies carefully avoided openly opposing U.S. participation; but their ongoing support of strikes was viewed as unpatriotic and detrimental to the war effort. In the popular press and on the floors of the state and national legislatures, Wobblies were denounced as traitors and, at worst, German spies and, at best, spineless draft evaders. Police and other security agencies invaded the Wobblies' offices and seized union funds.

After the war ended in 1918, opponents took advantage of the Wobblies' open support for the Bolshevik revolutionaries in Russia to brand them, once again, as disloyal and anti-American. William Stephens received a bomb in the mail, which he attributed to the work of IWW assassins (an accusation that was never proven valid). According to Meister and Loftis, Stephens and his aides characterized the Wobblies as "huns of industry" and "the bitter enemy of all honest workers." Federal and state prosecutors, meanwhile, charged the Wobblies with engaging in "Bolshevik conspiracies." The Wobblies' legal rights to mail union and party literature were suspended, and their opportunities to raise funds for legal defense were severely reduced. By 1926, both the IWW and AWO were bankrupt and were rapidly losing members, partly because many key leaders had been deported. Most key theoreticians and tacticians who had neither died nor been imprisoned left the movement and joined either the more conservative AFL or the more explicitly pro-Russian Communist Party.

Shortly after 1920, real wages for farm workers plummeted, and living conditions once again worsened. The new laws that set higher standards for housing for transient workers no longer were enforced. Growers no longer feared strikes, for radical activists were deterred by fears of arrest; and the increasing use of vigilantes had intimidated most field hands.

Nonetheless, the first wave of farm-worker activism had not totally failed; for the Wobblies and the Asian-Mexican alliances had clearly demonstrated that farm workers in California could be organized despite their poverty and economic vulnerability. The Wobbly activists left behind a large body of songs, stories, speeches, and experiments in grassroots organizing from which later farm-worker activists would creatively borrow. Finally, the dramatic collapse of the Wobbly movement taught some farm workers that only with the support of government could the growers be defeated. Without support from

government, any concession from growers was likely to be short-lived.

New Deals

During the early 1920s, California's farm workers were largely passive, even though their standards of living dropped steadily. Real wages, for example, declined 50 percent between the beginning and end of the decade. But proletarian quiescence was short-lived. Farm-worker activism became more common and frequent during the 1930s. More than 140 strikes, involving more than 125,000 field workers, took place in that decade.

Economic disaster partly explains the abrupt revival of protests. With the advent of the Great Depression, starvation became an immediate problem; and cities no longer offered a viable alternative for the rural poor. The countryside was filled not only with traditional field hands, but also with hungry former city dwellers in need of work, and with former small farmers from the Midwest and Southwest who had been evicted from their lands. Basic biological need fueled workers' demands for better wages, decent housing, and reasonable prices in company stores.

In addition, approximately half of California's farm workers between 1935 and 1940 were white-skinned, and many came from the American heartland and carried with them the expectations and pride of small farmers. These poor field hands were not social radicals, for they remembered independently managing their own property and retained hopes of one day earning enough to purchase a small farm or urban business. But they were hostile to big businesses (including banks), and believed that land should belong to those who labored on it.

Although reputed to be passive, Mexican field hands were the first to protest against the steady deterioration of wages. Because of new legal restrictions on the immigration of Asian workers, by the mid-1920s Mexicans had become the largest nonwhite contingent of field workers in California. Excluded from Anglo schools and barred from restaurants and movie theaters, Mexican laborers and their families established their own *barrio* settlements, in which Spanish-speaking mutual-aid societies, defense lawyers, and local unions thrived. Beneficiaries of organizing spaces and ties of loyalty, Mexican field hands began to stop working if they felt that wages were too low or that working conditions were too brutal. By 1928, the numerous strikes by immigrants from Mexico had prompted growers to call in government officials to arrest and deport strike leaders.

The actions attracted the attention of a new radical labor organization, the Trade Union Unity League (TUUL), which the Communist Party had established in 1929. The League's long-term goals resembled those of the IWW, as both organizations were devoted to the creation of a single, large union that crossed ethnic, racial, and craft lines. In 1930, TUUL members began working with Mexican strikers, led a few strikes, and tried to hold a conference with representatives for field hands and packing-shed workers. These actions troubled growers and government officials. California's Criminal Syndicalism Law gave the authorities the legal instrument that they needed. More than 100 TUUL activists were arrested and convicted of fomenting the violent overthrow of established property relations.

Shortly afterward, the Communist Party established a new political action group, called the Cannery and Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union (CAWIU), which attempted to assume the leadership of wildcat strikes, usually at the request of strikers. Typically, CAWIU activists would hear of an upcoming labor action, travel to the site, and set up so-called tent cities with armed guards to keep nonworkers away. Within these proletarian settlements, workers elected racially mixed strike committees, which drew up demands and planned collective actions, such as caravans of trucks with huge strike signs that would drive along the borders of farms and ranches.

The CAWIU and Mexican activists jointly launched several major strikes during the early 1930s. At first, the strikes typically failed. Growers brought in hungry strikebreakers from Mexico, and organized vigilantes who, with the tacit support of local police, attacked picketers with lead pipes, chains, and guns.

As time passed, the CAWIU learned how to mobilize a more effective antigrower coalition by appealing to and drawing resources from small growers and urban sympathizers. As a result, most local crop-wide strikes were successful by 1933.

Growers were not easily defeated, however. The Great Depression had severely reduced sales and profits, and many growers found themselves deeply in debt. Higher wages were not a luxury that the growers could easily afford. In 1934, a group of major rural and urban business groups in California—including Pacific Gas and Electric, the Southern Pacific Railroad, and the Bank of America—funded a new business association, called the Associated Farmers. Members of the Associated Farmers insisted that unions were "un-American" and represented the first step in the overthrow of the U.S. system of govern-

ment and society. The organization kept files on union activists, refused to hire known labor activists, and regularly turned over lists of names to the federal government and to local law enforcement agencies. The organization also financed local paramilitary units, such as the California Cavaliers, whose job was to stamp out un-American activity by force.

On the whole, local governments supported the Associated Farmers and banned workers' meetings and car caravans. Local police also openly aided and abetted the vigilantes, who used tear gas bombs and guns to break up peaceful gatherings of workers.

Suffering increasing violence and widespread arrests, farm workers began to doubt the wisdom of resistance; and strikes began to collapse by the late 1930s. It momentarily seemed that the growers would win the day and that workers would once again glumly but quietly accept their circumstances. In fact, the Communist Party, wishing to avoid an unpatriotic appearance during World War II, adopted a moderate Popular Front strategy and dissolved the CAWIU.

During this discouraging period, the hundreds of thousands of white field workers who recently had lost their farmland in Southwestern states suddenly became visible. Attracted to California because of handbills that described plentiful job opportunities, the so-called Okies (the name came from Oklahoma, though the migrants came from many different states) discovered both that the number of field hands in California vastly exceeded the number growers needed and that wages often dropped below subsistence level.

Literally starving, Okies on occasion launched spontaneous strikes. But more often the Okies, being former small farmers, scrupulously respected property rights.

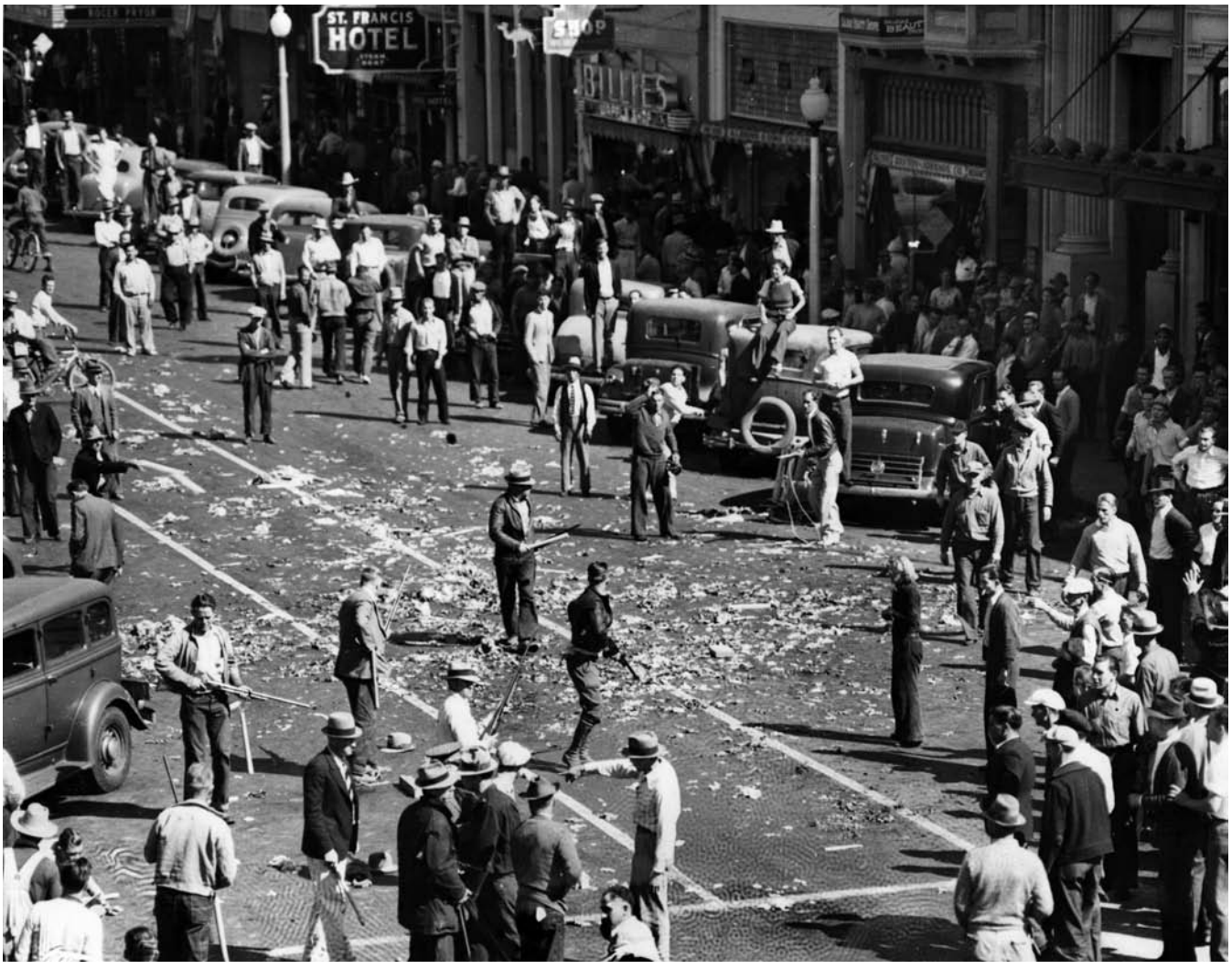
The suffering of the Okies drew attention from an unexpected source: the New Deal reformers in Washington and in Sacramento. In 1938, Culbert Olson became the first Democrat in the twentieth century to be elected governor of California. Once in office, Olson revived the Commission on Immigration and Housing that had originally been created in the aftermath of the Wheatland riot. Olson appointed Carey McWilliams, a lawyer with strong sympathy for field workers and strong antipathy toward big business, to be the executive secretary of the Commission. McWilliams toured the countryside to publicize the plight of field hands, used radio announcements to encourage citizens to report on the growers' failure to meet housing standards, and supported numerous bills to improve working conditions for field hands. Most of the legislative initiatives, however, were blocked by California's Republican-dominated legislature and by the lobbying efforts of the Associated Farmers. Through indefatigable efforts to publicize conditions in the countryside, McWilliams succeeded in influencing how many Californians viewed the behavior of growers and the suffering of field hands. Temporarily, public opinion shifted against those who owned factories in the fields.

The popular uproar generated by John Steinbeck's immensely popular novel, *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939), drew the attention of citizens outside California to the economic plight of the state's migrant workers. New Dealers in the nation's capital were shocked to read about the sufferings of white-skinned Okies. First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt traveled to California to see for herself if the conditions described by Steinbeck were true. She returned saying that, if anything, conditions were far worse than Steinbeck had reported.

Prompted by pro-union staffers, U.S. Senator Robert La Follette, Jr. (R-WI) reluctantly announced in the late 1930s that his Senate Committee on Education and Labor would travel to California and hold investigations into possible violations of workers' civil rights. After several weeks of public hearings, the La Follette commission concluded that California's local governments and growers had indeed flagrantly violated the rights of workers through blacklisting, strikebreaking, and vigilantism. Like President Franklin D. Roosevelt, La Follette recommended that the New Deal's National Labor Relations Act, which guaranteed industrial workers the right to assemble, form unions, and negotiate contracts, be extended to farm workers.

By the end of the 1930s, the nation's middle-class conscience had been pricked. The federal government, working with the California state government, created approximately forty camps where workers could live while searching for jobs. Within these camps, union organizers could speak with workers and plan collective actions, while the paramilitary groups funded by growers were banned.

Growers viewed these government centers as places where "Reds" could plan the overthrow of America's economy. Growers therefore used their political clout to limit the further development of migrant workers' camps, as well as to prevent passage of a broader national labor relations act that would give farm workers the rights to form unions, engage in collective bargaining, and participate in binding arbitration. In addition, rural communities and local

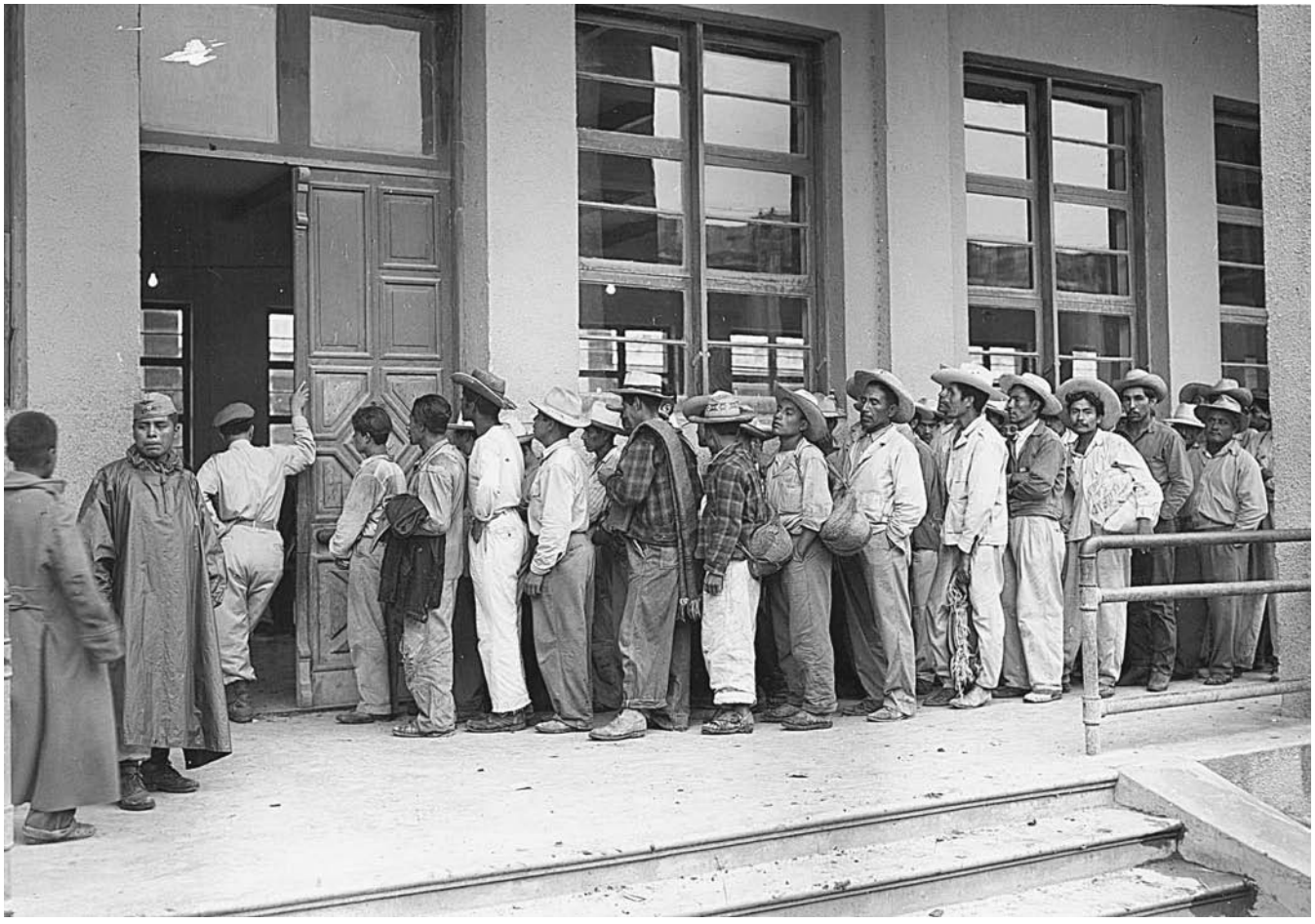


After spraying tear gas to break up a crowd of striking lettuce workers in Salinas, California, on September 16, 1936, authorities patrol the streets. Workers were attempting to block trucks carrying lettuce from the fields to the packing sheds. *(© Underwood Photo Archives, Inc.)*

associations that were supported by the Associated Farmers held outdoor book burnings, in which copies of *The Grapes of Wrath* were destroyed.

For a brief period toward the close of the 1930s, it looked once again as if California's field hands finally would secure permanent improvements in their living conditions and significant increases in their legal rights to challenge growers' policies. However, the government's concern about farm workers was soon overshadowed by the United States' entrance into World War II. Many California farm workers who were U.S. citizens either were drafted into the armed forces or left the fields for better paying jobs in the war industries. The federal government, meanwhile, was loath to discourage agricultural productivity or to promote economic conflict, and therefore backed away from forcing agribusinesses to allow unions.

The war, however, created an unexpected labor shortage in the countryside. California's growers argued that if they were to feed a nation at war, they would need a new batch of inexpensive harvesters. The U.S. government tried to alleviate the shortage by approving in 1942 the so-called Bracero program, which allowed Mexican nationals to work temporarily on U.S. farms but with the understanding that after the harvest season, the immigrants would return to their homeland. Once implemented, the Bracero program proved highly controversial. Its defenders ar-



Seeking to register and find work, Mexican farm laborers line up outside a Migratory Processing Office. The Bracero program permitted Mexican citizens to find temporary agricultural employment in the United States during the mid-twentieth century. *(Brown Brothers)*

gued that it sensibly gave growers the sizable labor force that was needed if Americans were to eat at affordable prices. Without the braceros (which loosely translated means "those who work with their arms"), growers allegedly would not find enough U.S. citizens willing to engage in stoop labor. Critics of the Bracero program argued that it kept wages artificially low by recruiting desperate workers who were too terrified and legally vulnerable to protest mistreatment by growers. In effect, a pliable workforce had been recruited.

In 1964, the Bracero program officially ended. By this time, the farm workers in California were overwhelmingly either Mexican Americans or Mexican citizens. The following year, the United Farm Workers, the largest and most successful farm workers' movement in California history, was officially established.

Chavez: Successes and Failures

In 1962, a middle-aged community activist named Cesar Chavez founded a labor organization, the Farm Workers Association (FWA), which a few years later would be rechristened the United Farm Workers.

As a child, Chavez lived on a small farm, which his father lost in 1937 when he was unable to pay taxes and irrigation bills. The dispossessed family eked out an existence as migrant laborers, and young Chavez, after spending year after frustrating year in more than fifty segregated schools, dropped out of formal education and through books taught himself about the Mexican Revolution and the ethical reasoning of Mohandas Gandhi, Henry David Thoreau, and various Christian saints.

Returning from military service during World War II, Chavez joined philanthropic organizations that worked for the betterment of poorer Americans.

CESAR ESTRADA CHAVEZ (1927–1993)

Chavez was born on March 31, 1927, near Yuma, Arizona, the son of a migrant worker. His childhood was spent moving about in Arizona and California, and he had an inconsistent education that ended after eighth grade. He became a migrant worker to help his family.

After two years in the Navy (1945–1946), Chavez returned to farm work, married, and settled in Delano, California. After moving to San Jose, he began reading about the use of nonviolence for social change. In 1952, Chavez met Fred Ross and became involved in the self-help Community Service Organization (CSO) in California, working among Mexicans and Mexican Americans. From 1958 to 1962, he served as its general director. During his service he also met Dolores Huerta.

In 1962, he and Huerta left the CSO to organize wine grape pickers in California and formed the National Farm Workers Association. Using strikes, fasts, picketing, and marches, Chavez was able to obtain contracts from a number of major growers. During a strike by the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) in 1966, his organization merged with it to form the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, which later became United Farm Workers of America (UFW). Chavez served as president of the UFW for the remainder of his life. Embracing nonviolent tactics, he conducted fasts that focused national attention on the farm workers' problems, as did the 340-mile march from Delano to Sacramento in 1966.

Chavez also launched a 1968 boycott against the table grape growers, mobilizing consumer support throughout the United States. By 1970, the UFW got grape growers to accept union contracts and effectively organized most of that industry. By then, the UFW claimed 50,000 dues-paying members, the most ever represented by a union in California agriculture. The UFW boasted a union-run hiring hall, a health clinic and health plan, a credit union, a community center and cooperative gas station, as well as higher wages. The hiring hall meant an end to discrimination and favoritism by labor contractors.

In 1972, the United Farm Workers, with Chavez as president, became a member union of the AFL-CIO. Chavez expanded its efforts to include all California vegetable pickers and launched a lettuce boycott, as well as extending his organizational efforts to Florida citrus workers. His successes in California were sharply diminished, however, as the result of a jurisdictional dispute with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters over the organization of field workers that began in 1970. In 1973, the Teamsters cut heavily into UFW membership by signing contracts with former UFW grape growers, but Chavez renewed the grape workers' strike. In 1977, the two unions signed a pact defining the types of workers each could organize.

In 1976, Chavez reorganized the union to improve efficiency and outreach to the public. He led another boycott in 1984 over the grape industry's refusal to control the use of pesticides. Membership in the UFW later declined, in part due to disputes between Chavez and his followers, some of whom accused him of nepotism. But the accusations did not harm his work or his legacy as a leading figure in the American labor movement. He died on April 23, 1993, while working to defend the union from a lawsuit filed by a major grower.

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One group was the Community Service Organization (CSO), a Saul Alinsky-inspired assemblage that believed in organizing the poor into self-governing political blocks that then could make demands on local governments for improvements in public services. The key, according to this strategy, was to have members of an impoverished community discuss common problems and debate possible political solutions. Once they discovered how to formulate their own demands, members of a self-governing committee would develop confidence, which would lead to further demands and ultimately to greater political clout (or so the theory went). As long as they had outsiders speak for them, the poor would remain passive supplicants, abjectly dependent on the kindness of strangers.

After working on primarily urban projects, such as registering low-income voters and investigating discrimination in rental housing, Chavez decided to leave the CSO. He wanted to return to the fields and organize desperately poor migrant workers.

With family members and friends, Chavez established the Farm Workers Association. Chavez decided to avoid the term *union* because of the suspicions it might generate among growers and workers alike. At first, the FWA promoted self-help institutions within Mexican-American communities, such as credit unions and consumers' cooperatives. Needing financial

Cesar Chavez, speaking into a microphone, urges consumers not to purchase lettuce and grapes picked by nonunion labor. Chavez and Dolores Huerta, founders and leaders of the United Farm Workers, organized boycotts, strikes, marches, and other nonviolent actions to gain higher pay and better working conditions for agricultural laborers. *(Karen Eberhardt/Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University)*

resources, meeting places, and legal contacts, FWA began to work closely with the Migrant Ministry, an arm of the National Council of Churches dedicated to helping the rural poor.

In 1965, Mexican-American field hands spontaneously struck for better wages against a group of powerful vineyards. The strikers asked the FWA to support the strike, and Chavez agreed to help, despite his reservations about possibly squandering his organization's limited finances. The Migrant Ministry, the leadership of the United Automobile Workers, and other labor organizations soon swung their support behind the strikers.

The strike against grape growers unexpectedly lasted more than five years, as growers once again engaged in armed intimidation. In the face of likely defeat, Chavez coined a novel strategy: the promotion of consumer boycotts of the growers' products. Chavez, a master motivator, also changed his organization's name to the United Farm Workers and proposed that a black eagle against a red and white background become the union's daring emblem. UFW activists traveled throughout the United States and spoke to students and parishioners about the need to boycott grapes and wines. Supermarkets that stocked the growers' products were boycotted until they stopped.

Because of past experiences and personal convictions, Chavez distrusted armed action and preferred moral suasion, electoral politicking, and legal action. To dissuade workers from engaging in violence and to draw outsiders' attention to the strikers' cause, Chavez led dramatic marches, featuring popular religious symbols, through the blistering heat of central California and undertook public fasts, some of which lasted more than three weeks. The UFW began to lobby legislators and endorse political candidates. By the end of the decade, Chavez had become arguably the most famous Mexican American of his time. *Time* magazine selected him as the magazine's "Man of the Year." Martin Luther King, Jr. and presidential candidate Robert Kennedy not only praised Chavez's commitment to nonviolence but also pledged to support the farm workers.

In the mid-1970s, Jerry Brown, the liberal governor of California, publicly endorsed Chavez's aim of unionizing all farm workers and helped pass California's Agricultural Labor Relations Act (ALRA), which granted farm workers the legal right to unionize and to elect their own spokespersons. The Act, among other things, created the Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB) with powers to investigate the fairness of union elections, to judge possible contract violations, and to identify and resolve the sources of stalemate during contract negotiations.

For approximately five years California's farm workers used ALRA provisions to secure concessions from growers. Growers were required by law to allow union activists to enter fields at specified times and to inform laborers about their rights and legal options. Frustrated by Chavez's success in attracting outside supporters, some growers tried to avoid negotiating with the UFW by quietly signing contracts with the Teamsters. But the ALRB declared the Teamster contracts illegal and insisted that workers should vote on who would represent them, the UFW or the Teamsters. The UFW usually won these elections, allowing it by 1982 to negotiate 162 contracts that affected 75,000 farm workers.

In 1983, political conditions in California once again changed drastically. The newly elected governor

DOLORES HUERTA (1930–)

Born on April 10, 1930, in Dawson, New Mexico, Dolores Fernández moved as a child to Stockton, California, with her mother and siblings after her parents' divorce. After graduating from Stockton High School, she married, had a family, and divorced but eventually received an A.A. degree and a teaching certificate from the University of Pacific's Delta Community College. After teaching only a few months, she decided that she could do more for the impoverished farm workers' children in her class by helping their parents win more equitable working conditions.

Huerta cofounded the Stockton branch of a Mexican-American self-help association called the Community Service Organization (CSO) and began lobbying California state legislators to enact such progressive legislation as old-age pensions for noncitizens. While working for the CSO, she met and married another community activist, Ventura Huerta, but this marriage also ended in divorce.

In the late 1950s, Huerta met Cesar Chavez, a CSO official. Both eventually left that organization because the CSO refused to organize farm labor. In 1962, they cofounded the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA), forerunner of the United Farm Workers (UFW). In 1963, she was instrumental in securing Aid for Dependent Families (AFDC), for the unemployed and underemployed, and disability insurance for farm workers in California. By 1965, Huerta and Chavez had recruited farm workers, and their families, throughout the San Joaquin Valley. On September 16, 1965, the NFWA voted to join in the strike by the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee for higher wages. The two organizations merged in 1966 to form the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, which later became the United Farm Workers of America (UFW). The strike lasted five years. In 1966, Huerta negotiated the first UFW contract with the Schenley Wine Company. The grape strike continued, and Huerta, as the main UFW negotiator, successfully negotiated contracts that established the first health and benefit plans for farm workers.

In 1973, when the grape contracts expired, Huerta organized picket lines and continued to lobby. She was instrumental in securing unemployment benefits for farm workers the following year. The UFW organized the workers in the vegetable industry as well. When anti-union violence erupted, the UFW called for another consumer boycott. Huerta directed the East Coast boycott of grapes, lettuce, and Gallo wines, which led to the passage in 1975 of the Agricultural Labor Relations Act, the first law recognizing the rights of California farm workers to bargain collectively. In 1975, Huerta lobbied against federal guest worker programs and spearheaded legislation granting amnesty for farm workers who had lived, worked, and paid taxes in the United States for many years but were unable to enjoy the privileges of citizenship. This resulted in the Immigration Act of 1985. In the 1980s, Huerta cofounded the UFW's radio station and continued to speak and raise funds on behalf of a variety of causes, including immigration policy and farm laborers' health.

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of California, a conservative Republican named George Deukmejian, denounced the ALRA, the UFW, and Chavez. According to Deukmejian, Chavez was a demagogue, unwilling to compromise and unable to speak truthfully about workers' conditions. Once in office, Deukmejian drastically cut the budget of the ALRB, appointed a pro-business politician to head it, and named judges to the California Supreme Court who lacked backgrounds in labor law. The cumulative impact of these actions was that the ALRB investigated fewer complaints by workers, and the Supreme Court frequently favored growers whenever the growers appealed decisions made by the earlier ALRB.

Cut from the political loop, the UFW began to splinter. Some rank-and-file members were discouraged by the failure of the highly legalistic ALRA strategy and lost faith in collective bargaining. By 1987, the UFW still held only thirty-one contracts. Other activists, such as Meta Mendel-Reyes, were frustrated by Chavez's refusal to delegate responsibility to mid-level union officials. Chavez insisted on personally overseeing almost all facets of his organization, which made it difficult for other UFW officials to make policy decisions in a timely manner. This ultimately contributed to the union's failure to complete many of its tasks, such as maintaining its medical clinics, certifying union elections, and administering retirement plans. Finally, more than a few leaders were troubled by Chavez's religiosity and his close ties to church groups. Some wanted him to be more of a secular trade-unionist. Others who held Chicano political beliefs wanted Chavez to make the union first and foremost an organization to help and protect Mexican

Americans and Mexican immigrants. The Chicanos were particularly troubled by Chavez's hostility to illegal immigrants from Mexico who, in Chavez's opinion, were too easily used as strikebreakers and who threatened the job security and opportunities of U.S. workers.

When Chavez died in 1993, many former farmworker activists, despite their admiration for his courage and spirit, expressed reservations about his authoritarian leadership, his non-Chicano and highly religious beliefs, and his legalistic style. Activists were not of one mind about why their movement had shrunk from 60,000 members in 1982 to less than 20,000 members in 1993, or about why the UFW had not sponsored a wildcat strike, major grassroots protest in over a decade. Few disagreed, however, that in the 1990s field hands were once again among the poorest paid of U.S. workers and that rural workers had yet to discover effective ways with which to advance their interests.

Conclusion

The history of farm-worker protests and movements in California highlights both the ongoing powerlessness of the state's rural workers and the economic and political power of California's agribusinesses. After a century of struggles, California farm hands remain among the poorest paid workers in America and still lack effective labor-law protection.

Political-process theorizing and resource-mobilization theorizing—two standard approaches to the study of social-movement development—illuminate important aspects of the history of California's farmworker movements. Workers, when striking, were often aided by outside organizers, such as the Wobblies in the 1910s, the Communists in the 1930s, and Chavez and his followers in the 1960s and 1970s. These groups helped local acts of spontaneous resistance become more large-scale and more successful. Moreover, as political-process writers would predict, changes in the political climate—especially shifts in California's party politics—help explain the surges and ebbing of slowdowns, strikes, and union activity.

Nonetheless, the resource-mobilization and political-process models of social-movement politics fail to highlight the impact of racism and foreign policy on the evolution of farm workers' movements, and fail to recognize the remarkable political resources of California's agribusinesses. Accusations of treason during World War I and World War II had a chilling effect on the development of farm workers' movements. Anglo-Americans' distrust of nonwhites hindered the development of coalitions between farm workers and other sectors of American labor. Meanwhile, growers' ability to promote paramilitary units, to shape media coverage of events, and to finance and lobby party politicians repeatedly offset farm workers' initial political and economic victories.

Such factors, not yet central themes in social-movement theorizing, must be kept in mind if we are to explain why farm workers' victories were so few and so brief. Although the movements enjoyed short-term successes, in the long run the power of California's growers (vis-à-vis farm workers) was never significantly diluted. The story of farm workers' movements thus cannot be separated from other "American" stories of racism, Cold War ideologies, and countermobilizations by agribusinesses.

Cyrus Ernesto Zirakzadeh

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American Agriculture Movement

The American Agriculture Movement (AAM) was a dramatic, short-lived farmers' protest movement that has, in recent decades, transformed itself into a more subtle, long-term farm and rural life issues organization. The movement sprang to life first among Colorado grain growers in the fall of 1977 and spread across the nation's farm belt on the wings of a call for an agricultural strike. The movement dramatized in stark relief the grievances of family farmers: a depressed farm economy, low prices, high operating costs, an unrealistic government policy, and weak farm advocacy groups. Organizers and supporters were reacting to the recent passage of President Jimmy Carter's Food and Agriculture Act of 1977, but they were also decrying historically ineffectual government farm policies that had ruinously promoted fencerow-to-fencerow production. The short-term solution was to strike and not plant in 1978 so as to bring about higher commodity prices. At the core of AAM's objectives, then and now, was the demand for 100 percent parity prices for all domestic and foreign consumer agricultural products. Neither the strike nor higher commodity prices materialized, however, and momentum and cohesiveness faded with failed legislative actions and the loss of media coverage in the early 1980s. AAM's political activism developed from early shortsighted demonstrations into more results-oriented political lobbying; because of this shift in strategy, AAM remains a voice in agricultural policymaking today.

Crisis in Agriculture

What compelled farm people of the late 1970s and early 1980s to politicize their situation was the disastrous economic state of agriculture following decades of major changes and shifts. AAM represented as much a protest against where farming stood and where it was likely to go, as it did a protest against how it had deteriorated to this level. By the 1970s, for example, farm families were laboring under staggeringly high—and relentlessly increasing—fixed costs (surging up nearly 200 percent) and interest rates (as high as 18 percent annually), while commodity prices had fallen by 50 percent.

During the course of the twentieth century, farming had become increasingly complex, industrialized, efficiency-oriented, mechanized, capitalized, international, and productive. These changes strained the structure of agriculture, subjecting it to chronic overproduction, low prices, and a greater need for capital, all of which worked to undermine farm economics and, ultimately, the prospects of affordable, let alone profitable, family farming. In its demands for price parity, AAM was reaching for a federal policy tradition that dated back to the 1920s when policymakers began measuring agricultural prosperity against the prosperous years of 1909 to 1914, also known as the "golden age of agriculture." Parity is an economic relationship characterized by strong agricultural prices that boost farmers' purchasing power to at least equal (on a *par*) with that of other laborers in the economy. AAM sought a remediation of the farm crisis through a federal policy commitment to 100 percent parity.

Despite the structural changes, the farm economy was relatively stable during most of the two decades following the 1950s; interest rates held at 5 or 6 percent, and farmers were able to meet their operating needs through low interest loans. Commodity prices had dipped after 1951, but parity was largely maintained with the assistance of government program price supports and production controls. These were also designed to reduce the number of smaller producers in the economy and thus sparked a significant rural outmigration that was still apparent into the 1970s. Unfavorable domestic and international changes beginning with the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 soon created the context for protest throughout the Great Plains, Midwest, and other regions.

The Food and Agriculture Act of 1965 sought to bring American commodity prices in line with those on the world markets. As such, the Act lowered the price supports farmers had been receiving, and the strength of American commodity prices subsequently declined. American grain exports more than doubled, however, and prices jumped between 1968 and 1973 when the international market experienced crop failures, particularly in the Soviet Union. To fill this vacuum, the U.S. government urged farmers to increase fertilizing and planting. Unfortunately, petroleum prices, gasoline, farm machinery, and petroleum-based fertilizers were all on the rise as a result of escalating conflicts in the Middle East. Although the U.S. economy had begun displaying encouraging signs by 1976, the restoration of international grain production levels caused American farm prices to drop precipitously.

Farm Crisis Grows

That was also the year that presidential candidate Jimmy Carter promised farmers a program that would assure them cost of production prices. Yet when Carter became president and his Food and Agriculture Act of 1977 clearly only amended the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965, farmers realized that they were locked into another four-year term of unresponsive farm policy. The Act established a price floor much lower than the 1973–1975 average. Moreover, the contracts that the government proposed entailed that farmers would receive a combination of loans and direct payments toward a government-determined "target price" that was considerably lower than U.S. Department of Agriculture cost of production figures. It was this political and economic reality that dominated the conversations of Western grain growers Gene and Derrel Schroder, Jerry Wright, Lynn Bitner, and Alvin Jenkins who came together in September 1977, in Campo, Colorado, to discuss the possibility of an agricultural strike.

Agricultural Activism

Under these conditions, strike talk took root in fertile ground. Originally calling their group the American Agricultural Strike, the movement founders quickly organized a public meeting in Springfield, Colorado. They generated interest and support through extensive use of flyers and the media such that 700 farm men and women, coming from as far away as Texas, came together and agreed to set December 14 as the strike date and to establish Springfield as the national farm strike headquarters. On September 22, 1977, 2,000 movement supporters participated in a nationally televised rally in Pueblo, Colorado. U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Bob Bergland was in attendance and heard not only the concerns of the farm people but also their demand for 100 percent parity on all domestic and foreign agricultural products, as well as their threats to strike, to halt agricultural production and distribution, and to stop purchasing farm equipment on or after the strike date. Besides 100 percent parity, AAM's subsequent five-point demands included the halting of all imports of agricultural products that were domestically produced until 100 percent parity was achieved, and the creation of an entity that involved agricultural producers in policy formation.

Emergence of a Movement

AAM launched a movement strategy that made excellent use of demonstrations, rallies, tractor parades ("tractorcades"), a variety of publicity, and local activism to advance its cause. A rally held in Amarillo, Texas, on October 14, 1977, drew 5,000 supporters, while a smaller, though obviously symbolic, protest in President Carter's rural hometown of Plains, Georgia, brought in hundreds of farmers and tractors. Meetings and rallies were staged through the coordinated efforts of state and local organizers as well as traveling speakers. Together, according to AAM, they succeeded in establishing 1,100 local offices nationwide by January 1978. Cofounder Alvin Jenkins was also one of the movement's most effective speakers, reportedly pointing out to the farmers that without a change in farm policy and without their activism, "You're going to look awful silly five years from now, trying to chase down 3 dollars a bushel wheat in your $100,000 combine!" AAM's activities gained the support of the National Farmers Union and the National Farmers Organization, but not that of the American Farm Bureau, which prompted much bitterness among farmers and considerable confusion on the part of legislators.

From the outset, AAM strove to maintain a movement that was at once centralized and decentralized. The Springfield national headquarters planned for the impending nationwide strike and the upcoming January protest in Washington, D.C., while the state and local offices oversaw the local activism aimed at recruitment. Although the movement's founders and leaders managed the business side of AAM with the assistance of volunteers, any sort of formal structuring ended there. AAM avoided membership dues and

lists, appointing officials, and devising regulations, and anyone could speak on the group's behalf.

AAM successfully mobilized participants and was able to cultivate an initial commitment to the cause through a number of ways, especially by linking participation to the winning of political concessions. Public policy educator William P. Browne found that AAM's impressive organizing and recruitment owed much to the "social incentives" that AAM held out to farm men and women in terms of camaraderie and common interests at the meetings. Conversely, the incurring of negative social benefits, such as criticism or even intimidation by AAM, proved to be motivating factors toward participation as well. According to Browne, farm people also joined because of the tremendous early successes in gaining publicity and large audiences that seemed to suggest that the winning of political rewards was quite possible. Finally, many supporters believed it was necessary to confront and protest a political system that they held responsible for devising ineffectual agricultural policies that had financially abused them. The strength of these convictions explains why so many farm people would take part in the January 1978 Washington, D.C., protest, although the severity of their financial situation would ultimately weaken their commitment to the strike.

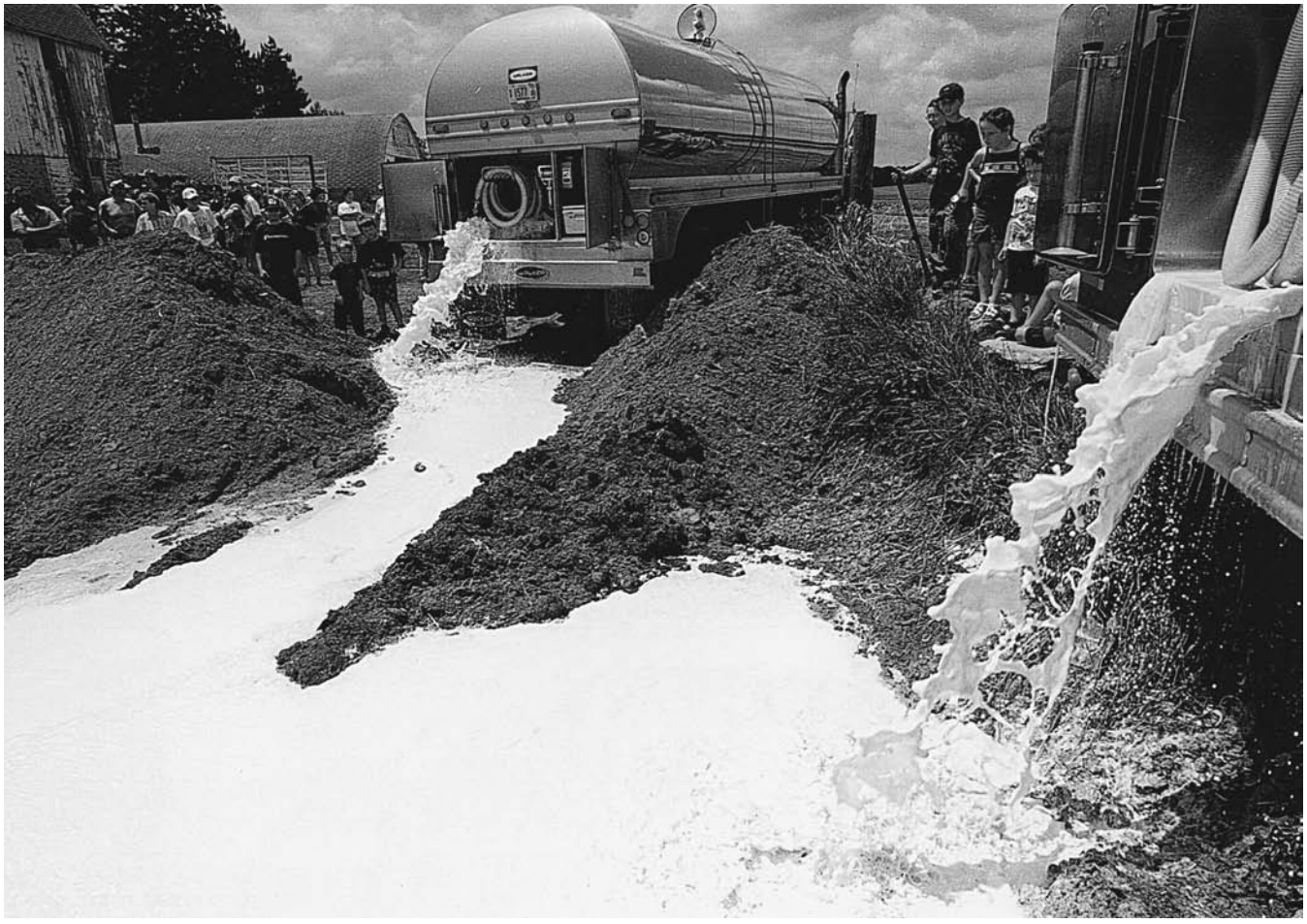
Farm Strikes

Despite nearly three months of media hype, mushrooming member participation, effective demonstrations, and tractorcades held throughout the country, in state capitals and Washington, D.C., the December 14 strike date passed by as a whisper, with Congress taking little notice. Farmer activism increased in response. To many farmers winter meant no planting, and the unresolved question of the strike and spring planting was as yet a ways off. AAM now began a series of tractor picketing at packinghouses and food distribution warehouses, wholesalers, and some railroads. Farm implement dealers and fertilizer companies supported AAM's goals but were concerned about the consequences to them of the threats to stop buying machines and supplies. Most importantly, AAM leaders were determined to quickly force some kind of congressional action by a show of solidarity and strength if necessary. From various points across the country in early January 1978, farm people and tractorcades converged upon Washington. The Texas tractorcade alone contained thousands of tractors and campers. When Congress convened on January 18, an estimated gathering of 50,000 farm men and women were on hand to greet them.

Lobbying Government Officials

Over the next four months, AAM state delegates and supporters aggressively lobbied for favorable legislation and appeared to have gained Congress's ear. They met with Senate and House Agriculture Committees, the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA), and President Carter, making officials personally acquainted with the problems of the farm economy. Subsequently, Congress approved a new farm loan program and a moratorium on Farmers Home Administration foreclosures. It could not, however, create long-term legislation for a new farm program in time for the 1978 growing season; instead it worked with AAM delegates in their call for short-term legislation to amend the 1977 Farm Act. In mid-March, Kansas Senator Robert Dole offered an encouraging compromise proposal for a flexible parity plan that was passed by the Senate (H.R. 6782). The act stipulated that wheat growers who set aside a percentage of their land would receive a target price of three dollars a bushel through so-called deficiency payments, with 5 percent price increases until the acreage set aside equaled 50 percent. Corn, cotton, and soybean growers were offered similar terms. Unfortunately for AAM, the Carter administration ably worked to defeat the bill in the House, pointing toward the USDA's March 3 report which depicted AAM's parity objectives as particularly threatening to retail food prices. When the bill reappeared as the Emergency Agriculture Act of 1978, it merely offered an upward adjustment in price supports of 11 percent. AAM saw the Act's passage as nothing short of a political sellout.

By spring, many AAM supporters had filtered back to their agricultural enterprises. The movement showed signs of suffering from both external and internal defeat. In reality, total adherence to the strike against planting would have imposed financial consequences that few farm families could have tolerated. When forty-nine prominent AAM participants were later asked if they themselves had reduced production in support of the strike, only 20 percent responded in the affirmative. Disillusionment began depleting the movement of its members even as it emboldened some of the remaining activists. The latter maintained AAM's public visibility through various means, including the publishing of a sharply critical newsletter, *American Agriculture News*, which was sent to several thousand subscribers. AAM's second major protest in the nation's capitol in January 1979, with its traffic-



To protest low milk prices, dairy farmers dump 80,000 pounds of milk on a Wisconsin farm on July 4, 2000. While the American Agriculture Movement has declined since its peak years in the late 1970s and early 1980s, it remains active in support of farmers' economic interests. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

snarling tractorcades and destructive behavior, put off supporters, officials, and the general public alike. At AAM's June 1979 convention, delegates reported that between 60 and 90 percent of their state locals were now in fact inactive.

The Farm Economy Worsens

As long as the farm economy remained in crisis as it did, even worsening in the 1980s, AAM had a rallying cause and a constituency. At the August 1979 convention, AAM restructured as AAM, Inc., firmed up its organization and strategies, and designated Texas cotton farmer Marvin Meek as chair. Meek made little inroads with the Carter administration, and even less with the Reagan administration under whose leadership farmers watched helplessly as parity fell to a meager 61 percent. In the early 1980s, AAM turned its energies to pressuring state governments and sought mortgage moratorium laws as well as commodity blockade laws designed to bolster commodity prices. AAM activists formed the American Agriculture Movement Political Action Committee in Washington, and they also began running for office. The October 4, 1986, *Economist* reported that at least five AAM farmer-activists were campaigning for House seats that year.

Although AAM continues to lobby for agriculture today, it has not survived intact. During the 1980s, several factions left AAM, Inc., to form Grassroots AAM, with original AAM founder Alvin Jenkins as chair. Little is known about this smaller group except that some members appeared to espouse more disruptive action, and that its strength emanated from eastern Colorado, western Kansas, and parts of Texas. AAM, Inc., developed a three point program to preserve independent farming

based on minimum commodity prices, inventory control, and supply management, as well as a plan involving production quotas resembling one proposed in the 1930s by Milo Reno of the Farm Holiday Association. Currently, AAM, Inc., also lobbies for rural issues and is part of the National Family Farm Coalition, an organization committed to promoting a unified farm program.

Ginette Aley

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7

Moral Reform Movements

Introduction

Temperance, anti-vice, and social purity campaigns are an integral element of the history of American social movements. As the essays in this section explore, campaigns against alcohol, drugs, prostitution, homosexuality, sexually explicit materials, contraception, and abortion reflect deep-seated concerns about changing family structures, the role of women, the economic climate, industrialization, urbanization, and immigration. For two centuries, moral panics around these shifting dynamics have played a significant role in the formation of American social and governmental policy.

This section addresses the significant influence of a gathering social force from the late 1800s to 1920, comprised of a majority of middle- and upper-class Americans interested in social "progress" and "reform" known as the "Progressives." The movement was instrumental in changing the political, social, and economic landscape of the United States by injecting their form of moral superiority on working-class and poor Americans.

Common Prohibitionist Themes

In *Themes in Chemical Prohibition* (1979), drug addiction expert William L. White identified eight themes that pervade prohibitionist campaigns: association of the target substance (or activity) with a hated subgroup of society or a foreign enemy; identification of the substance (or activity) as being responsible for unrelated social problems such as crime, violence, and insanity; the idea that cultural survival depends on prohibition; a "domino theory" whereby the targeted substance (or activity) is said to lead to worse vices, addiction, or ruined health; an association between the substance (or activity) and the corruption—especially the sexual corruption—of children; the idea that the substance (or activity) is "contagious" and that users are recruiters; the idea that the substance (or activity) must be totally banned—rather than intelligently regulated—lest it overwhelm society; and attacks on those who question prohibition as themselves part of the problem. Although White focused on crusades against illicit substances, the same themes can be seen in campaigns to control stigmatized behavior, "deviant" sexual activity, sexually explicit materials, and politically unpopular speech.

Two Centuries of Anti-Vice Activism

In the 1800s, campaigns against prostitution, sexually explicit literature, and alcohol took place against the backdrop of industrialization and changing family roles as women entered the public sphere—both as workers and reformers—in increasing numbers. Early efforts against prostitution, alcohol, and drugs had a public health focus, but later took on an abolitionist tone.

The Comstock Law of 1873 set the stage for a century of battles against sexually explicit representation. Although the original Comstock laws were overturned by the mid-1960s, later laws against pornography and explicit music and art were often based on similar themes of social purity.

In the late 1800s and early 1900s, the Prohibition movement associated alcohol with crime, insanity, irresponsibility, and the corruption of youth. Similar themes carried over to the War on Drugs that entered the public consciousness in the 1980s—as did many of the unintended adverse effects of Prohibition, such as the development of underground markets and widespread lawbreaking. Alcohol and drugs were linked to immigrants and racial and ethnic minorities, from German brewers to Chinese opium addicts to Mexican marijuana users to black cocaine fiends. Alcohol and drug use were also linked to youth subcultures that challenged authority and prevailing social mores. The repeal of Prohibition in 1933 illustrated the shallow sentiment underlying the ban on

alcohol, demonstrating that the mainstream was concerned with curbing excess, not eliminating all use.

World War I, the Great Depression, and World War II ushered in major social changes and greatly influenced moral purity campaigns. Both war periods brought changes in the roles of women and intensified anti-foreigner sentiment. During the McCarthy era of the 1950s, middle-class women were driven back into the home and crusades raged against communism and sexual depravity, especially homosexuality.

The 1960s and 1970s saw a major period of liberalization, with the flowering of the civil rights movement, the women's movement, youth empowerment, and gay liberation. During these years, the Comstock Law banning contraception was overturned, the *Roe v. Wade* decision legalizing abortion was handed down, and several court cases narrowed prohibitions against sexually explicit materials. But as drug use became widespread and several types of crime increased, the stage was set for President Richard Nixon's "tough on crime" campaign and the intensification of the War on Drugs.

The election of President Ronald Reagan in 1980 signaled a new culture war, with renewed campaigns against abortion, pornography, and homosexuality. The Religious Right, with their traditional values agenda, became a major player on the national political stage. Multiple state and federal laws whittled away the right to abortion. Despite lack of evidence that pornography caused societal harm, religious conservatives and some feminists joined forces to promote increasingly restrictive anti-pornography legislation. Under the leadership of Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC), Congress stepped up efforts to deny federal funding for sexually explicit art and to ban AIDS education efforts that were seen as promoting homosexuality and drug use. The War on Drugs continued apace, with the public panic against drugs and drug users reaching a crescendo in the mid-1980s. As a consequence, the prison population exploded and the anti-drug crusade increasingly became a factor in U.S. foreign policy.

By the turn of the twenty-first century, the tide appeared to be turning once again. As happened during Prohibition, an increasing number of people began to decry the excesses of the War on Drugs and its unintended consequences. Harm-reduction policies, which attempt to minimize drug-related problems without insisting on abstinence, were increasingly accepted by the public health establishment. The Religious Right lost much of its political clout, and the Catholic Church became mired in a scandal over sexual abuse by priests. Nevertheless, conservatives were still able to employ fears about the corruption of children to push through abstinence-only sex education. The effects of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks remain to be seen, although the target of public panic and government control appears to have shifted away from sex and drugs to focus on foreigners, immigrants, and political dissidents.

The Making of Moral Panics

The nineteenth- and twentieth-century campaigns against alcohol, drugs, prostitution, pornography, explicit popular entertainment and art, homosexuality, pedophilia, and public sex have elements of classic moral panics. In his book *Sexuality and Its Discontents* (1985) sociologist Jeffrey Weeks defined moral panics as political moments in which diffuse social fears are channeled into agitation against an unpopular minority. "Sex panics, witch-hunts, and red scares are staples of American history," wrote historian Lisa Duggan in *Sex Panics* (1989). "While often promoted by powerless but vocal minorities hostile to cultural difference, they have been enthusiastically taken up by powerful groups in an effort to impose a rigid orthodoxy on the majority."

In *Thinking Sex* (1984), Anthropologist Gayle Rubin stated, "The criminalization of innocuous behaviors such as homosexuality, prostitution, obscenity, or recreational drug use is rationalized by portraying them as menaces to health and safety, to women and children, to national security, to the family, or to civilization itself." Judith Levine noted in *Harmful to Minors* (2002) that such panics tend to arise in times of transformation when people are anxious about social changes, traditional institutions are unstable, and authorities feel they are losing control. According to Rubin, "During a moral panic, such fears attach to some unfortunate activity or population. The media become ablaze with indignation, the public behaves like a rabid mob, the police are activated, and the state enacts new laws and regulations. When the furor has passed, some innocent erotic group has been decimated, and the state has extended its power into new areas of behavior."

Liz Highleyman and Benjamin Shepard

Moral Reform Movements in Postwar America

World War II brought a new round of social changes to the United States. In the prewar years, isolationist sentiment was prominent, but after the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, mainstream America was ready for war. The rampant xenophobia of the day was most clearly exemplified by the forced relocation of people of Japanese descent—primarily from California—and their internment in concentration camps. Women entered the labor force in large numbers to replace men who had gone to war. For many women, this allowed an unprecedented degree of freedom and economic participation. Military leaders, well aware that soldiers would frequent prostitutes, promoted the use of condoms so that the men would not contract syphilis and pass it on to their wives and girlfriends back home. In the grip of patriotic fever and economic hardship, the country took a break from moral crusades; while vice was still unquestionably condemned, a more practical approach prevailed.

The end of the war sparked the beginning of a new backlash, ushering in what is widely regarded as the most conservative period in contemporary U.S. history. Middle-class women were forced out of the workplace and back into the domestic sphere. Aided by the GI Bill, many who could afford to do so left the cities for the suburbs. The idealized American nuclear family arose, and any diversion from this image was condemned. In the 1940s and 1950s, xenophobia, fear of left-wing radicals—in particular, "godless" Communists—anxieties about nuclear war, and renewed concerns about sexual immorality intersected in countless ways.

The Rise of McCarthyism

The first major American "red scare" began in 1919 in the wake of the Russian Revolution; before it ended, thousands suspected of holding dangerous radical sentiments were arrested, held without trial, and in some cases deported. But McCarthyism—a period of anti-Communist hysteria—was more far-reaching, extending into all areas of American life and ensnaring many who had no connection with political dissent. In 1952, deepening xenophobia led to the passage of the McCarran-Walter Act, which imposed more rigid entry restrictions for immigrants. In 1947, the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) began to target Hollywood, attempting to root out any suggestion of anti-American sentiment. Academia was another favorite realm of anti-Communist crusaders. Before it was over, McCarthyism had ruined countless careers and lives.

Under the leadership of Senator Joseph McCarthy (R-WI) and Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) director J. Edgar Hoover, the dragnet rapidly expanded to focus on all forms of "sexual depravity," especially homosexuality. In 1948, Alfred Kinsey and co-authors published *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male,* followed in 1953 by *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female;* the books altered social discourse about homosexuality and other sexual variations. Kinsey and his Institute for Sex Research were accused of weakening the moral fiber of the country and rendering Americans more vulnerable to Communist influence. Homosexuality—which had only come to be seen as a distinct sexual identity around the turn of the century and was rarely mentioned in the social purity movements of the late 1800s—became a key target of moral crusaders. During this era, the government restricted employment of known or suspected homosexuals in federal jobs. Police raids of gay and transgender bars and surveillance and sweeps of cruising and commercial sex areas continued through the 1960s. In many cases, those netted in such operations were publicly exposed in the media.

Yet the increased repression galvanized homosexuals to fight for their rights. In 1951, at the height of the McCarthy era, Harry Hay—a Communist and la-

On October 23, 1947, a youthful Ronald Reagan, president of the Screen Actors Guild, attends a hearing of the House Un-American Activities Committee prior to testifying. A fervent anti-Communist, Reagan was elected president of the United States in 1980. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

bor activist—and others formed the Mattachine Society in Los Angeles. In 1954, the postal service banned the shipment of the group's *ONE* magazine under the still intact Comstock Law, the 1873 federal anti-obscenity law that prohibited the passage through the mail of "obscene, lewd, or lascivious" material. The 1958 *ONE Inc. v. Olesen* Supreme Court decision declaring that homophile literature could not be banned as obscene was the first ever high court ruling favoring homosexuals. The Daughters of Bilitis, a group for lesbians, formed in San Francisco in 1955. The San Francisco–based Council on Religion and the Homosexual, a civil rights organization comprised of early gay activists and progressive Protestant ministers, formed in 1964.

The 1960s: Birth of an Era

Although the countercultural Beatnik movement began in the late 1940s, it was not until the 1960s that a confluence of sweeping social changes ushered in a new era of liberalization in most aspects of American life. The civil rights movement for racial equality grew during this period. Major riots broke out in several U.S. cities. Rejecting the mandatory nuclear family of the 1950s, women increasingly entered the workforce and demanded social equality. The National Organization for Women formed in 1966. Middle-class youth on campuses became increasingly radicalized, and massive protests against the war in Vietnam—and against the ruling establishment in general—exploded

across the country. The new "unisex" fashion in clothing and hairstyles set off anxieties about gender-role nonconformity. Hippie youth flocked *en masse* to San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury district during the 1967 "Summer of Love," where they experimented with drugs, communal living, and new types of sexual relationships. After police raided the Council on Religion and the Homosexual's 1965 New Year's Eve costume ball, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) sued and all charges were dropped, ushering in a new era of gay political power in San Francisco. The gay liberation movement burst into public consciousness nationwide with the Stonewall Riots in New York City in June 1969, when gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender bar patrons and bystanders fought back against police who raided the Stonewall Inn in Greenwich Village.

By the time Richard Nixon resigned in disgrace in 1974 following the Watergate scandal, respect for authority and traditional social mores was perhaps at its lowest ever ebb.

Contraception and Abortion

The U.S. Food and Drug Administration's approval of the first birth control pill in 1960 is widely credited with sparking the sexual revolution. But battles over contraception and abortion continued apace. Moral crusaders not only played on fears about the changes in middle-class women's traditional roles that would be brought about by the ability to control fertility, but also exploited anxieties about rapidly reproducing immigrants and blacks overwhelming Anglo-Saxon whites.

In the 1936 case *U.S. v. One Package of Japanese Pessaries* (a device similar to a diaphragm), federal judge Augustus Hand ruled that birth control could not be classified as obscene and loosened laws forbidding the importation of contraceptive devices. But it was not until the 1965 *Griswold v. Connecticut* decision that the U.S. Supreme Court, citing marital privacy, ruled that married couples had the right to use contraceptives. The 1972 *Eisenstadt v. Baird* decision extended this right to unmarried people. In the late 1960s, Pope Paul VI issued an encyclical condemning abortion and all forms of artificial birth control. Seen as a representative of foreign interests, the Catholic Church had not been instrumental in the social purity campaigns of the nineteenth century, but gained increasing influence—especially in cities such as New York and Boston—with the influx of Catholic immigrants. In the latter half of the twentieth century, the Catholic Church played a major role in the anti-abortion movement.

Roe v. Wade

The most celebrated victory in the fight for reproductive rights was the landmark 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision, in which the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that abortion was legal during the first three months of pregnancy. As with the *Griswold vs. Connecticut* decision, the court based its ruling on the right to privacy. The first state laws against abortion had been passed in the mid- to late 1800s, and by 1910 most states had laws criminalizing abortion unless necessary to save the mother's life. Before the 1973 court decision, many women availed themselves of illegal abortions; while wealthy women sometimes could obtain legal abortions in other countries, women with fewer resources were consigned to "backroom" or self-administered procedures that led to many deaths.

Anti-abortion Movement

In the final decades of the twentieth century, religious and political conservatives stepped up their campaign against abortion. The National Right to Life Committee, spearheaded by the Catholic Church, was organized in 1973 to overturn *Roe v. Wade.* Both presidents Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush were sympathetic and politically indebted to the anti-abortion movement. Groups such as Operation Rescue targeted abortion providers, utilizing tactics such as blockades, which had been pioneered by progressive activists. In response, pro-choice activists—a coalition of women's rights advocates—responded by organizing "clinic defense" efforts. In the 1990s, there were numerous incidents of anti-abortion extremists bombing family-planning clinics and several shootings of abortion providers.

Anti-abortion activists succeeded in whittling down the scope of *Roe v. Wade* even while they failed to outlaw abortion entirely. Public funding of abortions for poor women in the United States was removed by the 1976 Hyde Amendment. Reagan's 1984 Mexico City Policy—better known as the "gag rule"—banned U.S. aid to international organizations that provide or discuss abortion. Most states enacted laws requiring women under age eighteen to obtain parental or judicial consent for an abortion. In the 1989 *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* decision, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that states could bar the use of public facilities for abortion. In the late 1990s, anti-abortion advocates began lobbying for laws banning late-term, so-called partial birth abortions. Fewer

medical schools provided training in abortion procedures; by the end of the decade, an estimated 85 percent of U.S. counties had no abortion providers. Concern about the appointment of conservative Supreme Court justices who could potentially shift the balance against *Roe v. Wade* was a major issue in the 2000 presidential campaign. The two major successes for pro-choice advocates in these years were the increased availability of emergency contraception (the "morning-after pill") in the late 1990s and the approval of RU-486 (the "abortion pill") in 2000, both of which had the effect of privatizing decisions about abortion.

In the latter decades of the twentieth century, moral crusaders were more successful in campaigns to restrict abortion than in efforts against sexual "deviance." This comparative success can perhaps be attributed to the fact that on the abortion issue, the value mainstream Americans place on privacy and individual liberty clashes with the emphasis they place on protecting children. Nevertheless, today many U.S. women use contraception, and polls show that—although support for choice has declined—a majority of Americans do not favor banning abortion.

Defining and Controlling Obscenity

Since the enactment of the 1873 Comstock Law, moral crusades related to sex have continued to play an important role in the history of U.S. social policy. Through the first half of the twentieth century, obscenity restrictions were leveled against many written works, including literary classics such as Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales,* James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922), D.H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928), Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* (1934), Allen Ginsberg's *Howl* (1956), and William Burroughs's *Naked Lunch* (1959). Explicit literature was associated with all manner of social ills ranging from obsessive lust to disregard for family responsibilities to the promotion of homosexuality and various forms of depravity. Following the familiar pattern, moral panics about sexual material were often linked to immigrants and racial and ethnic minorities—particularly Jews—who operated venues such as dance halls, produced objectionable films, and published erotic books.

One of the most infamous targets was Samuel Roth, a Jewish immigrant from Austria who produced and distributed by mail both sexually explicit and mainstream publications. In the mid-1950s, Roth was subpoenaed to appear before moral crusader Estes Kefauver's Senate committee to answer charges that his "lewd and lascivious" materials contributed to juvenile delinquency. Roth was arrested and prosecuted on several occasions for obscenity law violations. In the key 1957 *Roth v. United States* case, the U.S. Supreme Court struck a blow against the Hicklin test (the outcome of a British case from the 1800s), which held that a work was obscene if it was likely to corrupt children. Another strike against the Hicklin test was delivered earlier that year when the Supreme Court ruled in *Butler v. State of Michigan* that the adult population could not be limited to materials that are fit for children.

The 1973 *Miller v. California* case established the well-known three-prong test for determining whether material is obscene and thus not constitutionally protected: the average person, applying contemporary community standards, would find that the work, taken as a whole, appeals to the prurient interest; the work depicts or describes, in a patently offensive way, sexual conduct; and the work, taken as a whole, lacks serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value. Under this decision—which remains the basis for today's obscenity laws—the most prudish standards of a minority cannot be used to determine what materials are suitable for an entire community.

With the *Roth* and *Miller* decisions, the Supreme Court affirmed that obscenity—that which appeals to "prurient interest" and is without "redeeming social importance"—is not protected by the First Amendment. However, it left obscenity rather ill-defined, as reflected in Justice Potter Stewart's famous remark that while he could not define smut, he knew it when he saw it. In the years that followed, the Supreme Court refined the three-prong test, defining "prurient interest" as a "shameful or morbid interest in sex"—not "normal lust"—and specifying that the "average person" does not include children. The Court also affirmed that indecent materials—defined as those in "nonconformance with accepted standards of morality"—are protected as long as they meet the conditions set forth in the *Miller* decision.

The Meese Commission

Much of the debate surrounding sexually explicit materials concerned the purported negative societal effects of pornography such as crime, the oppression of women, and harm to children. During the Kefauver Commission hearings, psychiatrist Dr. Benjamin Karpman testified that pornography leads boys into gangs and juvenile delinquency. According to the FBI's Hoover, "The increasing number of sex crimes is due precisely to sex literature madly presented in certain magazines. . . . It is creating criminals faster

than jails can be built." But by 1970, the President's Commission on Obscenity and Pornography (the Lockhart Commission) had found "no reliable evidence to date that exposure to explicit sexual materials plays a significant role in the causation of delinquent or criminal sexual behavior among youth or adults."

Sixteen years later, the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography—better known as the Meese Commission—revisited the issue. The Meese Commission amassed a collection of materials found in several adult bookstores—including hundreds of books and thousands of magazines and films. In fact, the Meese Commission's 1,960-page report may be the most extensive pornography database ever compiled.

The Meese Commission hoped to find scientific evidence to refute the conclusion of the 1970 commission that pornography does not lead to negative social consequences, but it had little success. Researchers such as Edward Donnerstein of the University of Wisconsin had found a connection between certain types of violent pornography and aggressive behavior, but did not find similar effects for sexually explicit but nonviolent material. Sociologist Edna Einsiedel, who was hired by the commission, concluded that "no evidence currently exists that actually links fantasies with specific sexual offenses." Some of the most negative testimony came from moral crusader Judith Reisman, who despite questionable methodology in her studies of sexually explicit cartoons in men's magazines still was unable to find much damning evidence.

Released after a year of hearings, the 1986 Meese Commission report contained several recommendations for restricting obscenity and pornography, including stepped-up enforcement, forfeiture provisions similar to those of anti-drug laws, definition of the hiring of porn actors as an unfair labor practice, use of pandering laws against pornography producers, and requirements against doors on peep show booths—which also became an issue in struggles over gay male sex establishments. In 1987, the federal government established the Obscenity Enforcement Unit, later renamed the Child Exploitation and Obscenity Section.

The Feminist Sex Wars

The Meese Commission hearings took place against the backdrop of a battle within the feminist movement that has come to be known as the sex wars. After the birth of feminism, tensions arose between moral reformers, who prioritized protection of women, and others, who emphasized women's right to self-determination. These tensions intensified in the late 1970s and early 1980s and led to bitter battles within academic and activist feminist circles. Groups such as San Francisco's Women Against Violence in Pornography and Media and New York City's Women Against Pornography promoted the anti-pornography view, while the Feminist Anticensorship Task Force, Feminists for Free Expression, and others—a tendency that came to be known as "pro-sex" feminism—argued against censorship. Anti-pornography feminists defined opposition to pornography as an essential tenet of feminism and in some cases acrimoniously attacked feminists who disagreed. Before they were over, the "sex wars" also came to encompass other areas of controversial sexual expression including sadomasochism, public sex, lesbian butch/femme roles, and sex work.

The crux of the feminist anti-pornography argument was that pornography objectified and degraded women, negatively influenced how women were viewed and treated by men, and ultimately led to violence against women. Perhaps the best known and most extensively developed anti-pornography position is that of author Andrea Dworkin and legal scholar Catharine MacKinnon. Dworkin and MacKinnon developed a so-called civil rights legal strategy that defined pornography as discrimination against women. Laws based on this theory would ban material that is "degrading" to women and allow women who felt they had been harmed by pornography to sue the producers and purveyors of such material. An ordinance along these lines was passed in Indianapolis, Indiana, but was invalidated as unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court. In 1992, the Senate considered, but failed to pass, the Pornography Victims Compensation Act (nicknamed the "Bundy Act" after serial killer Ted Bundy, who blamed his crimes on exposure to pornography). A civil rights interpretation of anti-pornography law was established by Canada's 1992 *Regina v. Butler* high court decision; ironically—but not surprisingly—the first materials to be targeted were lesbian and gay erotica.

Anti-pornography feminists made sexually explicit material a scapegoat for the unequal position of women in society, seemingly ignoring the evidence that rape, violence, oppression, and exploitation of women long predated commercial erotica. Although they attacked nonviolent sexually explicit material, they rarely focused on the much more ubiquitous violent material that was not sexually explicit. Anti-pornography feminists did not call for less sexist

pornography made by well-compensated and well-treated talent, but rather demanded its total elimination. As had occurred in earlier decades, some moral reform feminists joined forces with religious and political conservatives. By the turn of the twenty-first century, the pro-sex faction appeared to have gained the upper hand within the feminist movement—pro-sex feminism is now well represented within academia and among younger activists—but the anti-pornography feminists' views have had considerable influence on mainstream thought and government policy, especially in the areas of prostitution and international sex trafficking.

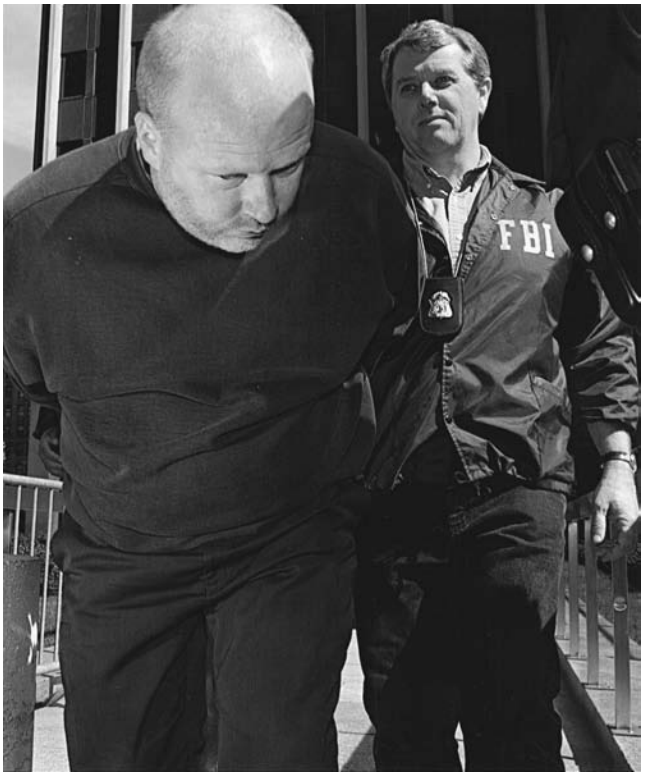
Social Conservatives and Popular Entertainment and Art

Moral purity proponents have been particularly critical of the corrupting influence of popular entertainment and art. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, most of the furor about sexually explicit and other objectionable expression revolved around printed materials and live performances. But with the development of new technologies, recorded music, radio, film, television, and the Internet also became targets.

In 1930, the Hays Production Code governing the content of studio movies was introduced; it was replaced with the current Motion Picture Association of America movie rating system in 1968. As was the case during World War I, materials considered politically subversive, as well as those considered obscene, drew major repression in the 1940s and 1950s. In the 1960s, comedian Lenny Bruce, known for his social satire on topics such as race, homosexuality, drugs, and the criminal justice system, was arrested and tried repeatedly for obscenity law violations. In 1978, the U.S. Supreme Court, in *FCC v. Pacifica Foundation*, ruled against the broadcast of comedian George Carlin's monologue featuring "seven dirty words" that could not be aired on radio or television.

Music, too, was not safe from moral crusaders. In the Roaring Twenties, social purity advocates targeted jazz, which was seen as emblematic of an out-of-control black, urban, and youth subculture. In the 1950s, fears about rock-and-roll music defiling the innocence of youth were rife, as exemplified by complaints about Elvis "the Pelvis" Presley and his sexually suggestive dance moves. In the 1960s and 1970s, concerns revolved around allegations that songs such as "Puff the Magic Dragon" and "Yellow Submarine" promoted drug use. In the 1980s and 1990s, attention turned to punk, heavy metal, "gangster" rap, and hip-hop. In 1985, vice-presidential wife Tipper Gore and other wives of politicians and business leaders founded the Parents' Music Resource Center, which pressured record companies to put ratings or warning stickers on albums with violent or sexual content. In 1985, Jello Biafra of the controversial punk band the Dead Kennedys—known for songs critical of religion, politicians, and U.S. policy—was brought up on charges of distributing material harmful to minors: the band's "Frankenchrist" album which featured explicit art by H.R. Giger. In 1991, the rap group Two Live Crew (with their hit single "Me So Horny") were prosecuted for obscenity violations in Broward County, Florida, and later in several other states; both Biafra and Two Live Crew were eventually acquitted. With the campaigns against offensive music, creative expression became a focal point for concerns about political radicalism, anxieties about youth sexuality and drug use, and fears about black men.

This theme carried over to visual and performance art, but here religion, feminism, and homosexuality were the key areas of concern. In 1989, Dr. James Dobson of Focus on the Family held a press conference to denounce Andres Serrano's representation of a crucifix in a jar of urine, claiming it was anti-Christian. In June 1989, the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, D.C., canceled an exhibit by photographer Robert Mapplethorpe, a gay artist who died of AIDS in March 1989. Both artists had received funding through the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA). In 1990, obscenity charges were brought against the Cincinnati Contemporary Arts Center and its director for displaying the Mapplethorpe exhibit; a jury later voted for acquittal. Civil libertarians, artists, and other activists protested the attempts at censorship; numerous demonstrations took place, and in Washington, D.C., activists projected slides of Mapplethorpe's most controversial works on the side of the Corcoran building. Such work included sadomasochistic images, nude black men, religious imagery, a candid shot of a young girl with her genitals visible, and images that showed his physical deterioration as his illness progressed. Mapplethorpe's work played on the combined anxieties surrounding children and homosexuality, and his images of black men seemed tailor-made to bring out the racial insecurities of white men. Yet despite the objections of a vocal minority, Mapplethorpe was quite popular, and coffee-table books featuring his sexually explicit imagery became a staple of many middle-class living rooms.



In a crackdown on Internet-based child pornography, the FBI arrests former New York City police officer Brian Matthews on March 21, 2002. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

When a small Washington, D.C., gallery picked up the exhibition rejected by the Corcoran, some 4,000 viewers turned out the first weekend.

Conservative legislators, under pressure from the Religious Right, took up the crusade against indecent art and demanded investigation into NEA funding. The NEA, founded in 1965 to provide financial support for the arts, was mandated to consider cultural diversity in its funding decisions. In the summer of 1989, Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC) proposed a bill requiring the NEA to award funding not just on the basis of artistic merit, but also taking into account "general standards of decency and respect for the diverse beliefs and values of the American public." Later that year Congress passed legislation that barred the agency from supporting work that "may be considered obscene, including, but not limited to, depictions of sadomasochism, homoeroticism, the sexual exploitation of children, or individuals engaged in sex acts and which, taken as a whole, do not have serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value." In 1990, NEA director John Frohnmeyer withdrew grants from four performance artists: Karen Finley, John Fleck, Holly Hughes, and Tim Miller—respectively, a feminist, a gay man, a lesbian, and a bisexual. A Los Angeles federal judge struck down the congressional decency provision as unconstitutional, but in its 1998 *NEA v. Finley* decision the U.S. Supreme Court reversed the lower court and allowed the decency provision to stand.

New Technologies, New Battles

Perhaps the most notable feature of the censorship debate at the turn of the twenty-first century was the new possibilities for sexual expression opened up by the Internet. Although the Internet was officially born in 1969, it was not until two and a half decades later that the widespread availability of electronic mail and the World Wide Web extended cyberspace beyond university laboratories and into millions of homes. Internet pornography became an issue in the mid-1990s in part as a result of a sensationalistic 1995 *Time* magazine cover article based on a later largely discredited study by Marty Rimm about the extent of sexually explicit material available online. The first attempt to censor the Internet was the 1996 Communications Decency Act (CDA), which made it illegal to transmit indecent or patently offensive material. Challenged by the ACLU and a coalition of plaintiffs in *Reno v. ACLU,* the CDA was struck down by the U.S. Supreme Court in June 1997. The plaintiffs—including several LGBT, AIDS, and sex education organizations as well as civil libertarian groups such as the Electronic Frontier Foundation—successfully argued that "indecency" and "offensiveness" were too vague, that valuable sexually explicit but nonobscene material would be restricted, and that adults would be limited to materials suitable for children. In the years to follow, Congress passed more narrowly tailored laws, hoping to find one that would pass constitutional muster. The 1998 Child Online Protection Act (COPA), which requires age verification measures to prevent the transmission of sexually explicit material to minors, was halted by the Supreme Court in May 2002. The similarly named Children's Internet Protection Act of 2000, which requires that public libraries and schools install filters on computers to prevent access to sexually explicit content or face the loss of federal funding, was ruled unconstitutional by a district court in 2002, but was upheld by the Supreme Court in June 2003. As use of the Internet continues to grow, online pornography remains a contentious issue.

The New Culture War: The Rise of the Religious Right

The Meese Commission hearings and the NEA furor were a microcosm of what conservative candidate Patrick J. Buchanan, speaking at the 1992 Republican National Convention, dubbed the "culture war." The culture war was a backlash against the increasing social liberalization and gains made by feminists, gay people, and ethnic and racial minorities in the 1960s and 1970s. Proponents of this agenda came to be called the New Right or the Religious Right. The beginning of the war can perhaps be dated to Anita Bryant's 1977 Save Our Children campaign, which resulted in Dade County, Florida, voters repealing a gay antidiscrimination ordinance. The Dade campaign was soon followed by California's 1978 Briggs Initiative, which sought to prohibit gay men and lesbians from teaching in public schools. Moral concerns moved from the fringes to the center of public debate, and with the election of Reagan in 1980 the Religious Right became a major force in American politics. Key New Right leaders included Donald Wildmon's American Family Association, Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition, Beverly and Tim LaHaye's Concerned Women for America, Dobson's Family Research Council and Focus on the Family, Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority, and Louis Sheldon's Traditional Values Coalition. The membership of these groups was largely made up of fundamentalist or "born-again" Protestants, and their support was particularly strong in the southern Bible Belt.

The primary targets of the Religious Right included feminism, homosexuality, abortion, sexually explicit popular entertainment and art, sex education, and school prayer. Cultural changes associated with immigrants and racial and ethnic minorities were also a concern, but some conservative African-American and Latino religious and political leaders were drawn into the movement. The central message was the need to restore "traditional family values"—that is, to reverse recent changes in family structure, conventional gender roles, and sex hierarchies. An underlying message of the New Right was that the culture wars were largely responsible for many of the problems of American society. Some of the new wave of moral reformers began their careers in the successful campaign to prevent the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. The movement placed much importance on "traditional" marriage and the nuclear family—arguing that premarital sex, nonmarital partnerships, and same-sex marriages would undermine these institutions. Under pressure from the Religious Right, in 1996 Congress passed the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA), which for the first time instituted a federal definition of a marriage as a "legal union between one man and one woman as husband and wife." Homosexuality—seen by social conservatives as an assault on religion, the family, and traditional gender roles—increasingly became a target of moral crusaders as the LGBT movement grew in numbers and political influence.

Protecting Children

By the 1980s and 1990s, the political climate had shifted appreciably to the right. Social conservatives demanded an end to sex education that actually educated about sex, and pushed for laws giving parents greater control over their children. Abstinence-only sex education in schools became a primary focus. The 1981 Adolescent Family Life Program was a federal effort to promote teen chastity. In 1994, the Religious Right prompted then-president Bill Clinton to dismiss Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders for suggesting that information about masturbation should be included as part of sex education. In 1996, as part of a major welfare reform law, Congress authorized funding for programs that exclusively teach the "social, psychological, and health gains" of abstinence. In 2002, the United States—in alliance with the Vatican and several Islamic countries—was instrumental in modifying United Nations treaties concerning the rights of women and children to remove provisions related to abortion, contraception, and sex education.

Yet even as social conservatives spoke of the importance of families and children, political conservatives opposed public funding for education, child care, and healthcare. Federal welfare funding was dramatically cut, and efforts were made to tie benefits to marriage; several states proposed measures to reduce benefits to women who had additional children while receiving welfare. Notably, laws increasingly required poor women to work full-time jobs; it was middle-class, white women who were being pushed back into the home.

Child Sexual Abuse Panics

The 1980s and 1990s were characterized by fears about pedophilia, sexual abuse by strangers and homosexuals, and child pornography. Sexual abuse of children is widespread, but it is most often committed by family members or acquaintances of the children, and the majority is by men against girls. Yet while intrafamily abuse remains largely unspoken, fears about the "other" and the "outsider" are loud and clear. Pedophiles became the most demonized target

in late-twentieth-century America. They remain the one group that even the most ardent proponents of civil and sexual liberties are loath to defend. Penalties for child sexual abuse or statutory rape were increased dramatically during this period, including "Megan's laws" (named after murder victim Megan Kanka), sex offender registries, and proposals for indefinite confinement in mental institutions after the completion of prison sentences. The furor over pedophilia came to a head in 2002 when a large number of Catholic priests were accused and convicted of sexual abuse and their superiors were charged with a cover-up; in response, some Church leaders blamed the scandal on homosexuals within their ranks. Unlike the case in many previous child panics in which rumor swirled without foundation, there was real evidence that inappropriate sexual conduct by priests was a widespread problem.

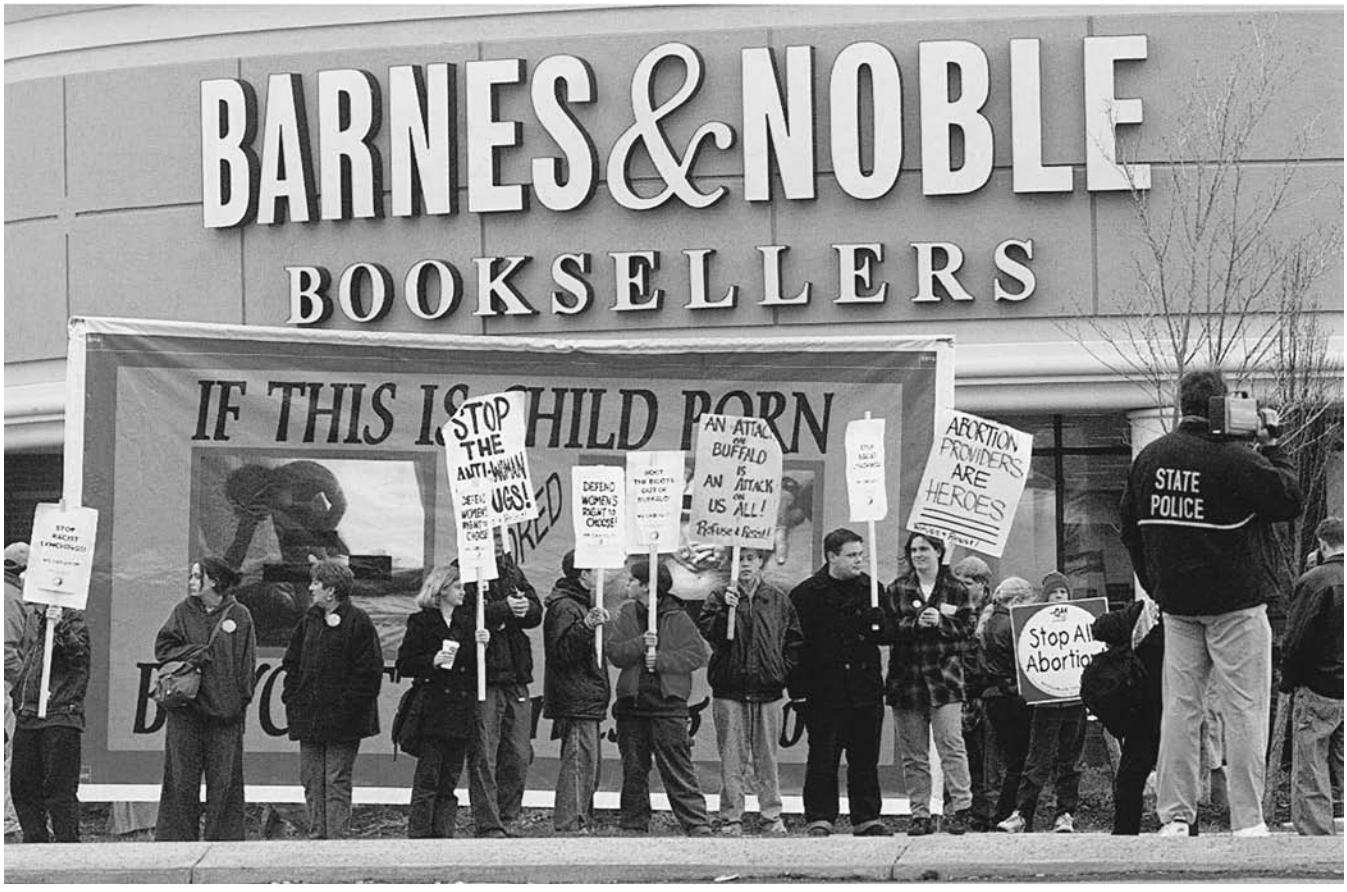
One of most extreme manifestations of the child sex panic concerned the McMartin preschool in Manhattan Beach, California, near Los Angeles. In 1983, a parent complained to police that her son had been molested at the school, which was run by Peggy Buckey and Virginia McMartin and employed Raymond Buckey as an aide. After the local police chief sent letters to parents warning that their children may have been abused, a media frenzy ensued. Hundreds of children were interviewed by the Children's Institute International, and by 1984 over 300 had been identified as victims and some 100 staff had been accused. The investigation was marked by interview techniques that allegedly coached children about what to say and rewarded them for desired responses. Upon investigation, minimal physical evidence for these charges was found. Although the case was one of the longest and most expensive criminal trials in U.S. history, most charges were dropped. In 1990, Peggy Buckey was cleared by a jury, and two juries deadlocked on charges against Raymond Buckey.

An important feature of the McMartin case—and one that marks it as a classic panic—is how many people believed the allegations and joined in the calls for vengeance, no matter how bizarre the accusations or how little evidence there was to support them. A 1994 U.S. government report analyzing over 12,000 accusations of Satanic ritual abuse in this and other cases found "not a single case where there was clear corroborating evidence." The McMartin case joins the Salem witch trials and the McCarthy-era red scare as a major example of mass hysteria. One outcome of this panic was a generalized suspicion concerning adult men and children.

Child Pornography

Child pornography has never been as prevalent as opponents have claimed, and much of what has been available was provided through the government as part of various entrapment operations such as the FBI's "Innocent Images." Still, with increased access to pornography through the Internet, the opposition to child pornography escalated to such an extent that images not intended as pornography were sometimes targeted. Laws and corporate policies were put into place requiring commercial photo developers to report suspect material. In 1990, police and the FBI raided the San Francisco home of Jock Sturges, a fine art photographer whose work includes nude images of minors; although Sturges was never indicted, he was accused in the media of being a child pornographer. Throughout the decade, reports periodically surfaced of parents being reported to authorities for developing nonsexual nude photos of their own babies and young children.

In 1977, Congress passed the Sexual Exploitation of Children Act, which prohibits the use of minors in the making of pornography, taking pornographic pictures of minors, and interstate transactions involving child pornography. The 1982 *New York v. Ferber* U.S. Supreme Court decision set a new standard for child pornography, permitting greater restrictions of sexual material involving children and essentially waiving the three-prong *Miller* test for child pornography. The Child Sexual Abuse and Pornography Act of 1986 banned advertisements for child pornography and raised minimum sentences for repeat offenders. With the explosion of the Internet, child pornography—much of it produced and distributed from outside the United States—became more widely available, including unsolicited "spam" mailings to unsuspecting recipients. The 1988 Child Protection and Obscenity Enforcement Act prohibited transmission of child pornography using a computer. In 1990, Congress made it illegal to possess three or more pieces of child pornography obtained through interstate or foreign commerce or via computer. And in 1996, Congress passed the Child Pornography Prevention Act (CPPA), which prohibited "virtual" child pornography—computer-generated images of children or images in which adults are made to look like children. In April 2002, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Ashcroft v. Free Speech Coalition* that the CPPA was overbroad and unconstitutional, but legislators soon introduced a new law, the Child Obscenity and Pornography Prevention Act (COPPA), in an attempt to circumvent the ruling. In



On April 19, 1999, picketers in East Amherst, New York, demonstrate at a Barnes & Noble bookstore that sold books depicting nude children by photographers Jock Sturges and David Hamilton. Picketers were divided fairly evenly between supporters and opponents. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

April 2003, Congress passed the PROTECT Act, which included the proposed COPPA provision banning digitally morphed sexual images of children, as well as a prohibition against misleading Internet domain names that could direct children to pornographic Web sites.

AIDS and Its Impact

The late 1980s and 1990s were a time of increasing visibility for gay men and lesbians, and later for bisexual and transgender people. Several gay rights and antidiscrimination laws had been passed, the federal government began to pay attention to AIDS after nearly a decade of neglect, and the 1987 March on Washington demonstrated the burgeoning movement's growing political strength. One outcome of the march was the birth of the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP), followed in 1990 by Queer Nation. The upsurge in LGBT activism was spurred in part by outrage over the U.S. Supreme Court's 1986 *Bowers v. Hardwick* ruling, which upheld a conviction under Georgia's sodomy law of two gay men for having sex in their home. Although many states had abolished their sodomy laws in the sexually liberal 1960s and 1970s, at the turn of the century a dozen states still retained laws prohibiting oral and anal sex—some targeting same-sex activity only and others encompassing everyone, including married heterosexual couples. Although sodomy laws are not often enforced, they sometimes come into play in child custody, statutory rape, and prostitution cases. Arguing that they are discriminatory, gay rights advocates have had some success in overturning sodomy laws that ban sexual activity between same-sex but not opposite-sex partners. The LGBT rights movement also achieved a major victory with the U.S. Supreme Court's 1996 *Romer v. Evans* decision, which declared that a state could not prohibit local sexual orientation antidiscrimination laws.

The moral crusade of the 1980s and 1990s cannot

be understood without taking into account the impact of AIDS, which first came to public attention in 1981. Jerry Falwell and other leaders of the Religious Right began to equate AIDS with homosexuality, prostitution, and drug use in the mid-1980s, contending that AIDS was a punishment for immoral behavior. The New Right associated it with crime, diseases, and mental illness. In 1987, Helms proposed an amendment—which came to be known as "no promo homo"—that prohibited the use of federal funds for HIV/AIDS education or prevention materials and activities that "promote, encourage, or condone, directly or indirectly, homosexual activities or intravenous use of illegal drugs." "No promo homo" rested on the idea that promotion of immorality was more dangerous to society than the transmission of a deadly disease.

AIDS has had a profound effect on gay identity and sexual practices. The language of AIDS would serve as a battleground for a decade of culture wars surrounding sex. ACT UP's slogan was "Silence Equals Death." One of the lessons of the AIDS crisis was that speech and identity are intimately entwined. AIDS has been used to reinforce the old idea—prominent in the crusade against prostitution in the mid- and late 1880s—that sexual deviation leads to disease and death. In the words of Gayle Rubin in her essay "Thinking Sex" (1984), "The history of panic that has accompanied new epidemics, and of the casualties incurred by their scapegoating, should make everyone pause and consider with extreme skepticism any attempts to justify antigay policy initiatives on the basis of AIDS."

Gay Sex Panics

Although the increased visibility and political clout of the LGBT community curtailed police raids on gay bars and cruising spaces relative to their levels in the 1940s through the 1960s, increased uncertainty about gender roles, anxieties about unrestrained sexual expression, and fear of AIDS ushered in new gay sex panics in the 1980s and 1990s. But unlike panics of the past, this round often pitted members of the LGBT community against one another.

San Francisco faced a major battle over gay bathhouses in the early 1980s. Although many such establishments had gone out of business as a result of a decline in clientele as the AIDS epidemic spread, Mayor Dianne Feinstein was determined to close those that remained. The attempt brought about an intracommunity struggle that resembled the "sex wars" taking place at the same time. Some gay men saw bathhouses as a symbol of newly won gay liberation and vociferously opposed their closure. Other, more "respectable," gay men were quick to dissociate themselves from those who were more promiscuous and overtly sexual. LGBT leaders and public health officials were genuinely concerned about the massive illness and death affecting their community and were willing to sacrifice some sexual liberties to stop it. In October 1984, health department director Dr. Mervyn Silverman issued an emergency order closing the baths.

A similar struggle once again came to the fore in the mid-1990s. In a quirk of regulatory bureaucracy, San Francisco had banned bathhouses with private rooms while allowing sex clubs where men could engage in sexual activity in public common spaces. In the fall of 1996, the Coalition for Healthy Sex—a group of local sex club proprietors, sex educators, AIDS activists, and public health workers—proposed a set of standards they hoped would make for a safer sex club experience; these included mandating condoms and HIV education materials and restricting locked private spaces that could not be monitored. Despite opposition, the Department of Public Health implemented the regulations in early 1997. Opponents of the standards—who also included sex club proprietors and AIDS activists—formed a group called Community United for Sexual Privacy to attempt to have the guidelines thrown out. They argued that gay men have a right to privacy in commercial sex venues and that such spaces are ideal locations for AIDS prevention efforts. By 1999, a local gay Democratic club, the city's Human Rights Commission, and the city's HIV Prevention Planning Council voted to withdraw the guidelines; these votes were not binding, however, and the city's health department declined to rescind the regulations. The furor then died down as quickly as it had started.

New York City had a different experience. In that city, bathhouses with private spaces were not banned, but city health regulations prohibited sex—with or without condoms—in public establishments. Here again, debate about public sex spaces divided the LGBT community. A group called Gay and Lesbian HIV Prevention Activists pressed the city to more strongly enforce its ban on sex in commercial venues. Well-known gay authors such as Michelangelo Signorile and Gabriel Rotello called for gay men to be less promiscuous, suggesting that monogamous long-term relationships were key to preventing HIV transmission.

The Battle for Public Space

The debate over gay sex venues in New York City took place against the backdrop of a more general battle over public space. In the mid-1990s, the city undertook an effort to "clean up" Times Square, the blocks surrounding Manhattan's theater district and the Port Authority bus terminal, which had become an infamous center of low-budget sexual entertainment. The city hoped to bring money into its coffers by making the district more attractive to corporations, wealthy residents, and middle-class family-oriented tourists—as exemplified by Disney chairman Michael Eisner's renovation of the New Amsterdam Theater as a venue for Broadway versions of Disney children's movies. In exchange for his investment, Eisner called on the city to get rid of the surrounding X-rated theaters, strip clubs, and adult stores. Although begun under Democratic mayor David Dinkins, the Times Square cleanup became the cornerstone of Republican mayor Rudolph Giuliani's citywide "quality of life" campaign, which targeted the homeless, panhandlers, honking drivers, protesters without permits, unauthorized gatherings, and the punk, transgender, LGBT, and racial and ethnic minority youth who populated the city's public spaces.

In 1995, the New York City Council passed amendments to the city's existing zoning law intended to eliminate commercial sex establishments. The new law targeted businesses that had a "substantial portion" of their stock devoted to sexual merchandise. Although most of the targeted venues catered to heterosexual men, the law was so vague that opponents feared gay-oriented book and novelty stores could fall within its purview. In addition, no adult businesses could be located within 500 feet of a church, a school, a residential district, or another such business. (Similar laws are in place throughout the United States to restrict adult business, but in Manhattan nearly everything is within 500 feet of a school, a church, or a residence.) In order to pass constitutional muster, the city would have to prove that adult businesses could relocate to other areas, and also that they were clearly linked to negative "secondary effects" such as crime—a link the Meese Commission was never able to establish.

New York City mayor Giuliani argued that commercial sex establishments hurt other business and eroded public morality in the city. Some opponents accused the mayor of generating a sex panic, claiming the plan was a real estate land grab cloaked in the guise of a moral campaign. The zoning law engendered debate about cultural diversity and the nature of the public sphere. While some activists were more concerned about what was being lost, others were more angry about what would take its place. Immediately after the zoning law passed, Harold Price Ferringer, former attorney for Larry Flynt, the self-styled smut peddler, challenged its constitutionality. In 1999, the U.S. Supreme Court rejected Ferringer's final appeal, but by then the law had already been implemented. Even in the aftermath of September 11, 2001, the New York City Council took time to pass additional amendments to the zoning code aimed at further restricting public spaces for erotic performance and merchandise (which were ruled unconstitutional in September 2003).

Into the Twenty-first Century

At the turn of the twenty-first century, social conservatives appeared to have lost much of its previous influence. Falwell was ridiculed in 1999 when he complained that Tinky Winky, a children's television character, was gay. Ridicule turned to outrage when he suggested—and Pat Robertson agreed—that pagans, abortionists, feminists, gays and lesbians, and civil liberties activists were to blame for the September 11 terrorist attacks.

The attempted impeachment of Bill Clinton following revelations of his extramarital affair with a White House intern was perhaps one of the last major shows of strength by the Religious Right. Clinton's "permissive" attitudes and unseemly behavior came to symbolize everything wrong with liberal America. Republican leaders, Religious Right spokespersons, and the media spent months dwelling on every detail of "Monicagate," but the public seemed to soon tire of the issue. Unlike preceding Republican administrations, the Religious Right did not play a major role in the election of George W. Bush, who was more closely aligned with business interests (although Ashcroft's ascendance as attorney general exemplified the Religious Right's continuing influence).

Just as the moral crusade of the 1980s and 1990s reflected a backlash against the liberalization of the 1960s and 1970s—which was itself a reaction to the conservativism of the 1950s—by the end of the century the tide again appeared to be turning. Increasing numbers of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people "came out of the closet," and demonization does not work as well when an enemy is known and stereotypes are shown to be wrong. The adoption of domestic partner legislation or policies by many local and state governments and corporations, and the introduction of civil unions that closely approximate

marriage, have led some to predict that same-sex marriage may be a reality by the end of the decade (despite stepped-up efforts to amend the Constitution to define marriage as including only one man and one woman).

Still, throughout the past decade, state sodomy laws were steadily overturned. Most notably, in June 2003 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled against a Texas sodomy law that banned oral and anal sex between same-sex but not opposite-sex partners, overturning its 1986 *Bowers v. Hardwick* decision. In the majority opinion in *Lawrence and Garner v. Texas,* Justice Anthony Kennedy wrote that it is unconstitutional to single out homosexuals for moral disapproval, and that "[t]he state cannot demean their existence or control their destiny by making their private sexual conduct a crime." Recognizing the broad implications of the ruling, which invalidates the thirteen remaining state sodomy laws against both same-sex and opposite-sex sexual conduct, dissenting justice Antonin Scalia asserted that the court had "taken sides in the culture war" and "largely signed on to the so-called homosexual agenda."

On the whole, compared to the War on Drugs, recent moral crusades against stigmatized sexual behavior and expression have generated more sound than fury. Crackdowns against prostitution and gay male cruising still happen with some regularity, but sentences do not approach those for drug infractions.

But this was before September 11, 2001, and subsequent wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Social panics have always been used to erode opposition to hitherto unacceptable impositions on civil liberties. Following the terrorist attacks, this tendency was exemplified by the efforts of the Bush administration, led by Attorney General John Ashcroft, to institute control of immigrants (especially Arabs and Muslims) and surveillance of citizens that previously would have been untenable. However, the laws put into place since 2001 have for the most part focused on security rather than smut. In the months after September 11, images of an epic battle between good and evil once again were called forth, but this time—as happened during previous times of war—the focus was on foreigners, immigrants, and political dissidents rather than on sex, drugs, and rock-and-roll.

Conclusion

Social purity movements in the United States reflect a paradox inherent to American society: the country was born with a strong Puritan streak, but also has traditionally espoused the values of liberty and privacy. It is therefore not surprising that social movements reflect these conflicting elements. The anti-vice activism of the late nineteenth century combined the progressive drive for social reform with the evangelical hope of making America a religious country. Despite their often-coercive methods, many early efforts to eliminate vice anticipated Progressive Era reforms in the areas of labor law, food and drug regulation, hygiene improvements, and better healthcare for immigrants. In both the social reform movements of the nineteenth century and the anti-pornography activism of the 1980s, some feminists made alliances with religious leaders and other conservative forces. Concerning women's rights, sexual equality, and the structure of the family. Feminists have repeatedly found themselves split between those promoting greater protection for women and social control of men, and those seeking greater autonomy and self-determination for women. Similar tensions have also been evident in movements for the rights of children, people of color, immigrants, and the poor.

Anti-vice movements and intervening periods of liberalization reflect the ongoing battle between the values of Puritanism and liberty. On the whole, mainstream America is a society of moderates, favoring a "live and let live" attitude. Yet periodically—especially during periods of social upheaval—a minority of "true believers" (religious crusaders, hard-core drug warriors, and the like) is able to sway a majority of fed-up moderates and the opportunistic politicians that surround them. During the late 1800s and early 1900s, moderates were mobilized against the excesses of saloon culture, aided by the increased xenophobia of World War I, leading to Prohibition. The social changes brought about by World War II spurred the political and moral panics that set the stage for the McCarthy witch hunts. And fears about societal breakdown in the wake of the cultural liberalization of the 1960s and 1970s ushered in the social conservative "traditional values" campaigns. Moral panics have been most successful in areas in which the mainstream perceives concrete societal harm, especially harm to children.

Loud moral crusades often give the appearance of deeper sentiment than actually exists. Despite their best efforts, social purity proponents have never been able to do away with the demand for alcohol, drugs, prostitution, sexually explicit materials, or contraception—which the market has always found a way to supply. When the pendulum swings too far in the direction of moral purity, mainstream sentiment again pushes toward moderation. As demonstrated with

Prohibition, the typical American has an interest in curbing excess, but not in allowing the state or the church to police his or her own behavior.

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Prostitution Reform

Vice and prostitution were considered a permanent feature of American life for much of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In some parts of the West during the frontier and Gold Rush days, prostitution was widely accepted, and prominent madams played an active role in many a town's social scene. But changes in the structure of the American family and society during the mid-nineteenth century created a shift in social understandings. As early industrialization drove women's work outside the home, women's roles in traditional domestic economies began to change. Commercialization altered both families and social networks. Some women became wage earners, while others became social reformers. Outside of domestic private spaces, discrimination and exploitation marked women's work experiences. Far from family and community, there was no redress for labor-management problems. Pregnancy outside of marriage was condemned, and many women turned to prostitution as a means of survival. Industrialization intensified the shifts in family life, contributing to the rise in prostitution and calls for social reform. Concurrently, some of the same societal changes that drove working-class women into the labor force provided upper- and middle-class women the leisure time to focus their attention beyond the domestic sphere; these women came to play a major role in the century's social reform movements.

The Anti-Prostitution Movement

The first wave of anti-prostitution reform in the United States, as in Britain, conceived of prostitution as a social problem of public health and morality, with female polluters and male victims. The year 1864 saw the passage of the British Contagious Diseases Act, a law aimed at controlling venereal disease. Paradoxically, the same social purists who saw women as the victims of male lust offered a solution that punished women by sanctioning the state to examine and inspect those accused of prostitution. Opponents of the new laws—a coalition of feminists, radical working-class men, and evangelists—fought the legislation on the grounds that it sacrificed female liberties while supporting state-sanctioned rape. Reflecting social fears about immigration and racial diversity, the first anti-prostitution laws in San Francisco in the mid-nineteenth century were aimed at controlling Chinese prostitutes.

Not all reform efforts were aimed at punishing "fallen" women. In the mid-1800s, groups such as the Providence Association for Employment of Women, the New York Moral Reform Society, and the Boston Society for Employing the Poor worked to raise women's wages so that they would not be forced to turn to prostitution. So-called Magdalene Societies sought to rehabilitate prostitutes and discourage male lust; some favored "anti-seduction" laws to prevent men's exploitation of vulnerable women. But many U.S. prostitution abolitionists followed the British model, describing prostitutes as "malevolent, cruel, and vengeful women" who were thought to corrupt their male victims. Men rarely were arrested or incarcerated for their involvement with prostitutes. The double standard of punishing women for providing a service that men sought and paid for thus became an issue with which feminists would grapple well into the next century. Women's rights were rarely the driving force behind anti-vice campaigns.

Early 1900s Reform

"Ladies . . . Dante is dead . . . and I think it's time we dropped the study of his inferno and turned our attention to our own," Sara Decker, the president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, urged members in 1904. The General Federation of Women's Clubs won a federal charter in 1901, thus sparking an exodus of middle-class women from the private do-

mestic sphere of the home into the public sphere of the broader world with its various "social evils."

The second wave of prostitution reform in the United States was set between a coalition of abolitionists and social purity advocates who defined prostitution in moral terms, and reformers who defined prostitution in functional terms as a social necessity (or inevitability) that should be regulated to prevent disease and the exploitation of women. While conservative social purity advocates opposed women's suffrage, employment, and education—instead focusing on male depravity—more socially progressive feminists argued that such an agenda had little to do with feminism. As the social purity movement and Victorian mores intersected, reformers called for a change not of men's hearts, but of the nation's laws. Although it was appealing to call for reform of male sexual urges—which some conservatives and radicals alike suggested turned women into "prostitutes" at home—others felt that legal remedies were the best solution.

Prostitution and Public Space

To the extent that prostitution was defined in terms of public health, morality, and public space, the voices of those who argued for its abolition persisted. In 1911, in Hartford, Connecticut, for example, a group of suffragists attacked the "social necessity" argument for prostitution, challenging a core ideology of public space that allowed prostitution to thrive in cities across the country. They understood that vice districts existed within the contradictions of the nineteenth-century ideology of separate spheres for middle-class women and men, under which virtuous women were thought to belong within the private domestic sphere of the home while men belonged in the more dangerous terrain of public spaces. The public arena was thought to be an immoral space equated with evil and sin, while the private sphere was equated with goodness, chastity, and safety. Feminists challenged this ideology. In doing so, they called for closing brothels and fighting prostitution within the city's public spaces as part of their struggle for women's access to and safety within these spaces. Many states passed laws against vagrancy and bawdy houses in the early 1900s, and in the World War I era, a majority of the country's brothels were shut down. Yet as reformers succeeded in shutting down vice districts and houses of ill repute, prostitution instead dispersed throughout cities, producing new institutions within the commercial sex economy. In the end, the public sphere was no more purified. It is notable that the very neighborhood street prostitution that spurs the most complaints today is a result of closing brothels and launching crackdowns on red-light districts.

Other social reformers focused on so-called white slavery—the capturing or selling of "innocent" white women into prostitution or sexual slavery—which was the subject of considerable moral panic but never proven to exist on a wide scale. Again, concerns about prostitution reflected fears about immigration, racial and ethnic differences, urbanization, industrialization, and the entry of women into the workforce, often under deplorable conditions. Just as the temperance movement was able to propel the eventual passage of national alcohol prohibition, women's agitation around prostitution created momentum toward the passage of the 1910 Mann Act, better known as the White Slave Traffic Act. Debate about prostitution led to a massing of information on the subject, which helped propel trade and wage reforms. In many respects, the temperance movement laid the groundwork for reforms witnessed during the Progressive Era.

As Emma Goldman outlined in her essay, "The Traffic in Women" (1917), the link between sweatshop conditions and easy recruitment into the black market economy became a visceral reality that few could deny. Goldman's was a critique of marriage and patriarchy within the capitalist social framework. Goldman saw marriage as no less a form of prostitution than street solicitation for women who had no other options for work. Given the lack of vocational opportunities for women, Goldman said, it is:

> inevitable that she would pay for her right to exist, to keep a position in whatever line, with sex favors. Thus it is merely a degree whether she sells herself to one man, in or out of marriage, or to many men. Whether our reformers admit it or not, the economic and social inferiority of women is responsible for prostitution.

Goldman noted that sweatshop workers received $6 per week, or an average wage of $280 per year. Under such conditions, Goldman asked, why would anyone be surprised at the rise of prostitution? Thus, prostitution could be viewed as "the direct result, in many cases, of insufficient compensation of honest labor" and functioned as the only way out of a second-class life as a sweatshop worker, a mistress, or a servant. As such, Goldman called for workers' solidarity with prostitutes.

The Sex Worker Movement

Although prostitutes' spaces could be shut down, the practice (and the market demand for it) rarely disappeared. Attacks on prostitutes as threats to public space, morality, and health would remain a long-term fixture of discourses on prostitution. Today, Nevada is the only state that permits legal prostitution in certain counties. In the latter years of the twentieth century, the right of women in the sex industry to earn their living as they saw fit was a major area of contention. Sex worker activists and groups such as Call Off Your Old Tired Ethics (COYOTE) and Prostitutes of New York (PONY)—run by sex workers themselves rather than by outside reformers—demanded self-determination for women and men in the sex industry and spoke out against laws that penalize sex workers. The issue of sex work became one of the arenas of the feminist "sex wars" of the late 1970s and early 1980s. The spread of AIDS in the 1980s and 1990s led to many laws restricting prostitution and punishing HIV-positive prostitutes, but at the same time had the effect of galvanizing prostitutes' rights activism and led to the development of many harm reduction and safer sex education programs for sex workers.

Recalling the anti-prostitution crusade of the early 1900s, by the turn of the twentieth century trafficking in women and children had again become a major focus of the campaign against the sex industry. Increased globalization allowed people to move more freely across international borders, but the attendant economic dislocation made it more likely that women and children would enter prostitution for lack of other options. Some feminists and social reformers defined prostitution as inherently exploitative and called for the abolition of the sex industry rather than improving its conditions. Like the Magdalene Societies, abolitionists dedicated themselves to rescuing women from the sex industry and helping them to find other employment—rarely acknowledging that the garment industry, domestic labor, and other available alternatives could be equally problematic. Whereas organizations such as Women Hurt in Systems of Prostitution Engaged in Revolt (WHISPER) oppose the legitimization of prostitution, liberationist sex worker activists focus on improving working conditions, reducing legal persecution, and instituting harm reduction measures. An important victory for the sex worker rights movement was the establishment in 1996 of the first closed-shop sex worker union, the Exotic Dancer's Union, at San Francisco's Lusty Lady peepshow.

Today the issue of prostitution—especially on a global scale—remains contentious. Reformers who wish to abolish prostitution and those who seek to improve working conditions and eliminate social stigma against sex workers remain at odds. But having evolved past the stage of seemingly glorified sex work as an expression of women's sexual autonomy, prostitutes' rights activists increasingly acknowledge the negative effects of sex work in certain social contexts and focus on the distinction between those who choose a career in sex work and those who are forced into prostitution, whether by threats and violence or due to the lack of viable economic alternatives.

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Early Anti-Vice Campaigns

After the Civil War, as young men arrived in cities away from family influences, reformers feared they would fall prey to urban vices. Pervasive municipal corruption and the persistent presence of increasingly popular gambling dens, brothels, and saloons left many New Yorkers convinced that the time had come to contend with the social evil of sexual commerce.

One of the most well-known opponents of prostitution and obscenity was Anthony Comstock. Working with a group of reformers including Charles Parkhurst, Comstock organized a group of preventive societies, the most famous of which was the Society for the Suppression of Vice. Comstock and fellow anti-vice crusaders saw connections between various vices such as alcohol, prostitution, and sexually explicit materials. In Comstock's major treatise *Traps for the Young* (1883), he described lust as:

> the boon companion of all other crimes. There is no evil so extensive, none doing more to destroy the institutions of free America. It sets aside the laws of God and morality; marriage bonds are broken, most sacred ties severed, State laws ignored, and dens of infamy plant themselves in almost every community and then, reaching out like immense cuttlefish, draw in, from all sides, our youth to destruction.

Comstock successfully lobbied for the passage in 1873 of federal anti-obscenity legislation dubbed the "Comstock Law." The law prohibited the passage through the mail of "obscene, lewd, or lascivious" matter, including educational materials about venereal disease and literature or devices related to contraception or abortion. The law did not specify what was to be considered obscene; as a result, certain scientific and medical works were censored, and sex education was excluded from schools. In the years that followed, half the states in the Union passed similar laws.

Comstock's Targets

Appointed by the federal postmaster as a special agent in charge of enforcement of the 1873 law, Comstock dedicated himself to the task of investigating, researching, and prohibiting obscene materials. Although he focused on printed matter, Comstock also railed against live sexual performances, venturing into the "dens of iniquity" where live sex acts were performed for an audience. On one typical occasion, he spent some four hours witnessing, taking notes on, and describing every detail of the evening's "Busy Flea" performance in New York City. His notes described three women stripping, exposing themselves to patrons, and engaging in and mimicking various sex acts. After sitting through the entire show, Comstock announced that everyone in the house was under arrest. Comstock did not limit himself to sexually explicit performances. One of his most famous targets was Chicago belly dancer Farida Mahzar, better known as Little Egypt.

On some evenings Comstock's appearance at a brothel was greeted by the fist of an owner. One such reception sent him reeling down a flight of stairs. Yet none of this deterred the crusader.

Another victim of Comstockery was Ida Craddock, a counselor who wrote several marriage manuals with titles such as *Right Marital Living*. She argued for sexual self-control and urged men not to force sexual intercourse upon their wives. Ironically, Craddock herself was somewhat of a moral purist, opposing prostitution, masturbation, and contraception. Craddock was imprisoned in 1902 under New York City's anti-obscenity law. Arrested again under the federal Comstock Law soon after her release, she committed suicide rather than face another prison term.

But perhaps the best-known target of Comstock's efforts was birth control advocate Margaret Sanger. Sanger, a nurse, wrote a birth control pamphlet titled *What Every Girl Should Know* in 1916 and opened the first family planning clinic in Brooklyn, New York,

COMSTOCK, ANTHONY (1844–1915)

Anthony Comstock was born in New Canaan, Connecticut. The roots of Comstock's social purity crusade, however, can be found within the social currents of post–Civil War New York City, where Comstock settled after serving as a Union soldier. The roots of Anthony Comstock's social purity crusade can be found within the social currents of post–Civil War New York City, where Comstock settled after his years as a Union soldier.

An early supporter of the notion that prostitution and obscenity presented a grave threat to America's youth, Comstock, along with other anti-vice campaigners, established a crusade to battle the sins of indulgence in alcohol, prostitution, and obscene materials—from pornography to information about birth control. Together, they organized various preventive societies, including the Society for the Suppression of Vice, which Comstock remained secretary of until his death in 1915.

While advocacy groups of the time debated the pros and cons of legalizing prostitution, Comstock aimed to shift American morals and values. Within Comstock's purview, any visual material or literature related to sexuality that was not observed in a museum was conflated with obscenity. His views also exemplified the connection many reformers saw between various vices. For Comstock, alcohol led to alcoholism, which combined with lust resulted in venereal disease, which in turn contributed to further corruption. In his major treatise *Traps for the Young* (1883), he equates lust with criminality.

According to Comstock, young males were more susceptible to the traps associated with the intoxicating matrix of prostitution, drink, and gambling than young women—whom he also considered more expendable. In Comstock's eyes, the very existence of prostitution and drink blighted American manhood, thus presenting a threat to the country's future.

Comstock authored the 1868 New York State statute forbidding immoral works. But he did not stop there. By 1873, Comstock had successfully lobbied for passage of federal anti-obscenity legislation—dubbed the "Comstock Law"—with the backing of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). Subsequently, the postmaster general named Comstock a special agent charged with enforcement of this law, which prohibited the passage of sexually explicit matter through the U.S. postal system.

Over the next forty years, Comstock actively researched and condemned materials that he judged to be smut or filth. In addition to addressing more blatant examples of obscenity, Comstock's efforts targeted such writers as Ida Craddock, who wrote several books that dealt with issues of marital sex. Beyond his focus on examples of "sexual depravity" in print and the arts, Comstock also sought to eliminate live sexual performances of all kinds, as well as what he considered "lewd" dancing, repress all materials and efforts related to birth control, and expose various fraudulent practices and advertisements.

Over the years, Comstock's name became synonymous with the recurring American fixation on moral regulation and sexual suppression. In 1905, after Comstock denounced George Bernard Shaw for the play *Mrs. Warren's Profession*, Shaw termed his standards for decency in art and the distinctive national tendency they represented "Comstockery."

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that year. Soon thereafter, Sanger and two colleagues were arrested under the same New York anti-obscenity law that had ensnared Craddock. Sanger's imprisonment brought greater attention to both contraception and anti-obscenity legislation.

Cultural Anxiety

The subtext of much of the Comstock crusade and the anti-vice movement at large played on cultural anxieties about the growing political power of immigrants and broader threats to the social and political positions of the upper and middle classes. Contraception threatened social hierarchies by giving women the opportunity to leave the domestic sphere of the home and gain autonomy from men, and also aroused white Anglo-Saxon Protestant fears of being overwhelmed by immigrant populations that tended to have many children. The anti-vice movement was most successful when it linked fears about the moral corruption of youth to changes in gender roles and social and economic hierarchies. Often, repression of vice functioned as a cover for opposition to shifts in class and racial hierarchies.

Many of the early attacks on explicit materials, brothels, and other aspects of sexual commerce followed labor unrest in New York City. Sexual libertinism coincided with a burgeoning Anarchist and Socialist labor coalition driving for political and economic power in the city. Anti-vice campaigns closely matched attempts to break strikes and Socialist organ-

izing efforts throughout the 1870s. However, all the while, each brothel that was closed seemed to reopen somewhere else, in another tenement within the city.

Comstock's core argument—that obscenity threatened children—was a powerful message. By claiming that children were endangered, the anti-vice movement gained legitimacy. These echoes continue to reverberate within current political discourse. Many of the rhetorical dynamics of Comstock's crusade against pornography, abortion, contraception, indecency in art and literature, and the corruption of children were a consistent theme throughout nineteenth- and twentieth-century moral crusades. The temperance movement of Comstock's era mobilized a powerful coalition against the use of alcohol by making the case that inebriated husbands were more likely to squander wages and to neglect and abuse their children. Later, anti-abortion activists deployed arguments about the protection of children in their campaign for parental consent laws that mandate control over teenage girls. Similarly, those opposed to gay rights have used arguments that gays, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgender people recruit children as a justification for turning back antidiscrimination laws.

Resistance to Comstockery

Yet from its earliest days, Comstockery was never without its opponents. Various freethinkers, Anarchists, Socialists, and utopians sought social reform, greater civil liberties, and increased freedom for women through the loosening of oppressive moral strictures. At the height of the nineteenth-century anti-vice campaign, radical author and lawyer Lysander Spooner, in *Vices Are Not Crimes* (1875), argued that the government had no right to make laws against consensual vices that harmed no one other than the person who committed them:

> Vices are simply the errors which a man makes in his search after his own happiness. Unlike crimes, they imply no malice toward others, and no interference with their persons or property. . . . Unless this clear distinction between vices and crimes be made and recognized by the laws, there can be on earth no such thing as individual right, liberty, or property, and the corresponding and coequal rights of another man to the control of his own person and property.

Spooner's successors would continue to battle the heirs of Comstock throughout the ensuing century, encompassing efforts such as the censorship of movies under the Hays Production Code in the 1930s, the prohibition of the homosexual Mattachine Society's *ONE* magazine in the 1950s, and the banning of purportedly obscene literature throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Although the last Comstock laws were repealed in the mid-1960s, the social purity impulse has lived on, as evidenced by the religious right's "traditional values" campaign of the 1980s and more recent attempts to control sexually explicit material on the Internet.

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Prohibition and Repeal

The use of alcohol in the United States dates to the founding of the country, and consumption of beer, wine, and distilled spirits was a prominent feature of colonial life. Yet since that time attempts have been made to regulate and control alcohol use. Many of the earliest efforts encouraged moderate use (the true meaning of "temperance") rather than outright prohibition and were often based on health concerns. While overt drunkenness was frowned upon, moderate consumption—especially of beer and wine—was widely regarded as acceptable, even salutary. Thus, early temperance advocates urged others to limit, or temper, their consumption of alcohol, not to necessarily abandon it altogether. Former Army Surgeon-General Dr. Benjamin Rush was one of the first to write about the harmful effects of alcohol in his 1785 *Inquiry into the Effects of Ardent Spirits Upon the Human Body and Mind*.

In the ensuing years, various Protestant religious groups—including Methodists, Presbyterians, Universalists, Baptists, and the Society of Friends—began to promote temperance, or even to demand that their members abstain entirely from alcohol. In contrast, Catholic and Jewish groups—the religions of many new immigrants—generally did not support alcohol prohibition. In part, Protestant religious groups were motivated by a general Puritan suspicion of pleasure, but in the years to come they would take up many of the societal harm arguments against alcohol put forth by feminist temperance activists and other social reformers.

In 1789, a group of farmers in Litchfield, Connecticut, formed what is thought to be the first U.S. temperance society. The Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance, formed in 1813, agitated against gambling and "profaneness" as well as alcohol. In 1826, the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance was founded in Boston. By the 1830s, there were an estimated 6,000 temperance societies, with over one million members. Other groups included the Washingtonian Society in 1840—a group of reformed drinkers who had repudiated their old ways—the Sons of Temperance in 1842, and the Independent Order of Good Templars in 1852.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, temperance efforts often relied on moral suasion, including efforts to encourage people to sign voluntary abstinence pledges. In 1842, while he was a member of the Illinois General Assembly, Abraham Lincoln gave a speech supporting temperance and encouraging citizens to take such pledges. But as time went on, legal coercion came to replace persuasion.

Throughout the 1800s, various state laws were put in place to regulate the sale and consumption of alcohol. The Oregon territory—not yet a state—passed a prohibition law in 1843. The first state law was enacted in Maine in 1851. Many of these early efforts were short-lived; several were repealed after only a few years due to lack of popular support, lax enforcement, or judicial decisions against them. But as the century progressed, sentiment in favor of alcohol prohibition increased.

Alcohol as Scapegoat

During the latter half of the 1800s, concern grew about excessive alcohol consumption, saloon culture, and the purported detrimental societal effects of drink. Alcohol was seen as leading to moral decay, crime, poverty, insanity, divorce, violence against women, and neglect of children—the same themes that underlie social purity and anti-vice campaigns today. Alcohol—along with prostitution, obscenity, and drugs—became a scapegoat for concerns about family, societal, and demographic changes brought about by economic restructuring, industrialization, and urbanization. Indeed, the bleak conditions of factory workers and isolation from families as people moved to the cities no doubt encouraged many to seek comfort in the bottle.

In addition, as fears about immigration increased, alcohol control efforts were linked to opposition to the drinking habits of new arrivals, particularly Irish and Germans.

Although temperance was largely a middle-class phenomenon, segments of the early labor movement took up the cause. For example, the Knights of Labor prohibited those connected with the alcohol trade from becoming members. In 1908, the Socialist Party resolved that "any excessive indulgence in intoxicating liquors by members of the working class is a serious obstacle to the triumph of our cause since it impairs the vigor of the fighters in political and economic struggle." And in an unusual alliance, Unionists were joined by employers and business owners concerned that alcohol eroded productivity and led to workplace accidents. (Exceptions were those involved in the liquor trade, the brewing industry, saloon owners, and related industries.)

Physicians, troubled by the negative physical and mental health effects of excessive alcohol consumption, also lent their voices to the movement. In 1917, the American Medical Association (formed in 1847) came out in support of national prohibition, stating that controlling alcohol was a means of controlling syphilis. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, alcohol use had come to be seen primarily as a moral or criminal rather than a health problem.

Finally, some prominent antislavery and African-American leaders such as William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass spoke out in favor of temperance, and the temperance movement came to be associated with the movement for the abolition of slavery. Nevertheless, some prohibitionists were not above exploiting panic about sexual assaults on white women by black men under the influence of alcohol.

In efforts to curtail the sale of alcohol, women led prayer vigils outside saloons in the nineteenth century. *(Brown Brothers)*

Temperance and Feminism

The temperance movement was profoundly affected by the changing place of women in society, and the movement in turn impacted the social role of women. It is not a coincidence that the feminist movement—usually dated from the Seneca Falls, New York, convention in 1848—and the social purity movements against alcohol, prostitution, and obscenity arose during the same era.

As women left the home, they became increasingly involved in campaigns for social reform. Early efforts by women reflected traditional ideas about their roles as nurturers, caretakers, and guardians of virtue. In addition to mothering their own children, middle-class women began to play a maternal role in the larger social sphere, as illustrated by women's benevolent societies. The Washingtonian Society's women's auxiliary—the Martha Washingtonians—continued this tradition, collecting money and providing support for women and children adversely impacted by drink. Beyond such activities, women—lacking the vote—influenced public policy by such means as demonstrations, prayer vigils, petition campaigns, and in some cases direct action such as saloon destruction.

But women faced obstacles within the movement. At both the Sons of Temperance Convention in 1852 and the World's Temperance Convention in 1853, women were not allowed to speak. Early feminists did not take such affronts lightly, and women's role within the reform movement began to shift from maternal benevolence to demands for equality. Renowned suffragist Susan B. Anthony established the first women's temperance society, the Woman's State Temperance Society of New York, in 1852. Other early feminists such as Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton also rallied to the cause.

With a Bible in one hand and a hatchet in the other, Carry Nation of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union smashed liquor bottles and furniture in bars throughout Kansas. Such acts of "smashing" and "hatchetation," as she called them, led a Topeka temperance convention to award her a gold medal inscribed, "To the Bravest Woman in Kansas." *(Brown Brothers)*

Alcohol use—and especially saloon culture—was seen as a problem of men. Some suffragists used claims of women's purported moral superiority as an argument for giving women the vote. Drunkenness was said to enflame lust, engender violence, and lead to economic ruin and family dissolution, thus endangering women and children. Among Stanton's demands were that no woman should remain the wife of a drunkard and that state marriage and custody laws should be modified so that drunkards would have no claim to their wives or children. By the time national prohibition was enacted in 1919, women had become a major force and the movement had become closely associated with early feminism. Along with suffrage and the abolition of slavery, temperance was among the first issues for which women agitated publicly and effected major social and legislative change.

The Temperance Movement Gains Strength

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, anti-alcohol groups increased in number and strength, and tended to focus on the elimination of saloons and the outright prohibition of alcohol rather than on voluntary abstinence and moderate use. By this time, most reformers held that alcohol was almost always harmful and addictive, and that moderate users would inexorably be drawn to heavy use and its attendant social ills. Not until the early 1900s would the medical view emerge that alcoholism was a disease that affected some people while others could drink responsibly. The era's attitudes toward alcohol and its inevitable adverse effects were similar to beliefs about drug use that persist to this day.

In 1869, the National Prohibition Party was formed in Chicago as an alternative to the Republicans and Democrats, who many believed were not doing enough to promote temperance. The party gained strength on the local, state, and federal levels throughout the 1880s and 1890s, and was a major force in passing the national prohibition amendment. In the 1884 presidential election between Republican James Blaine and Democrat Grover Cleveland, Blaine supporters denounced the Democrats as the party of "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion." In 1892, at the Prohibition Party's peak, its presidential candidate John Dedwell received over 270,000 votes.

Temperance Organizations

A leading organization in the campaign to suppress alcohol and vice was the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). The WCTU was founded in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1874 as an outgrowth of the Woman's Temperance Crusade. Born of a moral crusade, the WCTU advocated for abstinence in its broadest terms—both from alcohol and from other vices. Its membership included hatchet-wielding vice crusader Carry Nation, who gained fame for destroying saloons. The WCTU was one of the era's many women's organizations that were responding directly to changes in the home and the social milieu. Under the leadership of its second president, Frances Willard, membership in the American WCTU swelled to a quarter of a million members.

Through a conservative/liberal collaboration, the WCTU organized middle-class and working-class

CARRY NATION (1846–1911)

Known as "Hatchet Nation" for her weapon of choice, Carry Nation is the most famous temperance advocate in American history. Moving beyond traditionally female techniques of peaceful petitioning and moral suasion, Nation took up hatchets, rocks, and crowbars in her campaign to banish alcohol from America. Nation considered alcoholic drinks the root of all evil, responsible for the social problems of her day.

Carry Amelia Moore was born on November 25, 1846, in Garrard County, Kentucky, to George Moore and Mary Campbell. Moore was at one time a successful plantation owner, but his fortunes failed while Carry was a child. The family moved to Grayson County, Texas, and then to Belton, Missouri, in 1862. Nation did not receive much formal education, was often sick, and spent much time alone reading the Bible. At the age of ten, she had a religious conversion.

At twenty years of age, Nation was briefly married to Charles Gloyd, a young doctor and a heavy drinker. Their only child, Charlien, was born with ailments Nation attributed to her husband's drinking. In 1877, Carry married David Nation, a lawyer and minister. While living in Texas, Nation decided to devote herself to God by waging war against tobacco and alcohol. At a time when neither the law nor the ministry was a field open to women, Nation used her husband's professional training to advance her own causes, making him her mouthpiece and deputy.

After David Nation became minister in Holton, Kansas, Carry chose his sermons and sometimes wrote them herself. She used his position particularly to speak out against tobacco and liquor.

The Nations moved to Medicine Lodge, Kansas, in 1890, where David Nation took up the practice of law. Again directing her husband's career into the channels of her own interest, Carry encouraged him to prosecute liquor interests in the town. In 1880, voters of Kansas approved an amendment to the state constitution prohibiting the production or use of alcohol except for medicinal purposes. Nonetheless, Kansans continued to drink, and saloons operated unmolested by the local police.

Nation started the Medicine Lodge chapter of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) with her friend, Mrs. Wesley Cain, who was married to the local Baptist minister. Nation visited men in jail and urged them to stop drinking. She also spent time helping the poor and was known locally as "Mother Nation" for her benevolence.

In Medicine Lodge, Nation began standing up in church to name local saloonkeepers and to ask why antiliquor laws were not prosecuted. In June 1899, responding to an internal voice that told her to "go to Kiowa," Nation traveled to Kiowa, Kansas, with a wagonload of large stones. In Kiowa, she threw stones at saloons, claiming the illegality of the saloons made her actions legal and defying local officials to arrest her.

Nation and her followers—mostly women—then took their campaign to Wichita, seen as the center of the liquor distribution in Kansas. In Wichita, Nation smashed saloons with a cane, stones, and an iron rod, for which she was arrested and jailed. Nation was arrested another twenty-nine times throughout her life.

Nation first used the hatchet that became associated with her name in 1901 in James Burnes's saloon in Wichita. In 1901, Kansas temperance advocates held a conference in Topeka. Although they did not invite Nation, she attended anyway and organized several hundred people—again, mostly women—into Home Defender clubs, with the purpose of attacking saloons.

Letters from people across the country and around the world came to Nation, asking her to bring her campaign to their communities. She began to travel, lecturing and advocating saloon smashing in many places. She once said to an audience, "Oh, I tell you, ladies, you never know what joy it gives you to start out to smash a rumshop."

Home Defender groups attacked saloons throughout Kansas, and local leaders began to call for stricter enforcement of the 1880 amendment. Nation, an advocate of women's suffrage, told the state's lawmakers, "You refused me the vote and I had to use a rock," drawing a direct connection between her protest and suffrage. The Kansas state legislature responded to the wave of violent activism by passing significant new prohibition laws and by enforcing them more rigorously than before.

Nation also was opposed to tobacco use, snatching cigars out of the mouths of smokers and speaking out against cigarettes as unhealthy and part of saloon culture. She retired to a farm in Arkansas and died in 1911. According to her wishes, her tombstone reads "She hath done what she could." Although Nation made alcohol prohibition a national issue, she is not directly credited with helping to pass the Eighteenth Amendment because most of the advocates of the amendment did not support her violent activism.

Megan J. Elias

women to mobilize in support of social reform. As was the case with many of the social reformers of the day, it would be difficult to describe this organization as either "progressive" or "conservative" in today's terms. Although the WCTU itself did not endorse women's suffrage, Willard supported equality of the sexes and believed that "drink and tobacco are the great separatists between men and women." The WCTU enjoyed the support of church groups and industrialists, but also worked in coalition with labor, actively supporting efforts that had nothing to do with alcohol. Willard was an active member of the Knights of Labor, and the WCTU worked on issues ranging from workers' protection and the eight-hour day to age of consent laws and international peace. The WCTU also worked to support kindergartens and to establish schools for women. In addition, it succeeded in ensuring that children were taught about alcohol abstinence in schools—a harbinger of later attempts by conservative groups to demand abstinence-based sex education. By the early 1900s, every state had laws requiring temperance instruction.

Through its school programs and support of former alcoholics (whose testimonials presaged those of today's Alcoholics Anonymous meetings), the WCTU was able to articulate a moral rationale that inspired other reformers and captured the sympathies of a public swept up in the pro-reform sentiment of the era. But as was the case with later social change movements such as the gay liberation movement, there was a persistent tension between those who believed the WCTU should focus on the single issue of alcohol prohibition and those who favored a broader agenda of social reform. Despite the eventual defeat of national Prohibition, the WCTU is still in existence today.

The Anti-Saloon League (ASL) was founded in Oberlin, Ohio, in 1893 by Howard Hyde Russell, a Congregational minister and former lawyer. It is notable that much of the strength of the prohibition movement came from the Midwest and from rural areas rather than cities. Although the league was financially supported by industrialists such as John D. Rockefeller and Pierre DuPont, its major support came from Protestant churches. ASL had lawyers write anti-alcohol legislation that was put forward by politicians who supported the cause. The bipartisan organization backed both Democrats and Republicans who favored prohibition and lobbied for "dry" (total prohibition of alcohol) laws on both the local and national levels. The league organized a rally of some 4,000 people in Washington, D.C., in 1913 and was a major force in pushing the Prohibition amendment through Congress. The ASL later became the American Council on Alcohol Problems, which remains active today.

The Passage of Prohibition

By the beginning of the twentieth century, many states had introduced their own anti-alcohol laws and over half the country and its territories were "dry." The advent of World War I ushered in an upsurge of patriotism, a growing call for national strength through purity, and intensified animosity toward ethnic and racial "others." The alcohol prohibition effort received a boost from anti-German sentiment, which engendered increased opposition to the largely German-American brewing industry. Prohibition failed to pass Congress in 1914, but the necessary two-thirds majority voted in favor of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1916. The necessary thirty-sixth state, Nebraska, ratified the amendment in 1919. In October 1919, the National Prohibition Enforcement Act—better known as the Volstead Act—went further, outlawing possession of alcoholic beverages. Prohibition—banning the manufacture, transportation, and sale of all alcoholic beverages—went into effect in January 1920.

Reaction to Prohibition

With the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act, the stage was set for a new era in America's response to vice. Prohibition was widely flouted, and enforcement proved exceedingly difficult. Smuggling on a large scale could not be prevented, and the illicit manufacture of liquor sprang up with such rapidity that authorities were unable to suppress it. There followed a period of unparalleled illegal drinking and lawbreaking. Speakeasies cropped up everywhere, bootlegging and smuggling were rampant, and bribery and official corruption increased. For most Americans who enjoyed a drink from time to time, Prohibition was less an obstacle than a nuisance.

In the wake of the moral campaigns of the turn of the century, the "roaring twenties" was an era of cultural liberalization characterized by increased freedom for women, sexual license, erotic entertainment, jazz, the development of a youth subculture, and experimentation of all sorts. But the decade was also marked by considerable social anxiety. The fashion among young women for bobbed hair and clothing styles that emphasized a slender figure—rather than corsets that enhanced feminine curves—spurred crit-

icisms about gender ambiguity that prefigured those leveled against men with long hair and beads in the 1960s. Young men and—most scandalously—young women drank alcohol and smoked tobacco (which was then banned in many states) in unprecedented numbers. The traditional small-town American way of life was challenged by exploding urbanization, increased social and occupational mobility, and economic restructuring. Anglo-Saxon Protestants began to lose their former hegemony over American life amid increasing immigration and foreign influence.

By the early 1930s, America was again ready for change. The national mood during the Great Depression was very different from that which prevailed during World War I, when heightened patriotism, xenophobia, and social anxiety had prompted moderates to temporarily side with extremist reformers to pass Prohibition. Many now came to believe that repeal of Prohibition would stimulate the economy and provide much-needed jobs. Others were concerned about the growing loss of respect for the law and hoped that legal availability of alcohol would improve working-class morale in an era of growing revolutionary sentiment. The Association Against the Prohibition Amendment was formed to lobby for repeal. The Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform—a counterpart to the WCTU—was also established to fight Prohibition, decrying "the hypocrisy, the corruption, the tragic loss of life, and the appalling increase of crime which has attended the abortive attempt to enforce it." Some of the same elite players who once had supported national alcohol prohibition, including Pierre DuPont and John D. Rockefeller, came out against it. In the 1932 presidential election, both Republicans and Democrats supported repeal.

Prohibition had several unintended effects. By driving the alcohol industry underground, Prohibition encouraged criminal activity related to alcohol production and distribution. Organized crime burgeoned—as exemplified by Al Capone, who headed up the illegal alcohol racket in Chicago. The illegality of alcohol made it more profitable and a better risk to produce and transport high-proof distilled spirits compared to beer and wine. Since alcohol is relatively easy to make, production shifted from a few large manufacturers to multiple small-scale producers. And lack of regulation led to inferior, poor-quality alcohol that led to many poisoning deaths. The War on Drugs in the late twentieth century would lead to many of the same consequences.

The End of Prohibition

Congress passed the Twenty-first Amendment repealing Prohibition in February 1933. By the end of the year, the final necessary states had ratified it by 73 percent overall. The ease with which repeal passed demonstrated that the public sentiment underlying Prohibition was shallow. Although crusaders wanted to ban alcohol, mainstream Americans only wished to control the excesses of drunkenness and saloon culture—not to give up their own personal use. In the wake of repeal, the states instituted their own mechanisms for alcohol control. Laws were enacted governing the hours, days, and manner in which alcoholic beverages could be sold. Many state laws were based on the recommendations in a report commissioned by John D. Rockefeller and written by his adviser Raymond Fosdick. Some states mandated that alcohol could only be sold in state monopoly stores. Under religious pressure, many banned sale on Sundays. Today, no state has a blanket prohibition on alcohol but many towns—especially in the South—remain "dry."

Late Twentieth-Century Alcohol Control Efforts

In more recent years, alcohol control efforts have focused on laws against drunk driving and raising the legal drinking age. After Congress passed the Twenty-sixth Amendment in 1970 lowering the voting age to eighteen, states began to extend other adult privileges to eighteen-year-olds. Many found it absurd that men in their late teens could be drafted to fight in Vietnam but could not legally consume a beer. Beginning in the late 1970s, this trend was reversed, in part due to concern about the high number of traffic fatalities involving this age group, but also reflecting an ongoing infantilization of young adults. In 1984, Congress passed the Minimum Drinking Age Law, requiring states to raise their legal drinking age to twenty-one or face the loss of federal highway funds; a majority of states complied by 1986. Today the debate continues. Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD) is one of the strongest voices lobbying against lowering the drinking age.

Benjamin Shepard and Liz Highleyman

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Anti-Drug Movement

The nonmedical use of drugs in the United States extends back to colonial times. Cocaine, opium, and marijuana were not criminalized for much of the country's history. During the Civil War, the use of opium as a painkiller ushered in the birth of modern surgery but left many soldiers addicted. In the mid- to late nineteenth century, the unrestricted dispensing of drugs and the explosive growth of the patent medicine industry brought opiates and cocaine into American homes; even Coca-Cola contained cocaine until 1903. The popularity of such over-the-counter elixirs—which typically were not accurately labeled and were often advertised with extravagant cure-all claims—led to a dramatic increase in drug use and addiction, especially among middle-class white women. The rate of opiate addiction in this era was higher than at any time since.

Opium use was first restricted in the United States in the 1870s, beginning in San Francisco. In 1901, the Senate adopted a resolution prohibiting the sale of opium and alcohol to "aboriginal tribes and uncivilized races." By the early 1900s, several other states had enacted opium laws. Early laws tended to focus on opium dens and opium smoking, which was seen as a vice of Chinese immigrant workers such as those who built the railroad to the West Coast. Agitation for such laws was based to a large degree on antipathy toward the Chinese and fears about Asian men using opium to seduce and sexually corrupt white women.

Amid the growing climate of social reform at the turn of the century, Congress passed the Pure Food and Drug Act in 1906. Before this, various states had a patchwork of laws regulating the distribution and sale of narcotics and cocaine. The 1906 law created the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) and required that labels report the amount of alcohol, cocaine, opium, morphine, chloral hydrate, and marijuana contained in a product, as well as whether the product was potentially habit-forming. The act decimated the patent drug industry and greatly reduced the occurrence of accidental addiction. The Pure Food and Drug Act had a public health rather than a criminal focus; at the time, addicts were widely viewed as innocent victims. It is notable that this health-focused law was one of the most successful in curbing drug use and addiction. In contrast to the Pure Food and Drug Act—which addressed the problem of drug use among the middle class—subsequent drugs laws tended to emphasize criminal penalties and social control, especially of racial and ethnic minorities, working-class and poor people, and counterculture youth.

The Harrison Narcotic Act

In 1909, Congress restricted the importation of opium. The next major federal drug legislation was the Harrison Narcotic Act of 1914. Dr. Hamilton Wright, a physician and the State Department's opium commissioner, was a major advocate for stronger narcotics laws. The Foster Bill, the predecessor to the Harrison Act, was opposed by the drug industry, which in 1913 established the National Drug Trade Conference to persuade Congress to enact a less strict law. The bill was also opposed by Southern Democrats who feared federal encroachment on states' rights, in part because they wished to retain their state laws enforcing racial segregation. To counter such opposition, Wright whipped up fears of cocaine use by African Americans, contending that black "cocaine fiends" were prone to commit violence against whites.

The Harrison Act imposed taxes and registration and recordkeeping requirements on anyone who imported, produced, sold, distributed, or gave away products containing opium or cocaine and their derivatives. (Marijuana was included in the original bill but was deleted before the law was passed.) Although the act did not ban the possession of opiates and cocaine outright, it imposed such high transaction costs that the drugs were effectively outlawed. Congress used a tax measure to implement a moral agenda

that—in an era of strong states' rights—could not be imposed directly; for decades federal drug regulation remained under the purview of the Treasury Department.

The Harrison Act largely targeted physicians and pharmacists who dispensed narcotics, and did not penalize users directly. Initially, the law was not stringently enforced, and the Supreme Court ruled that physicians could prescribe opium and cocaine as they saw fit, including for the maintenance of addicts. In 1919, the Court reversed itself, ruling that addiction maintenance was not an appropriate use of narcotics. In the years that followed, narcotics clinics that maintained and attempted to gradually withdraw addicts—precursors to the modern harm reduction movement—were closed. By rendering opium and cocaine effectively illegal, the Harrison Act drove addicts underground and led to inflated drug prices and increased criminal activity, which in turn reinforced the public image of drug use as immoral and problematic.

Prohibition and the Drug War

The temperance/prohibition movement and the beginnings of the anti-drug movement occurred during the same era and tapped into many of the same social reform sentiments. Both crusades took advantage of uneasiness about social and cultural change and played on fears of disease, crime, poverty, immigration, and family dissolution. But as explained by Richard Bonnie and Charles Whitebread in "The Forbidden Fruit and the Tree of Knowledge," there were also some important differences. The temperance/prohibition movement grew from the grassroots, with religious, feminist, labor, and business groups pressuring legislators to pass anti-alcohol legislation. The issue was a major topic of public debate, and by the turn of the century there was a strong lobby in favor of prohibition.

In contrast, the early anti-drug movement was largely the work of elites. There was no major grassroots push for anti-drug laws, and the drug issue was not particularly prominent in the public debate. The major temperance organizations, as well as feminist and religious leaders, seemed to have little to say about the use of narcotics, even though addictive patent medicines were widely used at the time. In this era, drug use was still seen mainly as a medical rather than a moral or criminal problem, largely because it was a middle-class phenomenon. Although exaggerated fears about Chinese opium smokers and black cocaine users gave an indication of what was to come, attempts to link drug use to anxieties about racial and ethnic minorities, the poor, and the youth counterculture did not really take hold until later in the twentieth century. It was only after the passage of legislation such as the Harrison Act that the public at large widely began to adopt anti-drug attitudes. Indeed, the very passage of such laws helped change the public image of drug use in America.

Early Anti-Drug Campaigns

With the repeal of the Prohibition amendment, social reformers increasingly turned their attention to drugs. Heroin, which by World War I had become a favorite recreational drug among certain urban subcultures, increasingly became associated with violence, crime, and foreign elements. In 1924, the United States banned the importation of opium for use in the manufacture of heroin.

Although hemp was a favored crop in colonial times, by the mid-1930s most states had passed criminal laws relating to marijuana, beginning with Utah in 1915. In the Southwestern states, early marijuana laws were motivated in large part by antipathy toward Mexican immigrants. Public authorities and the media linked use of cannabis to crime, violence, lowered sexual inhibitions, and insanity; one common image was Mexicans selling marijuana cigarettes to white schoolchildren. Although marijuana was beginning to make its way into the urban Bohemian and black jazz subcultures in cities such as New Orleans, New York City, and Chicago, during the 1920s and early 1930s cannabis use was not prevalent. Many middle-class Americans likely were not even aware of the drug's existence, and there certainly was no grassroots campaign to ban it.

In 1930, the United States established the Federal Bureau of Narcotics (FBN), which for its first three decades was headed by crusading Commissioner of Narcotics Harry J. Anslinger. In 1932, a federal commission developed the Uniform Narcotic Drug Act, which Anslinger successfully lobbied the states to pass. The act prohibited opiates and cocaine but left marijuana legislation up to the states. Later, under pressure from state politicians and law enforcement officials, the FBN decided to push for a national marijuana law. The FBN initiated a campaign to educate the public about the dangers of cannabis—as exemplified by the 1936 film *Reefer Madness*—using linkages to immigrants, racial minorities, the working class, and counterculture youth. The Marijuana Tax Act was passed in 1937 with minimal congressional debate. The act did not ban marijuana outright but, like the Harrison Act, imposed such high taxes and

onerous regulation that the drug was effectively made illegal.

The 1951 Boggs Act and the 1956 Narcotic Control Act instituted harsher penalties and mandatory minimum prison sentences for narcotic and marijuana law violations. For the first time marijuana was classified with the most dangerous drugs, under the theory that cannabis use led inexorably to use of harder substances. In this atmosphere of general paranoia, drug warriors such as Anslinger raised fears of Communists distributing drugs to undermine American youth.

The War on Drugs

The political and cultural ferment of the 1960s and 1970s prompted a shift in the targets of moral reformers. Despite leftist revolutions in the developing world, post-McCarthy America was more concerned with unrest at home. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) statistics reported a nearly 50 percent increase in crime during the 1960s. There was renewed emphasis on law and order—and fighting crime often meant combating vice. Liberals were derided as being more concerned about the civil rights of criminals than about crime victims. Politicians set out to sanitize public spaces, and nowhere was the drive to "clean up" America as pronounced as in the realm of drugs.

Both Barry Goldwater in 1964 and Richard Nixon in 1968 used themes of crime and drugs in their presidential campaigns. Rhetoric about the danger to children and members of the middle class presented by escalating crime rates reflected a classic panic—mobilizing racial bias and scapegoating—coordinated by conservative legislators, a burgeoning crime-control industry, and the media. Although Goldwater's campaign was not successful, the panic over crime as a threat to social order played a major role in Nixon's election. In the decades that followed, government funding shifted from social programs toward crime control, police powers increased, and the prison population exploded.

During this era, drug use increased considerably and entered American consciousness as never before. A 1969 Gallup poll estimated that 10 million Americans (4 percent of adults) had smoked marijuana. Drug use was widespread among U.S. soldiers in Vietnam. Along with the established drugs—opiates, cocaine, and marijuana—other drugs, including LSD, speed, and exotic substances such as psilocybin, mescaline, and peyote also gained popularity. The government and the media spun scare stories about the dangers of drugs—including drug-addled youth leaping from windows believing they could fly, and the threat of LSD being introduced into the public water supply—making little distinction between the most harmful drugs and the most innocuous. Already inclined to distrust the establishment, young people who had pleasant experiences with marijuana tended to discount all official anti-drug propaganda.

Nixon's Anti-Drug Campaign

Nixon is often cited as the instigator of the modern War on Drugs. In September 1969, he implemented Operation Intercept, a plan to reduce the supply of marijuana and other drugs coming from Mexico by means of stepped-up searches at border crossings and increased surveillance of air and sea traffic. In 1970, Congress passed the Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act, which replaced a host of existing drug laws. This legislation included the Controlled Substances Act, which established a system of schedules classifying drugs on the basis of medical use and potential for abuse; schedule one, the most restrictive, includes heroin, LSD, and marijuana. In June 1971, the president announced an all-out offensive against drugs, calling drug abuse "America's Public Enemy No. 1." Nixon created new drug control agencies, including the Office of Drug Abuse Law Enforcement and the Office of National Narcotics Intelligence. This era saw the expansion of law-enforcement tactics such as no-knock warrants and wiretaps that civil libertarians continue to fight today. Nixon appointed the first "drug czar," Myles Ambrose, who proposed the idea of an all-encompassing drug agency. In 1973, existing federal drug efforts were consolidated into the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), which remains the key agency in charge of domestic and international drug control.

The strategy used by Nixon and his law-and-order attorney general John Mitchell to associate drug use with criminal activity was similar to that of New York governor Nelson Rockefeller, who during these years instituted a set of draconian drug laws that remain among the strictest in the nation. Rockefeller played on fears about crime and public safety to gain the support of conservatives, while at the same time utilizing rhetoric about treatment (albeit forced) to blunt liberal opposition. Not only did heroin users harm themselves, the argument went, but their addiction led them to commit crimes such as mugging, robbery, and prostitution to fund their habits. Depending on their audience, both Nixon and Rockefeller spoke of drug addiction as either an invading army that must be stopped by militaristic means or a spreading

Seeking to rid their neighborhood of drug dealers, activist Jackie McCray leads a march through Marion, Indiana, on May 14, 1999, chanting, "Up with hope, down with dope." *(AP Wide World Photos)*

disease, cancer, or epidemic that must be stopped by quarantining addicts.

Constructing a Drug Panic

Many of the policies implemented during the 1960s and 1970s appear quite liberal compared to what was to follow in the 1980s and 1990s. In the 1960s, drug addiction was increasingly seen as a medical problem, and several laws were passed to fund addiction treatment and to allow for treatment as an alternative to jail. In 1971, the National Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse was established, and its first report in 1972 recommended decriminalization of the drug—a recommendation Nixon ignored. In the years that followed, many states reduced penalties for possession of small amounts of cannabis, essentially decriminalizing personal use. As the 1970s drew to a close, the public had become increasingly tolerant of drug use. Although a 1973 Gallup poll found that 20 percent of respondents thought drugs were the most important problem facing the country, drugs were not even mentioned in the 1979 through 1984 surveys. And a growing number of Americans expressed support for loosening drug laws.

But in the next decade these attitudes began to shift. In the early 1980s, President Ronald Reagan renewed the War on Drugs, reflected in his wife Nancy's "Just Say No" campaign. The demonization of racial minorities and countercultural youth continued. Reformers, the media, legislators, and the public often

focused on a specific drug or population as a stand-in for the drug problem as a whole and for wider social anxieties. The drug panic intensified, with public concern about drug use burgeoning in 1985 and 1986.

In the mid-1980s, drug use came to be seen as a—or even *the*—major American social problem. A *New York Times*/CBS News poll charted this shifting sentiment. While in April 1986 only 2 percent identified drug use as the country's main problem, this number grew steadily; by September 1989, a full 64 percent said drug abuse was the nation's most significant concern. Media attention to drugs exploded with the 1986 deaths of two prominent athletes, Len Bias and Don Rogers, due to cocaine use. Perhaps at no other time had the issue of drugs occupied such a large and troubling space in the public consciousness. The racial nature of the panic was exemplified by the "crack baby" scare, which targeted poor African-American women and played on popular fears about the abuse of children. Criminal prosecution was proposed for pregnant women who exposed their fetuses to drugs during pregnancy, tying the drug issue to the struggle over abortion and women's right to control their bodies. Penalties for crack—a cheap form of cocaine associated with poor urban blacks—were disproportionately increased relative to those for the powdered form of cocaine more popular with wealthier users.

In an escalating cycle, politicians both responded to and exacerbated public anti-drug sentiment. In 1981, Congress amended the 1878 Posse Comitatus Act to allow the armed forces to take part in drug control efforts. In 1986, Congress passed a nearly $2 billion federal drug bill that called for increased enforcement, the death penalty for "drug kingpins," more treatment funding, and sanctions against nations that were not sufficiently cooperative with U.S. drug eradication efforts. In addition, to thwart small producers who were creating drugs chemically similar to controlled substances, legislators passed the Controlled Substances Analogue Enforcement Act to ban so-called designer drugs. The year 1988 saw the passage of the Anti-Drug Abuse Act, which established the Office of National Drug Control Policy, the aim of which was to "restore order and security to American neighborhoods, to dismantle drug trafficking organizations, to help people break the habit of drug use, and to prevent those who have never used illegal drugs from starting." In these and later years, several laws were put into place allowing drug testing in workplaces and schools.

Growing Disenchantment

Ironically, as Erich Goode and Nachman Ben-Yehuda, co-authors of *Moral Panics: The Social Construction of Deviance* (1994), note, fewer people saw drugs as a problem in the late 1970s when actual drug use was quite prevalent than in the 1980s when actual use had substantially declined, exemplifying the "constructed" nature of social problems. Yet just as the social panic about drug use had skyrocketed in the late 1980s, it dissipated at the turn of the decade—demonstrating that social problems can also be "deconstructed." The *New York Times*/CBS News poll found that the proportion of the population identifying drugs as the country's top problem had fallen to 30 percent by April 1990, and by August 1990 it was down to 10 percent. Economic recession and the Persian Gulf War competed with drugs as a social concern, and the media stopped feeding the panic. The fact that moral panics tend to ebb when the country is facing other major problems was demonstrated yet again when the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, a new economic recession, and a second war in Iraq once again bumped drugs and sex off the front pages.

Indeed, by the late 1990s and early 2000s, segments of the media had done a turnaround and began to produce stories putting a negative spin on the War on Drugs. Advocacy and lobbying groups such as the National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws (NORML), the Marijuana Policy Project, and Students for Sensible Drug Policy were born. Politicians such as Minnesota governor Jesse Ventura and New Mexico governor Gary Johnson began to speak in favor of drug law reform. Increasingly, drug law reform proponents called for an exploration of various proposals to legalize, regulate, and tax drugs—that is, to treat them like alcohol and tobacco—in order to reduce the negative effects of the underground drug economy. Beginning with California's Compassionate Use Act of 1996 (Proposition 215), a growing number of states passed laws, mostly by voter initiative, permitting the medicinal use of marijuana.

But even as public disenchantment with the War on Drugs grew, most politicians—seemingly failing to read the public mood—were not yet ready to let up. President Bill Clinton, haunted by his own admission of marijuana use, increased anti-drug funding and appointed a strict drug czar, General Barry McCaffrey. The drug war increasingly shaped U.S. foreign policy, especially in Latin America and central Asia. The United States pressured foreign governments to eradicate marijuana, coca, and opium crops, and provided

funding and military assistance for anti-drug efforts. In 1998, Congress passed an amendment to the Higher Education Act denying financial aid to students convicted of drug offenses, and in 2001 it considered the Reducing Americans' Vulnerability to Ecstasy (RAVE) Act, which would penalize owners for any drug use occurring on their property, whether or not they condoned it—or were even aware of it. Although perhaps a majority of today's middle-aged adults—including politicians—have tried some illegal drug, many remain unwilling to challenge the prevailing drug war orthodoxy for fear of sending the "wrong message" to youth.

The Harm Reduction Movement: Outlaw Public Health

The War on Drugs spawned many responses, one of which was the birth of the harm reduction movement. Harm reduction is the philosophy of helping drug users and others engaged in stigmatized behaviors to stay healthy and safe without insisting that they give up their behavior. Born of needle exchange and AIDS activism in the late 1980s, the harm reduction movement continues to grow, building a coalition of syringe exchange workers, AIDS activists, health and social service providers, drug policy reformers, researchers, women's rights advocates, local and state politicians, and advocates of progressive healthcare and criminal justice reform. At its core, it is a movement that promotes a more humanistic, less moralistic approach to individual and social problems.

The roots of the harm reduction movement can be traced to the early years of the century, when certain doctors and clinics provided morphine or heroin to prevent withdrawal in people who had become addicted to opiates. However, in 1919 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that addiction maintenance was not an appropriate use of narcotics, and in the years that followed existing narcotics maintenance clinics were closed. In the 1960s and 1970s, addiction increasingly came to be seen as a medical problem. By this time, maintenance therapy with methadone—a long-lasting synthetic narcotic that staves off withdrawal symptoms and drug cravings—had become the accepted method for treating opiate addiction. Modern methadone maintenance therapy was pioneered in the 1960s in New York City by Drs. Vincent Dole and Maria Nyswander. Rather than using decreasing doses of methadone to wean addicts off drugs, long-term maintenance therapy was designed to stabilize drug users. By providing a safe and legal alternative to heroin, methadone maintenance is intended to help addicts stop committing drug-related crime, separate themselves from the drug subculture, and lead productive lives. Although officials generally have supported methadone maintenance as a way to reduce crime, some drug warriors, moral reformers, and public health professionals oppose methadone maintenance, contending that it simply substitutes one drug dependency for another.

On March 27, 2001, demonstrators march to the Capitol Building in Albany, New York, demanding reform or repeal of the Rockefeller anti-drug laws. The laws, spearheaded by Governor Nelson Rockefeller in the 1970s, were among the harshest ever passed. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

The growing AIDS epidemic in the late 1980s spurred the development of the harm reduction movement in the United States. As a self-conscious approach and philosophy, harm reduction first emerged in the Netherlands in the early 1980s as a pragmatic partnership between drug users and city officials, who started a needle exchange program to tackle the growing problem of hepatitis B transmis-

sion. The first American needle exchange programs were set up by grassroots AIDS activists, front-line AIDS service workers, civil rights activists, and current and former drug users. Faced with official denial and hostility regarding AIDS, and recognizing the explosion of HIV in poor urban communities, activists took clean needles to the streets in direct acts of civil disobedience. Harm reduction programs such as syringe exchange were designed to be "low threshold" and able to meet drug users "where they're at," rather than demanding that they stop their use. Most early activists explicitly rejected the abstinence orthodoxy of the era, which held that drug users could be helped only by stopping drug use completely.

The earliest underground needle exchanges were established in 1986 in New Haven and Boston by Jon Parker. The Point Defiance program in Tacoma, Washington, organized by Dave Purchase, was perhaps the first to operate with the tacit approval of public officials. San Francisco's Prevention Point was established by activists in 1988 and operates today under a city-declared state of emergency. The New York City Health Department began an experimental syringe exchange in 1988, but the program was "high threshold," requiring that clients enter drug treatment, and was inconveniently located across the street from city hall. Members of ACT UP/New York began a "low-threshold" needle exchange on the Lower East Side of Manhattan soon thereafter. The operators of the needle exchange were arrested for providing syringes, but the charges were thrown out when they successfully argued that exchanging needles was a "medical necessity" to prevent the spread of HIV and therefore to save lives. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), by the end of the 1990s there were over 100 needle exchange programs in the United States exchanging nearly 20 million syringes per year.

Harm reduction in the United States has been an "outlaw" practice, in stark contrast to the experience in many other countries, including Australia, Canada, and several European nations. In such countries, the consensus is that AIDS constitutes a greater immediate threat to public health than drug use. No such consensus has been possible in the United States. No presidential administration has allowed federal funding of syringe exchanges. Public opposition came from moral crusaders who believed that the harm related to drug use should not be minimized, lest users be discouraged from quitting (although some reformers reluctantly supported needle exchange to protect the "innocent" sexual partners and babies of injection drug users). Other objections came from law-and-order proponents and "NIMBY" community members who feared needle exchanges would contribute to crime. As a result, by 1996 the United States reported over 146,000 cases of drug-related HIV transmission.

Another current of opposition to needle exchange came from communities devastated by drug use and the drug economy. For many people in such communities, AIDS was not the priority. Drug dependency, drug-related violence and crime, and the resulting impacts on social and economic life were experienced as more serious problems. Far from being seen as a life-saving measure, syringe exchange and harm reduction more generally were resisted and denounced by leaders of communities of color as enabling the very behavior that was killing their people and damaging their neighborhoods. In order to work with and within the most affected communities, there was a need to take harm reduction beyond HIV prevention and toward an analysis of and response to the multiple harms related to drug use, drug sales, and anti-drug policy. The Harm Reduction Coalition, formed in 1993, remains a key player in expanding harm reduction efforts across the United States, guided by a broad vision of social change that includes community involvement, criminal justice reform, universal healthcare, reproductive rights, and civil liberties.

As the 1990s progressed, the magnitude of the AIDS epidemic and the demonstrated success of needle exchange programs began to turn the tide. By the late 1990s many public health officials and much of the populace accepted harm reduction as a strategy for reducing disease transmission. As harm reduction moved in from the outside, needle exchange and related programs were "professionalized," often leading to increased bureaucracy, regulation, and the exclusion of the grassroots activists who had pioneered the strategy. As harm reduction efforts have been mainstreamed, they have sometimes come to resemble technical interventions directed at "them" (drug users) for the sake of "us" (the public), rather than programs by and for affected communities.

Following the example of needle exchange programs, the harm reduction philosophy has been extended and applied to other types of socially stigmatized behavior. For example, sex worker activists have developed peer education programs to teach prostitutes how to work more safely and protect themselves from disease transmission. Drug user activists have advocated for education and self-administered medication (naloxone, or Narcan) to

prevent deaths from heroin overdose. And ravers such as those who founded DanceSafe have begun programs to test the purity of ecstasy and other drugs used in dance clubs. Although official and public opposition to drug use remains strong, grassroots activists have increasingly taken public health into their own hands.

Lessons from the War on Drugs

Like Prohibition, the War on Drugs produced several unintended consequences, including the greater availability of harder substances, an increase in experimentation spurred by publicity about drugs, promotion of an underground market and its attendant crime and violence, and the development of an addict subculture. Although crime is unquestionably associated with drug use, advocates of drug law reform contend that it is not drugs themselves that cause crime, but rather their high price on the black market, which prompts many addicts to turn to crimes such as robbery and prostitution to support their habits. Based on its stated aims, the War on Drugs appears to be a failure. But as Erich Goode points out, proponents of the anti-drug crusade—like other anti-vice movements—do not measure its success by whether or not it is able to achieve its purported goal. Rather, the crusade serves an ideological agenda, allowing politicians to promote a law-and-order image. In addition, prohibitionist crusades provide a focus for social anxieties about political unrest, urbanization, economic restructuring, the changing place of youth in society, and, especially, race.

One of the most visible outcomes of the drug war has been the explosion in the prison population, in particular the incarceration of young men of color. Today, the "prison-industrial complex"—the network of judges, police, prison officials, and those who profit from building and operating prisons—is large and influential and plays a role in perpetuating the drug war out of economic self-interest. One of the downfalls of Prohibition was that it became obvious that laws against alcohol were unfairly enforced, falling heavily on the working class while the middle and upper classes were spared. Similarly, during the 1960s and 1970s, drug laws often were selectively enforced against hippies and student radicals by a government and police force trying to thwart challenges to their authority; despite "mandatory" sentences, children of the wealthy and powerful seldom paid a criminal price for their drug experimentation. In addition, drug law enforcement focused on African Americans and Latinos, whose involvement in civil rights protests and potential for social revolution offered the most serious threat to the American elite since the early 1930s. Although several studies have shown that drug use is not more common among blacks compared to whites, by the 1980s and 1990s African-American youth were the primary target of drug enforcement. Just as McCarthy in the 1950s spoke of Communists as an "internal enemy" that would undermine the country unless assiduously rooted out, in the latter half of the century the most feared "enemies within" were communities of color.

Although progressives tend to see social problems such as crime, drug use, and poverty as being grounded in social conditions, and therefore remediable by social solutions, conservatives tend to see them as individual moral failings that are best addressed by punitive measures. In the final decades of the twentieth century the conservative view held sway. As the emphasis on crime overshadowed issues such as civil rights and economic entitlement, government expenditures followed suit. Funding for public education declined as monies for the prison industry grew. The 1994 California "three strikes" law—which imposes life sentences for people convicted of three felonies—exemplified the increasingly harsh attitude toward lawbreakers. For young people of color, the policies of the 1980s and 1990s created a contentious society divided along class and race lines. Although the moral panic nominally focused on drugs, its result has been the control of racial and ethnic minorities and the poor.

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Progressive Movement

Several generations of historians have agreed that there was a period of time—beginning in the late 1800s and ending sometime around World War I—when the majority of Americans were so immersed in the quest for "progress" and "reform" that those years could fairly be called "The Progressive Era." Yet, those same historians have generally disagreed—fundamentally and vociferously—over whether or not that era's myriad activities and achievements were the result of a definable "Progressive movement," energized by a reasonably coherent ideology worthy of the label "Progressivism."

The Historical Debate

The existence of that debate dates at least from the publication of Benjamin Parke De Witt's *The Progressive Movement: A Non-Partisan, Comprehensive Discussion of Current Tendencies in American Politics*. In that pioneering work, De Witt acknowledged that the term *Progressive Movement* has "been so widely used, so much discussed, and so differently interpreted that any exposition of its meanings and principles, to be adequate, must be prefaced by careful definition." To some contemporaries, he said, the term merely "represents the efforts of a small body of self-seeking politicians to gain position and influence by making capital of a movement that is temporarily popular." To others, it "expresses the efforts of a few sincere but misguided enthusiasts to carry out an impossible and chimerical program of social reform through government and legislation."

Although some saw the Progressive movement as "new, fleeting, and evanescent," De Witt himself viewed it as "permanent, deep-seated, and fundamental, involving a modification and readjustment of our political theories and institutions." Although conceding that "this widespread political agitation" frequently seemed "incoherent and chaotic," De Witt nevertheless insisted that careful examination and analysis revealed three unifying "tendencies": (1) the insistence by the "best men in all political parties" that special interests be eliminated from government and politics; (2) the demand that the structure or machinery of government be controlled by the many instead of the few; and (3) the rapidly growing conviction that the functions of government must be increased and extended to relieve social and economic distress. It was these three "tendencies"—manifested in political platforms and programs and in reforms advocated and enacted in city, state, and nation—that "may be said to constitute the real progressive movement," because of their "universality and definiteness."

Over the ensuing half-century, numerous scholars attempted to distill the essence of what they conceived of as a generic progressive movement. For the most part, they sought to define that movement by applying one or more of three criteria: a common social type; a shared system of values; or a reasonably coherent program of "reform." The high-water mark of their efforts occurred during the 1950s and 1960s in the work of the "status revolution" and "organizational revolution" historians. The status revolution historians, led by Richard Hofstadter and George Mowry, utilized "collective biographies" of the period's intellectuals and activists to construct a "progressive profile" that almost exclusively contained people of British-American roots, middle- to upper-middle-class social status, above-average formal education, and "touched by the long religious hand of New England."

In their view, the Progressive movement was fundamentally "an expression of an older America objecting to the ideological and social drifts of the twentieth century," especially the rise of the monopolistic corporation, on the one hand, and organized labor and socialism, on the other. Their security and position thus threatened from above and below, the members of this gentry abandoned their customary

distaste for organized intervention and political action in order to restore their vision of the pristine quality of an earlier American life. The founders of the status revolution school maintained that "progressive reform drew its greatest support from the more discontented of the native Americans, and on some issues from the rural and small town constituencies that surrounded the big cities."

Whereas the status revolution historians believed that the Progressive movement reflected the "complaint of the unorganized against the consequences of organization," the proponents of the organizational revolution interpretation turned that idea on its head. For Robert Wiebe, Samuel Hays, Louis Galambos, James Weinstein, and other noted scholars, that movement was centered in the activities of a "new middle class" engaged in a "search for order." It was a concerted effort by an emerging elite group of professionals, bureaucrats, administrators, intellectuals, and technicians to impose their vision, structure, and values upon a society and culture dangerously fragmented and disoriented by rapid and massive change. In short, the essential dynamic of progressivism was not "power to the people," but the flow of decision making of all sorts upward in an increasingly rigid hierarchy of authority.

Even during the heyday of the status revolution and organizational revolution schools, however, many other historians provided evidence of significant reformist activity among segments of the population that not even the most elastic interpretations of either could encompass: the urban, foreign-stock working class, midwestern German-American Catholics, Socialists, entrepreneurs, and agrarian radicals, to name only the most cited. "Movements with tolerable progressive credentials," historian Lewis Gould has written, "have been found in the agrarian South, among machine politicians in the city, within technical and professional groups, the military, the arts, as well as in the more familiar environs of middle-class America."

Some historians openly questioned whether the movements delineated by the status revolution and organizational revolution interpretations were really "progressive" in any meaningful sense, whereas others argued that the progressive profiles upon which these explanations were based failed to differentiate avowed "progressives" from admitted "conservatives." They pointed out that virtually every significant issue of the era drove deep fissures within the ranks of both "movements," and that the label "progressive" was frequently affixed by both contemporaries and historians to mutually contradictory ideas, goals, and programs.

By 1970, at least one historian proclaimed that the Progressive movement never existed. In a provocative article entitled "An Obituary for the Progressive Movement," Peter Filene charged that historians were "struggling desperately" to fit their concept of a progressive movement "onto data that stubbornly spill over the edges of that concept," largely because "they are dealing with an aggregative group as if it were a collective group." Starting with the observation that many early twentieth-century Americans were "reformers" or "progressives," he asserted, historians have leapt to the conclusion that Americans, therefore, joined together in a "reform" or "progressive movement," thus "slurring over the intermediate question of whether the reformers themselves felt a common identity and acted as a collective body." A "diffuse progressive 'era' may have existed," he argued, "but a progressive 'movement' did not."

Although there were plenty of "progressives," Filene continued, they were of "many types"—intellectuals, businessmen, farmers, labor unionists, white-collar professionals, politicians, lower, middle, and upper class, southerners, easterners, westerners, urban, and rural—and their differences were at least as significant as their similarities in explaining the nation's response to its profound transformation during those crucial years. Contending that "the evidence points away from convenient synthesis and toward multiplicity," Filene concluded that "the progressive era seems to be characterized by shifting coalitions around different issues, with the specific nature of these coalitions varying on federal, state, and local levels, from region to region, and from the first to the second decade of the century."

Although a few historians continue to acknowledge a single Progressive movement, most historians have conceded that there were—at the very least—a variety of Progressive *movements*, sometimes working in harmony, frequently acting at cross-purposes, and often having little in common save rhetoric and style. In his introduction to the reissue of De Witt's *The Progressive Movement*, Arthur Mann warned that, in assessing the validity of the earlier interpretation, "the whole should not blind us to its parts." The Progressive movement, he asserted, "is an umbrella term, an historical shorthand, that covers a variety of reform thrusts fifty and more years ago in the churches, the universities, social work, publishing, journalism, racial relations, and so on almost indefinitely." It was "in short, a many-sided affair."

In a perceptive article entitled "In Search of Progressivism," written in the early 1980s, Daniel T. Rodgers chided those fellow historians seeking to salvage the Progressive movement and Progressivism by engaging in a "rage for bifurcation": social vs. structural, insurgents vs. modernizers, urban vs. rural, or western vs. eastern—but "Progressives" all. If these contradictory lists proved anything, he argued, it is that "those who called themselves progressives did not share a common creed or a string of common values, however ingeniously or vaguely defined." At most, Rodgers asserted, those who called themselves Progressives drew upon "three distinct clusters of ideas—three distinct social languages—to articulate their discontents and their social visions": the rhetoric of antimonopolism, an emphasis upon social bonds and the social nature of human beings, and a language of social efficiency. Although Rodgers doubted that most historians would "call off the search for that great overarching thing called Progressivism," he concluded that their real task was to concern themselves "less about the internal coherence of the progressive 'movement' than about the structures of politics, power, and ideas within which the era's welter of tongues and efforts and 'reforms' took place."

The Great Transformation

The first step in performing that task is to recognize that the Progressive Era was a time of breathtaking metamorphosis. Those people whose minds "boggle" at the magnitude and velocity of the changes being brought about by the twenty-first century's electronic revolution should have little difficulty identifying with those who experienced that earlier transformation firsthand. Those growing up in the early twentieth century were every bit as awe-stricken by the introduction of electricity, steam turbines, internal combustion engines, skyscrapers, electrified street railways, elevators, and motion pictures as we are by personal computers, the Internet, cell phones, Palm Pilots, DVDs, and similar electronic wizardry. Looking back over his life of sixty-plus years from the vantage point of the 1920s, novelist Hamlin Garland proclaimed that he had "seen more of change in certain directions than all the men from Julius Caesar to Abraham Lincoln." He had, he marveled, witnessed "the reaping hook develop into the combined reaper and thresher, the ox-team give way to the automobile, the telegraph to the radio, and the balloon to the flying machine." Television, he fearlessly prophesied, "is certain to arrive tomorrow."

At least as bewildering was the rapid and drastic reconfiguration of the socioeconomic order resulting largely from the widespread diffusion of these technological marvels. Deliberately or uncannily using the age's high-speed, complex, precision machinery as metaphor and model, an emerging elite of entrepreneurs, financiers, intellectuals, professionals, technicians, managers, bureaucrats, and politicians strove to recast most facets of existence into large-scale, compartmentalized, impersonal systems made up of discrete, hierarchically arranged components. People—like machine parts—became increasingly interchangeable and disposable. Those on the "cutting edge" of this metamorphosis strove to drive into as many people as possible the discipline and worldview of the modern, urban, industrial order, which prized predictability, docility, standardization, and an insatiable appetite for consumption of mass-produced goods and services. Nearly everything from sports to entertainment to recreation to politics was increasingly "commodified": packaged, advertised, and sold to a nation of consumers and spectators. In virtually every line of human endeavor, productivity, efficiency, and expertise became the operant values cherished by those determined upon what historians Alan I. Marcus and Howard P. Segal have dubbed "systematizing the fabric of American life."

Driving this remarkable transformation were the "neotechnic revolution" and the "new industrialism." Whereas the first two stages of the industrial revolution had relied upon water, wind, and steam to energize its machinery, the neotechnic phase employed electricity and the internal combustion engine as its power sources. Whereas people of the earlier two phases had built their machinery and structures primarily out of wood, brick, stone, and iron, the people of the neotechnic revolution increasingly utilized steel and other fabricated metals. Significantly lighter, stronger, and more flexible than iron, steel provided the essential metal for massive, high-speed, precision machinery, high-rise construction, and modern transportation and communication media.

Steelmaking evolved during the late nineteenth century out of continuous improvements in the superheating of ores, culminating in the discovery of the open hearth process that allowed large quantities of scrap metal to be mixed with relatively small amounts of molten pig iron to produce ten times as much steel—of significantly greater tensile strength—than that yielded by the earlier Bessemer process. Between 1895 and 1900, the amount of steel produced nearly tripled—to almost 4 million tons per year. Similar developments also revolutionized the brass, bronze, and

copper industries. This technological sea change permitted the construction and operation of gigantic, fast, precise machines capable of being run almost constantly in order to produce a seemingly infinite supply of goods.

To take the fullest possible advantage of these innovations, manufacturers expanded and redesigned their factories for mass production, eventually developing the assembly-line method. To raise the necessary capital, they eagerly embraced the corporate form of organization, which also provided them with limited legal and financial liability while virtually guaranteeing the immortality of the enterprise. These highly capitalized, large-scale, complex organizations rapidly came to dominate the vast majority of industries in the United States and to transform them through innovative strategies and techniques in production, distribution, and marketing. They also drastically redefined the nature of work, the workplace, and the workforce, transferring "skill" from the worker to the machine and decision making from the shop floor to the central office. The need for "skilled" artisans and craftsmen declined precipitously, while the demand for "unskilled" and "semiskilled" machine operatives expanded, substantially increasing the number of women, children, and recent immigrants in the industrial workforce.

At the same time, as economist Richard T. Ely observed in 1889, "Every new invention, every economic improvement, in short, nearly all industrial progress centralizes the population in cities." Between 1890 and 1920, the total urban population of the United States grew from 22,106,000 to 54,158,000; the percent urban from 35.1 to 51.2; the number of urban places from 1,348 to 2,722; and the number of cities of over 100,000 population from 28 to 68. Urban population grew nearly twice as fast as total population during those three decades. While the electric trolley and the automobile enabled cities to expand ever outward, the electric elevator, structural steel, and reinforced concrete allowed them to soar steadily upward. Increasingly, the burgeoning urban masses found themselves segregated and stratified according to a complex formula of socioeconomic and ethnocultural factors, while the mobility and instability of city life accelerated at a dizzying pace. Demands for an expanded range of municipal services from all quarters of the city escalated, giving rise to continuous conflicts over how, by whom, where, and in what order these would be provided, delivered, and financed.

"Natives" and Newcomers

Although this urban population explosion was fueled significantly by the "natural increase" of births over deaths—due primarily to remarkable improvements in medicine and public health—and by the movement of native-born Americans off the farms in search of a better life, an increasing proportion was provided by immigration from Europe, Asia, and the American South. After surging during the 1880s and declining during most of the depression-ridden decade of the 1890s, European immigration hit an all-time high between 1897 and 1914, averaging nearly 800,000 per year. Moreover, the bulk of these new arrivals came from southern and eastern Europe—from Italy and the Mediterranean and from the multiethnic empires of Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Turkey. Their clothing, language, customs, and religions seemed increasingly strange and threatening to old-stock Americans—even to the descendants of the Irish, German, and Scandinavian immigrants whose arrival had evoked similar reactions just a few decades earlier.

Even more unsettling to white America was the relatively minor influx of Chinese and Japanese immigrants to the West Coast that gave rise to fears of an irresistible "yellow peril." Driven by the same economic imperatives that impelled native-born Americans, European and Asian immigrants flocked primarily to the cities and factories of the Northeast, Great Lakes, and Pacific Coast, where they strove to survive and prosper while preserving as much as possible of their Old World identities and cultures. Although more often the primary victims of industrialization and urbanization, they frequently served as handy scapegoats for those seeking to assign blame for the nation's problems. Perhaps even more disturbing to white Americans was the "Great Migration" of southern "Negroes" to northern cities. Whites increasingly responded with de facto segregation of housing, schools, and public accommodations, job and wage discrimination, and violent "race riots." By the onset of World War I, almost every Northern city of any size had its "black ghetto," where living and working conditions were generally the worst in town.

From a national perspective, the Gilded Age and Progressive Era combined constituted a period that prominent historian Rayford W. Logan has labeled the "nadir of American Racism." With the end of Reconstruction, Southern states moved quickly to negate the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, instituting legal segregation in public facilities and disfranchising

Residents view the devastation in Chicago following the race riots in the summer of 1919, a year that witnessed some of the bloodiest and most destructive riots in American history. Despite many reforms instituted during the Progressive Era, race relations hit a nadir as segregation became widespread and entrenched in the early 1900s. *(Brown Brothers)*

virtually the entire African-American electorate. At the same time, lynching and other forms of violence against "Negroes" reached an all-time high. Responding to pressure from organized labor and West Coast populations in general, Congress moved to exclude virtually all Asian immigration. In 1911, the U.S. Immigration Commission issued a forty-two-volume report that blamed the "inferior races" from southern and eastern Europe for most of the nation's problems and pronounced them incapable of assimilation into American society. After World War I, its findings provided much of the documentation for the highly biased and restrictive National Origins Quota System that virtually ended immigration from southern and eastern Europe and Asia.

Meanwhile, the General Allotment Act of 1886 broke up what remained of tribal lands and mandated the forced acculturation of Native Americans, while the U.S. Army callously suppressed any remaining armed resistance. By 1910, most scholars regarded them as a "vanishing race," a judgment seemingly documented by the census returns. Similarly, American incursions into Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, Samoa, Guam, China, and other parts of Asia and Latin America were justified largely by a belief in the "racial inferiority" of their inhabitants and in

the responsibility of the United States to "civilize" and "Christianize" them. Perhaps most telling of all was the fact that "experts" generally agreed upon the notion of a racial hierarchy with "white people" at its apex, a worldview that justified everything from segregation to immigration restriction and from forced acculturation to eugenics—the "science" of human breeding.

Americans adapted as best they could to the ongoing changes of the early twentieth century. Largely by trial and error, growing numbers hit upon a three-stage strategy. The first stage was to band together with others in similar situations or of compatible persuasions—whether as producers, consumers, taxpayers, citizens, professionals, or members of a particular ethnocultural group. The second step was to attempt to intervene purposefully and effectively into the process through which the fruits of the new socioeconomic order were distributed. The third phase was to call upon government—at all levels—to intervene in that process on behalf of those who felt aggrieved or injured.

Early Reform Movements

Prior to the severe economic depression of 1893–1897, most of these reform movements fit into three broad strains, each of which operated in effective isolation from—and often at cross-purposes to—one another. The first of these was the patrician strain, composed of middle- and upper-middle-class native-born Americans, who were inclined to place the blame for most of society's problems on the weaknesses and excesses of the social orders above and below them. Accordingly, they usually favored limited government, fiscal retrenchment, the elimination of patronage and political corruption, and anti-vice crusades. Regularly derided as "goo-goos" or "Mugwumps" by their opponents, they tended to feel that most of the world's problems could be solved by replacing "bad" men with "good."

At the other end of the spectrum were a variety of movements firmly rooted in the urban, industrial working class, such as the Union Labor Party, the Socialist Labor Party, and the Knights of Labor, which placed the onus for social ills primarily on the capitalist system and on the rapacity of the people who managed it. While the more radical members of this cohort boldly espoused collective ownership of property and the establishment of a cooperative commonwealth, the majority demanded more realizable goals, such as higher wages, shorter hours, and better working and living conditions.

Forming yet a third strain of Gilded Age reform movements were several predominantly agrarian associations and organizations, such as the Grange, Alliances, and Populists. Identifying their enemies primarily as the railroads, banks, grain elevator operators, and their political allies, agrarians combined to maximize their own economic power, while petitioning government to regulate the rates and services of those whom they perceived to be their oppressors. Although the 1892 Omaha Platform of the People's Party proclaimed that "the interests of rural and civil labor are the same; their enemies are identical," efforts to forge a working alliance between the two usually ended in mutual frustration. Also standing in the way of effective cooperation among the three strains were deep-seated ethnocultural and religious issues, and the persistence of a mutual urban-rural animus. Cooperation across all of these fissures was rarely, if ever, possible.

Reinforcing those boundaries were an interlocking set of beliefs and values that historian Eric Goldman has called "the Steel Chain of Ideas." Among its strongest links were a series of supposedly absolute and unchangeable "natural laws" and "natural rights": the law of supply and demand, the iron law of wages, the law of diminishing returns, governmental laissez-faire, and the inviolate right to private property. Conveniently ignoring the fact that the growing dominance of large corporations was due primarily to their ability to manipulate those very same "natural laws" to their own advantage, the nation's elite adamantly denied that same privilege to labor unions, producer and consumer cooperatives, government agencies, and lawmakers. For others to intervene—either to regulate or tax corporations and their owners or to provide assistance to other segments of society—would allegedly only make matters worse for everyone by undermining the self-regulating "natural order" of society.

Another strong link in the chain was provided by the advocates of Social Darwinism, an analogous concept to the theory of evolution which argued that the prime law of society—like the prime law of nature—was "survival of the fittest." Only the "fittest" prospered, and their prosperity was all the proof necessary of their "fitness." By the same token, failure was proof positive of "unfitness." In society, as in nature, aiding the unfit or restricting the fit jeopardized the chances of survival for the entire species. Yet another link was provided by the proponents of the "Gospel of Wealth," a takeoff on the Calvinist doctrine of predestination. In John Calvin's view, the "elect" prede-

termined by God for salvation gave testimony to their status by their piety and purity, while those predestined to eternal damnation betrayed their status by leading dissolute and sinful lives. According to the Gospel of Wealth, God rewarded the elect with material wealth in this life and punished the preternaturally damned with poverty and deprivation. Thus the sanction of theology was added to that of science and philosophy in order to justify the status quo and to stigmatize any attempt to alter it.

The Reform Movements Mature

Dissolving the Steel Chain of Ideas—and building organizational strength sufficient to provide even minimal challenges to corporate domination—was a slow and laborious process during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Its biggest boost was provided by the depression of the mid-1890s, whose severity and duration starkly revealed many of the societal dislocations and inequities that were easily ignored during more prosperous times. The depression transmitted those disabilities to large numbers of people who had previously thought themselves to be invulnerable. Problems easily rationalized during good times demanded much more thorough examination now that they touched a significant portion of mainstream society and—as more astute observers noted—those problems did not disappear with the return of general prosperity. Such traumatic experiences also made it easier for people of backgrounds previously antagonistic to one another to realize their shared situations and concerns as taxpayers, consumers, and citizens and to unite in "common cause" on many issues.

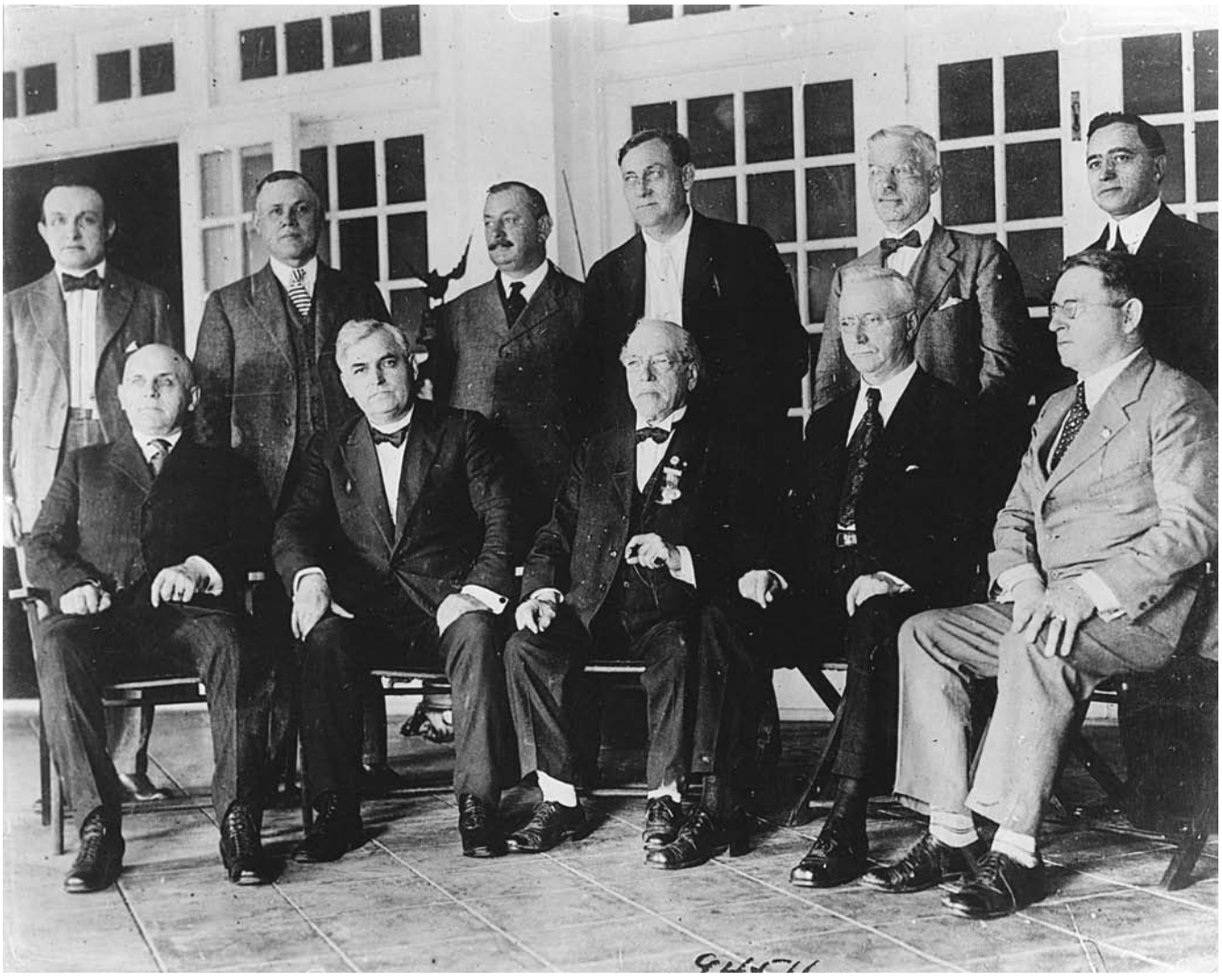
This "Crisis of the 1890s" also accelerated the growth of three intellectual movements antithetical to the principles of the Steel Chain of Ideas: the social sciences, the ascendancy of professionalism and expertise, and the Social Gospel. Awed by the achievements and prestige of natural and physical scientists, economists, sociologists, psychologists, historians, and political scientists sought to adapt empirical, inductive methods to the study of human behavior. Rejecting a priori, deductive approaches to the acquisition of knowledge, they stressed the importance of intensive case studies and of the scrutiny of meticulously gathered evidence before forming any conclusions or proposing any remedies. They generally decided that the nation's social problems were the result of self-interested decisions made by powerful individuals and organizations. Many became social and political activists determined to intervene into those same processes on behalf of what they considered to be the general welfare.

Closely intertwined with rise of the social sciences was the growing professionalization of medicine, law, engineering, journalism, social work, education, and a variety of other occupations. Each of these professions developed a systematized and specialized body of knowledge, detailed rules of procedure, a technical vocabulary or "jargon," schools to train aspirants, sanctions and enforcement machinery to discipline those who violated professional norms, journals to communicate among themselves, and an espirit de corps that bound together its members and set them off from "amateurs." Collectively, social scientists and professionals constituted a burgeoning cadre of "experts," who alone possessed the specialized knowledge and methodology needed to solve complex social problems and to function effectively, efficiently, and justly in the modern world. Balancing the need for "efficiency" and "expertise" against the desire for more popular participation and influence rapidly became a classic question of the times.

Attacking the status quo from a different—but equally influential—perspective were the proponents of the Social Gospel, also referred to as the "New Religion" or the "Institutional Church." Its apostles insisted that the road to salvation and spirituality lay not in personal piety and was not signified either by upright behavior or by material prosperity, but rather in how one treated those less fortunate. True Christianity manifested itself "in ethical movements, in benevolence, in expressions of genuine brotherhood." Although Social Gospelers frequently disagreed with social scientists and professionals on a variety of specific issues, they joined with them in challenging the notion that society was a closed system governed by rigid and unchangeable natural laws that justified "what is," rather than finding ways to move toward "what should" or "what could" be.

The "New Interventionism"

Energized by the trauma of a severe, protracted depression and by these new intellectual currents, a large number of fin de siècle Americans began to engage in what historian John W. Chambers has called the "new interventionism." At the outset, most of them practiced "associationalism" or "voluntarism—organized action by nonstatutory institutions" in the private sector—a strategy that Alexis de Tocqueville had long before identified as the peculiar genius of Americans. Labor abided by the "pure and simple trade unionism" dictum of Samuel Gompers, prefer-



With its doctrine of "pure and simple trade unionism," the American Federation of Labor came to dominate the American labor movement in the early twentieth century. Its founder, Samuel Gompers, seated in the center with the executive council, led the organization for almost forty years. Following Gompers's death in 1924, William Green, standing second from left, became president. *(Brown Brothers)*

ring collective bargaining, strike, and boycotts to lobbying for legislation. The National Consumers Union granted its seal of approval to businesses that met its standards and placed noncompliers on its "blacklist." The Women's Trade Union League engaged in organizing drives, joined picket lines, and gave aid and comfort to strikers. Idealistic young women and men, imbued with a mixture of social science and the Social Gospel and funded by private philanthropy, founded social settlements where they lived among and ministered to the urban underclasses. Business associations embraced volume buying to compete with the economies of scale enjoyed by big corporations, while the Immigrants' Protective League established waiting rooms, provided interpreters, procured transportation, jobs, and lodging, helped locate relatives, and screened employment agencies, banks, and night schools. The Country Life Movement sought to make the agrarian environment more attractive, to bring the benefits of urbanism to farmers, and to stem the tide of "rural drain" to the cities.

Many organizations turned to political action—if for no other reason than that their perceived enemies were doing the same thing. Many came to realize that only government possessed the leverage necessary to achieving their ends. Organized labor found its meth-

ods ineffectual as long as unions were regarded as "conspiracies," "yellow dog" contracts and labor spies were legal, and strikes and boycotts could be easily halted by injunctions. Trade associations and consumer organizations found fair trade laws and regulatory legislation effective weapons against "big business."

The National Consumers League, among others, concluded that political action was a necessary supplement to its efforts at propaganda and negotiation. The Country Life Movement evolved into the Country Life Commission in 1908, while agrarian groups lobbied for the county agent system, agricultural extension, and government subsidies to agricultural education. The Women's Trade Association found that "political action, then, was required along with trade union activities to secure better conditions, a decent wage, a limit on hours and the right to bargain and organize without harassment." The Immigrants Protective League "urged that local and national governments take over tasks begun by private organizations." Settlement workers increasingly found that political action was necessary because "to keep aloof from it might be to lose the one opportunity of sharing the life of the neighborhood" and because "private beneficence is totally inadequate to deal with the vast numbers of the city's disinherited." The largely unorganized urban masses, caught in the grip of impersonal economic forces and under increasing pressure from nativists and restrictionists, urged their elected representatives on to greater efforts on their behalf.

Gradually, a number of fairly stable "coalitions" or "movements" developed around broad categories of issues: welfare legislation, the recognition of organized labor, taxation, business regulation, political restructuring, and cultural conflicts.

Launching the Welfare State

The launching of the welfare state in the form of workmen's compensation, old age pensions, factory codes, housing regulations, standards for child and female labor, and the like was primarily the work of three segments of society. The first was a sizable portion of the native middle class, particularly social scientists, clergymen, social workers, artists, and intellectuals. Their training and occupational experiences made them acutely aware of the existence of social evils. What percentage of the native middle class was so disposed—and precisely what differentiated them from the rest of that class—are still subjects for research. These reformers formed the social justice organizations, sought to educate other comfortable Americans to the need for public action, drafted legislation, and lobbied for its passage. Many became advisers to influential politicians or served on newly created welfare agencies.

Joining them often was organized labor, although the leaders were not all of one mind about welfare legislation either. Samuel Gompers and many of his associates feared government intervention and preferred collective bargaining to establish standards of labor, feeling that the legal minimums would ipso facto become the going rates. They were not the entire labor movement, however, and the American Federation of Labor (AFL) was a federation. State and local affiliates, especially those in the most populous states, and non-AFL unions generally took a more favorable attitude, exerting pressure on the national organization to follow suit. So, too, did the growing number of Socialists and such radical labor groups as the Industrial Workers of the World. By 1915 there was a debate on the floor of the national AFL convention between the followers of Gompers and those of William Green of Ohio, who, as a state senator, had sponsored a variety of welfare measures. As a rule, organized labor favored government programs for women, children, and the unorganized, while preferring that unions rely primarily on collective bargaining. Pragmatically, unions supported government intervention where they were weak and opposed it where they were strong.

The third, and numerically largest, group in the pro-welfare coalition was the great mass of urban industrial workers who stood to benefit most by ameliorative legislation. Many had come from a European tradition where government, guilds, churches, and landlords had assumed some responsibility for the welfare of the less fortunate. Foreign-language newspapers, especially in the Far West, often bordered on socialism in their outlook. Most immigrants had also experienced firsthand the horrors of the sweatshop and the tenement and had survived them largely through the ministrations of priests, politicians, social workers, and fraternal societies.

"The evidence suggests," as Herbert Gutman pointed out, "that awareness of poverty did not await its discovery by sensitive members of the middle and upper classes." Unorganized economically, urban immigrants possessed considerable political leverage because political machines depended upon them for support. The most important steps in the adoption of welfare legislation generally came in such key industrial states as New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Illinois, and Massachusetts at a time when the representatives

Although the Knights of Labor had all but vanished by the early 1900s, workers' ideals and pride in their trade carried over into the Progressive Era. Note the tools held by these carpenters. *(Catholic University of America)*

of urban political machines were clearly in charge. In many cases, the more sophisticated elements in the business community sought to blunt the impact of welfare legislation by designing their own measures and forcing a compromise. The vast majority of small businesses, however, remained adamantly opposed. The interaction of these groups on behalf of welfare legislation fully justifies the conclusion of June Axinn and Herman Levin that "the reform activities of the Progressive Era were spearheaded by many groups, some working cooperatively as particular issues warranted cooperation, some working for individual aggrandizement, some working altruistically for the larger society."

Establishing the Labor Movement

The same three groups generally shared the most earnest desire for the recognition of organized labor, although the middle-class contingent was significantly smaller. Welfare measures involved a kind of paternalistic concern for the less fortunate; unions opened the possibility that the lower classes could achieve enough power to plot their own destiny. Still, many native middle-class reformers did battle for labor in the difficult days of its infancy. Social worker Graham Taylor judged unions "the most practical bond of brotherhood next to the Christian Church," while Jane Addams insisted that unions were "the first real lesson of self-government—for the union alone has appealed to their necessities." Settlement workers usually hired only union labor, provided strikers with food and shelter, organized mass support for strikers, and often joined picket lines themselves. "At Hull-House," Alice Hamilton confessed, "one got into the labor movement as a matter of course, without realizing how or when." All factions of labor were, by definition, in favor of union recognition.

The urban political machines and their predominantly working-class constituencies were again the most politically effective segment of the pro-labor coalition. Most urban machine spokesmen had working-class backgrounds themselves and many union

officials ran for the city council and state legislature with organization backing. Urban representatives who were attorneys often got their start as labor lawyers. The leadership and membership of the nation's unions were largely drawn from the same ethnic stocks as were the representatives and constituents of the political machine. By 1911, the New York Federation of Labor was heading its honor roll with Tammany Hall politicians, while Boston's ward bosses agreed that "any hint from organized labor was enough to cause an order requiring action." Together with sympathetic members of the old-stock middle class, machine politicians and organized labor sought to outlaw blacklists and yellow dog contracts, to provide for jury trials for violation of injunctions, to require companies to admit whether they were being struck when advertising for workers, to label convict-made goods, to use the union label in government-issued products, and, above all, to establish labor's right to organize, bargain collectively, and strike.

Business was generally opposed to such notions and resisted them ferociously, although the most sophisticated financial capitalists, recognizing that strikes interrupted profits, preferred cooptation to confrontation. The National Civic Federation generally had a more favorable attitude toward unionization, as opposed to the National Association of Manufacturers, which had greater support among businessmen. Farmers, as employers of labor, usually shared corporate antagonism toward labor organization.

A Revolution in Taxation

Tax reform alignments depended largely upon the specifics of each proposal. Generally speaking, all social groups sought to throw the major share of the burden onto someone else. There was, however, a fairly general consensus that the wealthy holders of stocks and bonds were not paying their fair share because the existing structure relied upon real estate and excise taxes and customs duties. Revelations that the rich avoided taxes, coupled with the rising cost of living and increased governmental expenditures, aroused most segments of society to demand tariff revision and income and inheritance taxes.

Under the general slogan of taxes based on "the ability to pay," many diverse groups agreed on the broad outlines of "reform," while differing on the specifics. The urban middle class paid most of the property tax, consumed the lion's share of goods, and demanded better public services. They had the expertise and the erudition to popularize the need for change through tax reform associations. Farm spokesmen saw great advantages in shifting the burden from tangible property to intangible. The urban working class was also eager for better social services and happy to tax the rich. Professional politicians were anxious to supplement their extralegal sources of revenue—kickbacks, protection money, and assessment of payrollers—with more lucrative and predictable means. "The parties' assessment of jobholders and political candidates, the political levies against corporations and certain criminal businesses on the basis of their ability to pay," C.K. Yearley has concluded, "in effect, have been formally incorporated into state income taxes or into a variety of special taxes."

On the state level, tax struggles often took on an urban-rural cast, as the cities sought to stop the flow of money to the state capitol and increase their ability to tap their own wealth. On the national level, southerners and westerners were motivated by sectional feelings against the Northeast, even though the southerners and westerners wanted a "tariff for revenue only" and the Northeast a more equitable system of protection. The opposition to these changes was centered primarily in the 3 percent of upper income receivers who benefited by continuation of the existing tax structure; their ability to postpone and emasculate the new one is evidence of their political influence. The rich were often successful in obfuscating the issues by appeals to sectionalism and states' rights, by stigmatizing tax reformers as radicals, and by introducing such divisive issues as federal taxation of state and municipal bonds. Nearly every influential business journal in the nation was against the federal income tax, and business spokesmen who appeared before Congress were almost unanimous in their denunciation of both the tax and the Underwood-Simmons tariff, which provided for the reinstitution of a federal income tax.

Trust-Busting or Business Regulation?

The regulation of business is much more difficult to unscramble. Virtually every politically active group in the nation favored some form of regulation. Agrarian demands even antedated the Grangers and the Populists, while small-town merchants and bankers had an equally important stake in controlling the activities of those on whom they were dependent for transportation, financing, and processing. The urban middle class also favored regulation as part of its demand for adequate transportation and communication facilities,

as well as its desire to break up the graft-ridden connection between franchise holders and political machines. The foreign-stock working class in the nation's largest cities also pressed for better products and services at lower rates. Even big business developed a yen for regulation, especially by the federal government, in order to rationalize the system, and to eliminate uncertainty, competition, and the threat of state regulation.

The federal regulatory legislation of the Woodrow Wilson years may have been heavily influenced by those views, but pressures from other segments of the economy produced important compromises. State and local regulatory reformers could hardly have desired to nationalize markets. All of these groups disagreed over whether public ownership, regulation, or trust-busting was the best solution, as well as over specific provisions. The importance of any one social segment to the regulatory coalition varied over time and place. Regulatory laws resulted from the interaction of several or all of these groups, with business often diluting the provisions and "capturing" whatever commissions were established, such as the Interstate Commerce and Federal Trade Commissions.

New Political Directions

Patterns of political reform coalitions are particularly difficult to discern because the measures being proposed did not all go in the same direction. Moreover, virtually everyone employed such reforms as "instruments of political warfare," hoping that new devices would help outmaneuver opponents. Many proposals designed to free cities from the domination of rural legislators provoked a fairly clear split between the metropolis and the countryside, but small-town business alliances often operated to defend the political status quo. These same social and business elites, joined by a large portion of the native middle class, consistently sponsored "structural reforms"—civil service, at-large and nonpartisan elections, city manager and commission forms of government—which were intended to vest political power in experts free from popular control.

Although couched in democratic rhetoric, these proposals sought to centralize the method of decision making, leaving out "undesirable elements" of the population. The rosters of the Civic Clubs, Voters Leagues, and Good Government Associations read like the city's social and financial registers. Their adherents generally believed that "a city is a business corporation," and aimed for a government that "gives us our money's worth." Referenda on structural reform issues almost always resulted in heavy support in upper-class areas and overwhelming opposition in working-class districts, with the middle-class neighborhoods holding the balance. The enactment of structural reforms usually altered the makeup of city councils, replacing lower- and lower middle-class aldermen with professionals and businessmen. Statewide, such measures generally received the added support of rural and small-town lawmakers.

Historians find it difficult to believe that the same groups that sponsored these structural measures could also have favored the period's celebrated democratic reforms, such as direct legislation, primaries, direct election of senators, reapportionment, and woman suffrage. Many elitists favored woman suffrage in order to enfranchise upper- and middle-class native white women as a further bulwark against lower-class power, but many of the most prominent opponents of woman suffrage feared the threat of working-class women. Many foreign-stock people were actively hostile toward woman suffrage on cultural grounds, but a large portion changed their position in time to support the Nineteenth Amendment, due partly to a moderation of position by the suffragists.

The other democratic reforms split the middle class into those who trusted in the ultimate good judgment of the lower classes—or in their own ability to channel it—and those who did not. The urban working class had a clear self-interest in joining this coalition, one that their political mentors were at first slow to recognize but then strongly advanced. Direct legislation and primaries required the gathering of signatures, and the urban machines were better equipped than anyone to do that. Pressed by precinct and block captains, their constituents could be turned out in greater numbers at primaries than could rural or independent voters. Direct election of senators enhanced the chance of electing urban candidates. Organized labor also generally supported democratic reform, calculating that it would augment the working-class voice in government. In the South, small farmer groups, such as the National Farmers Union, backed certain democratic reforms as a device against Bourbon rule but opposed others out of dislike of the city.

Cultural Conflicts

The alignment on cultural issues was primarily an ethnoreligious one. Protestant Americans, whether in the city or the countryside, were the main advocates of Prohibition, Sunday blue laws, immigration restric-

tion, and drives against gambling and prostitution. Protestantism had freed the slaves and animated the Social Gospel, but it contained a darker side. Faced with the challenge of industrialization, urbanization, and immigration, many native Protestant Americans responded with campaigns to improve individual morality rather than confront broader social issues. For them the saloon, the gambler, the prostitute, and the foreigner replaced the sweatshop, the tenement, the trust, and the political machine as symbols of evil. It was that same outlook that caused Madison Grant to see in the new immigrant and the black man a common threat to Anglo-Saxon hegemony, causing many northerners to sympathize with the South's solutions of segregation and disfranchisement. Prohibition was largely an anti-immigrant movement in the North and an anti-Negro one in the South. In Oklahoma and the West, it was often aimed at the "red man" as well. Immigration restriction and forced Americanization were sponsored by a coalition of social workers, educators, superpatriots, and businessmen.

The coalitions that consistently opposed these efforts were a combination of the most traditional and liberal elements in society. The newer immigrant stocks, working with urban machine politicians, formed the largest segment of the coalition; their newspapers were as one in their denunciations of threats to personal liberty. Southern blacks were disfranchised first—then segregated and "reformed," so that they were able to offer little or no resistance. Many business leaders stood with the ethnic minorities on these issues because they saw the drives at liquor, gambling, and prostitution as illegal confiscations of property, and viewed free immigration as a source of cheap labor. Other businessmen, however, were enamored of Prohibition on the grounds of industrial efficiency and of immigration restriction when there was a surplus of unskilled labor. At the other end of the political spectrum were those academics and professionals whom education and experience had turned into hedonists or cultural liberals, uprooting them from the moralistic moorings of their youth. Although the national AFL did not openly condemn Prohibition until 1919, only 12 of its 186 city labor councils, 5 of its 46 state federations and 19 of its 111 craft unions ever endorsed the idea.

The evidence of referenda and legislative roll calls on cultural issues during the Progressive Era clearly mirrored these cultural divisions. In nearly all cases, they featured the upper and lower classes of the cities and some cultural liberals against the urban middle class and the rural populace. In most cases, these alignments cut across the socioeconomic and political reform coalitions that had been building and were a major factor in curtailing their effectiveness. A 1911 Prohibition vote in the California Senate split the normal reform coalition asunder, throwing many urban–labor–immigrant reformers into alliance with acknowledged pro-business conservatives. The coalitions that defeated an anti-saloon ordinance in Boston the same year consisted of the Back Bay and the Irish, Italian, Jewish, and black wards, predominating over the middle-class sections of the city. In a Chicago referendum on Prohibition, nearly all of the city's immigrant groups voted more than 80 percent against the measure, with only native Protestants, Swedes, and some blacks showing any real support. The only congressmen willing to stand against the final votes on Prohibition and the literacy test for immigrants were those with heavily new-stock constituencies.

Constructing Reform Agendas

It was out of their position in these various coalitions that individuals and organizations developed their reform agendas. Many eventually evolved formal programs, combining stands on several of these issues, while others simply responded to questions as they arose, leaving still others to discern meaningful patterns. Those who espoused structural political reform as a defense against the urban masses often coupled that with a proclivity for legislated cultural conformity, strongly opposed organized labor, and were lukewarm, at best, toward welfare measures. Those for whom welfare measures were the most pressing order of business often favored the recognition of labor and democratic political proposals, while fiercely opposing cultural uplift. The possible combinations and permutations were numerous; the likelihood of deviation from the general position because of the peculiarities of a single proposal clearly increased the complexity. Measuring individual reformers and groups against their usual positions on the broad categories discussed above, however, holds out the best possibility for determining what kind of "progressive" they were and what implications that term really had.

Individual politicians, contending factions, and political parties were thus faced with the task of constructing programs that appealed to members of several reform coalitions. Political platforms are notorious for being all things to all men, but there are certain reasonable limits. Even in the extravagant rhetoric of reform that characterized the day, it was difficult to appeal consistently to the proponents of both structural and democratic political change, to

both the advocates and opponents of legislated conformity, to both the supporters and the antagonists of labor and welfare measures.

The successful candidate, faction, or party in any given locale had to develop a platform with enough internal consistency to appeal to the membership of several compatible reform coalitions. This orientation naturally served the needs of certain socioeconomic, ethnoreligious, and geographic segments better than others and allowed these groups, temporarily at least, to impose their worldview on the rest of society. Their very success, however, generally aroused those with different outlooks who intensified their political activity and constructed a competing coalition and program. Each party started with a hard core of voters committed to it through habit and ethnoreligious or sectional tradition; broadening its constituency by appealing to issue-oriented independents or party switchers ran the risk of alienating a segment of original partisans.

Municipal Reform Movements

Reformers entered the political arena on the municipal level during the 1870s; their descendants were still laboring there forty years later. Their numbers were legion; their backgrounds, motives, goals, programs, and results myriad—and frequently contradictory. Many pursued multiple avenues of reform and appealed to a variety of constituencies. Some reformers were elected officials, and others were appointed to administrative posts, but the majority exercised influence through organized lobbying and electioneering efforts.

A large number of affluent, respectable reformers sought to solve urban problems by restructuring municipal government through the adoption of a strong mayor–weak council, commission, and city manager forms. Many of the same people also backed significant alterations in the electoral system through at-large, nonpartisan elections held at a different time from state and national contests, the short and secret ballots, tighter voter registration requirements, and the disfranchisement of "ignorant" and "corrupt" lower-class voters. They and other like-minded people often spearheaded anti-vice crusades designed to eliminate or control gambling, drinking, prostitution, pornography, motion pictures, stage productions, professional athletics, and other forms of "lewd" entertainment and recreation. A growing number of municipal reformers embraced the burgeoning city planning and "city beautiful" movements, and sought to suppress omnipresent water, air, and noise pollution. Others concentrated on housing regulation, stringent public health measures, improved public education, playgrounds and other child-care innovations, and more effective police and fire protection. Nearly every city of any size during the period was energized by drives to regulate the service and rates of gas, electricity, water, transit, and other "public utilities." Reformers in a number of cities even seriously pushed for the municipal ownership of various utilities.

Not surprisingly, the results of more than four decades of agitation for municipal reform were inconsistent. Even where "reformers" were apparently successful, these triumphs were often compromised significantly by the give and take of the political process, the resiliency of their opponents, and the seemingly inevitable erosion of reformist zeal on the part of the general populace. Much of the reason for the mottled outcome of municipal reform during the era, however, lay with the fact that cities were literally "creatures of the state." Their ability to deal constructively with their own affairs was severely limited by charters issued by legislatures that were all too frequently dominated by indifferent or hostile rural lawmakers, in collaboration with the state's most powerful business interests. Restrictions on the city's taxing, borrowing, and regulatory authority severely curtailed reformist efforts.

By the last decade of the nineteenth century, municipal reformers increasingly recognized the need to involve themselves in state-level politics and to lobby state government for various forms of redress. Their insurgency coincided with similar movements by agrarian activists; the combination led to an exponential increase of demands on state governments and escalating pressures to revamp their structures and operations. As a result, the first two decades of the new century were characterized by an unprecedented flurry of reformist activity, with New York, New Jersey, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas, North Carolina, Washington, Oregon, and California gaining reputations as Progressive models and "laboratories of democracy." Except for the brief disruption by the Progressive Party in 1912—and for the activities of Socialist lawmakers in Wisconsin and a few other commonwealths—statewide battles between "Progressives" and their opponents were waged within the confines of the existing two-party system.

States as "Laboratories of Reform"

The most salient outcome of statewide Progressive reform was the tremendous expansion in the size, com-

plexity, scope, and cost of state government. Almost equally significant and widespread was the shift in emphasis from the "distribution" or "allocation" of divisible benefits to specific constituencies to more generalized functions of administration, regulation, and planning—and the consequent transfer of power from the legislative to the executive branch. In almost every state, government assumed a far greater share of responsibility for education, the conservation of natural resources, agriculture, the regulation of public utilities and other businesses, and the licensing of professionals, to name only the most obvious.

Many state governments also began to assume some responsibility for the welfare of some of their citizens by enacting workmen's compensation, industrial health and safety laws, housing codes, public health measures, mothers' pensions, wages and hours legislation, and standards for child and female labor. Although most of these efforts were inadequate to the need, they did establish important precedents that would be built upon at a later date. Many states also pioneered a "revolution in taxation" by shifting at least some of the burden from real estate and excise levies to income and inheritance taxes, in an effort both to provide revenue adequate to their expanded size and functions and to promote "tax equity." A large number also experimented with "drastic" changes in their political systems by adopting such innovations as woman suffrage, direct primaries, the popular election of United States senators, the Australian ballot, nonpartisan local elections, and initiative, referendum, and recall.

While "Progressives" almost universally proclaimed the democratizing inclination of such reforms, some saw them as devices for shifting political power upward—from the "ignorant," "corrupt" lower classes to more affluent, respectable citizens. Some "reformers"—principally, though not exclusively, in southern states—openly promoted the disfranchisement of African Americans, immigrants, and other "undesirables" through literacy tests, poll taxes, and restrictive voter registration laws. Whether or not they were intentionally designed to do so, the net result of the drive to make the political system more inclusive, accessible, and responsive was a precipitate drop in voter participation—especially among the lower social orders—that has continued down to the present day.

The National Arena

In most states, the Progressive Era reached its zenith between 1910 and 1914, about the same time that it peaked on the national level. Historians have traditionally begun discussions of the Progressive Era there with the elevation of Theodore Roosevelt to the presidency in 1901. Actually, Roosevelt dabbled in Progressive politics at all three levels of government, having served as police commissioner and reform mayoral candidate in New York City and as governor of New York State before being elected vice president in 1900. As president, he railed at the "malefactors of great wealth," promised a "square deal," cultivated his image as a "trust-buster," mandated arbitration in labor disputes, strengthened the Interstate Commerce Commission, helped enact the Pure Food and Drug Act, and set aside millions of acres of federal land for national parks.

Although he gave rhetorical support to tariff reduction, child labor legislation, and federal income and inheritance taxes, Roosevelt failed to follow through. Probably his greatest contribution to the cause of Progressive reform was his use of the presidency as a "bully pulpit" from which to make respectable measures formerly associated with Socialists, Populists, and other "radicals." As Roosevelt himself told a group of business leaders, his aim was to help "radicalism prosper under conservative leadership," so that "the progressive people will not part company with the bulk of the moderates."

Eschewing certain reelection in 1908, Roosevelt engineered the nomination of his friend William Howard Taft, who swept to an easy victory in the presidential race. More fundamentally conservative than Roosevelt—and far less politically astute—Taft had the misfortune of taking office at the precise moment when the long-simmering conflict between Progressive and "stalwart" Republicans was about to erupt into open warfare. The former, in the person of midwestern and western "Insurgents," challenged the eastern, business-oriented "Standpatters" on tariff reform, the enactment of an income tax, conservation of natural resources, and curtailing the power of the Speaker of the House of Representatives. When Taft sided with his party's eastern establishment on all of those issues, the Insurgents, led by Senator Robert M. La Follette Sr. of Wisconsin, formed the National Progressive Republican League in 1911, with an eye toward nominating a Progressive Republican for president the following year. With Taft clearly vulnerable and Roosevelt thoroughly disgusted with the performance of his hand-picked successor, the stage was set for Roosevelt to challenge for his party's nomination. When he failed to achieve that goal at the Republican Convention, Roosevelt bolted and orga-

As both governor and senator, Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin advocated progressive reforms, such as primary elections, railroad regulation, and direct election of senators. Although he failed to get the Progressive Party's nomination for president in 1912, he won it in 1924 and captured almost 5 million votes. *(Images of American Political History)*

nized the Progressive Party, with himself as its presidential candidate. As one stalwart cynic observed, the only question left to be answered for the Republicans was "which corpse gets the most flowers."

The 1912 election was one of the most titanic in American history, and one in which the three "Progressive" candidates—Roosevelt, Democrat Woodrow Wilson, and Socialist Eugene Debs—garnered 77 percent of the popular vote and 523 out of a possible 531 electoral votes. The election supposedly turned primarily on the choice between two brands of Progressivism—Roosevelt's New Nationalism and Wilson's New Freedom—although the differences proved to be more rhetorical than substantive. The former president of Princeton University who had cultivated a reputation for Progressive reform as governor of New Jersey, Wilson was blessed—thanks to the Progressive–Republican split—with working majorities in both houses of Congress.

Directing the Democratic caucus with a firm hand, the first Wilson administration enacted an impressive array of "Progressive" legislation, including the Federal Reserve Act, the Federal Trade Commission, a federal income tax law, significant tariff reduction, the Federal Farm Loan Act, the Clayton Anti-Trust Act, the Keating-Owen Child Labor Act, the La Follette Seamen's Act, and the Adamson Act for railroad workers. Although few realized it at the time, Wilson's narrow reelection victory in 1916 proved to be the denouement of the Progressive Era nationally. Although his second administration produced the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Amendments, the energy that had sustained reformist efforts for over a quarter century was largely dissipated or displaced. In an almost complete reversal from the election of 1912, conservative Republican candidate Warren G. Harding—who promised to return the country to "normalcy"—received over 60 percent of the popular vote and three-fourths of the electoral vote.

Disintegration and Decline

It was the fragile and transitory nature of coalition politics and the difficulty of sustaining a cooperative mood among different social groups that ultimately brought an end to the Progressive Era. Although they staked out broad areas of agreement and frequently cooperated on concrete reforms, any more permanent alliance between the old-stock, Protestant middle class and the new-stock, non-Protestant lower classes was foreclosed by a fatal inner tension. Distrust arose fundamentally because the middle-class reformers were engaged in uplifting others while the lower classes were concerned with self-improvement. The middle class held up its values and lifestyles as models to be emulated, while the lower classes wished to be highly selective about what they adopted. The exact date of the rupture varied from place to place; in several states, reformist momentum was spent as early as 1914.

Elsewhere, disintegration was triggered by World War I. The issue of American participation in the war drove deep fissures into the ranks of those who had cooperated on other issues. Even among middle-class social reformers there were some who continued to protest the war, while others gave their enthusiastic support. The antiwar Germans, Irish, and Scandinavians clashed sharply with the pro-war Poles, Czechs, and Slavs. Moreover, Wilson made the fatal, though understandable, mistake of couching the war in the rhetoric of Progressivism. When it failed to produce a safer or more just world, the result cast doubt upon domestic reform as well. "By pinning America's role in the war so exclusively to high moral considerations

and to altruism and self-sacrifice," Richard Hofstadter insisted, "by linking the foreign crusade as intimately as possible to the Progressive values and the Progressive language, he was unintentionally insuring that the reaction against Progressivism and moral idealism would be as intense as it was."

The greatest disillusionment came among the professionals and intellectuals who shared Wilson's aspirations. Shocked by the horrors of war and the failures of the peace conference, many of them took refuge in elitism and campaigns for personal betterment. For many, the war unleashed an irrational fear of radicalism and social protest. The atmosphere that had made the muckrakers' attacks seem so exhilarating disappeared under the watchful eye of the Committee on Public Information and the Red Scare. The Wilson administration's shoddy record on civil liberties disaffected the major libertarian organizations, further disintegrating the coalition that had upheld the New Freedom. It also alienated untold numbers of ethnic minorities who had traditionally supported the Democratic Party, laying the groundwork for the electoral disasters of 1920 and 1924.

More comfortable Americans also developed a growing fear of the potential economic and political power of the urban working class. Even those middle-class reformers who had backed labor and welfare measures earlier harbored doubts about the goals of the labor movement. Settlement workers wanted social justice for the working class, but not at the expense of the violence and disturbance of the peace that often accompanied strikes. "It is only occasionally that I get a glimpse of the chivalry of labor," Jane Addams remarked to a friend; "so much of the time it seems so sordid."

The rash of strikes that followed the end of the war frightened all but the most diehard middle-class supporters of unions. "Everywhere," a contemporary student of the Wilson administration's labor policies noted in 1920, "labor representatives are presenting new and greater demands and many defenders of the status quo fear the unleashing of disintegrating forces." The government's National Industrial Conference to promote business–labor cooperation in 1919 broke up in mutual animosity over compulsory arbitration, the prohibition of strikes, and other issues. Agrarian reformers grew similarly fearful, with some charging that "farmers are suffering more now from the leaders of labor than from the leaders of industry or finance." Many middle-class reformers also grew uneasy as the lower classes pressed for more sweeping welfare measures, such as health and unemployment insurance.

Mostly, though, coalition politics perished on the shoals of cultural reform. As urban and rural old-stock Protestants devoted more attention to legislated morality, the gap between them and the new-stock working class grew greater. The reform coalitions eventually conceded to the issues of Prohibition, immigration restriction, and Sunday blue laws: The National Conference of Social Work endorsed Prohibition by 1917, hailing it as the ultimate solution to poverty, prostitution, crime, and industrial inefficiency. When Congress passed the literacy test over Wilson's veto in 1917, not even the Immigrants' Protective League raised much protest. The foreign-stock working class was forced into a necessary alliance with business-oriented conservatives who opposed Prohibition and immigration restriction on economic grounds. Prohibition helped destroy previously effective reform coalitions in Kansas, California, and Colorado, while immigration restriction and Americanization became increasingly attractive to many native middle-class reformers. Many made the journey from reformers to militant Americanizers and spokesmen for the "welfare capitalism." Some new-stock reformers became so distrustful of government intervention into their lives that they even temporarily lost their enthusiasm for welfare measures and opposed the national child labor amendment and federal aid to education. These cultural issues destroyed the socioeconomic and political coalitions that had been so carefully constructed in earlier years.

The Legacy of Progressive Reform Movements

The Progressive Era was a seminal period in its attempts to cope with the implications of living in an urban, industrial, multicultural society. Would-be reformers from many walks of life advanced solutions to the nation's problems that—first and foremost—served the particularistic needs of the members of that movement. Although many sought redress through private action, nearly all eventually turned to political action. This widespread consensus that the state should actively promote social justice clearly marked the period off from earlier ones and established a precedent for future reformers. Under the pressures of political necessity, reform movements of all sorts were forced to compromise, coalesce, and cooperate to achieve positive legislative results. By this process they established a framework in which profound

social change in a pluralistic society could be assimilated.

The very nature of that process has undoubtedly inhibited the nation's response to modernization down to the present day, by placing a premium on compromise, conciliation, and consensus. It has necessitated an emphasis on "incremental adjustments" rather than sweeping or comprehensive change, generating politicians "who learn to deal gently with opponents, who struggle endlessly in building and holding coalitions together, who doubt the possibilities of great change, who seek compromises." Whether a nation as large and diverse as the United States could have responded to the massive social transformations of the late nineteenth century in any more radical manner without major alterations in its political system is certainly open to serious question. Whether any more fundamental alterations were possible in a society so socially and culturally fragmented—lacking a genuine national identity and culture—is even more questionable. It is that process—rather than any specific reform measures—that constitutes the most important legacy of the Progressive Era.

John D. Buenker

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Eugenics Movement

The American eugenics movement, along with its counterparts in European as well as Asian nations, sought to engineer a "better" population through the science of human heredity. Eugenicists correlated biology with social fate: they assumed that a hierarchy of ethnic groups existed and that mental, physical, and behavioral characteristics were primarily hereditary, rather than environmental, in cause. Fearful that the "quality" of the population was declining because the genetically "unfit" were having more children than the "fit," the movement's advocates encouraged procreation among the fit (positive eugenics) and discouraged procreation, sometimes forcefully, among the unfit (negative eugenics).

American eugenicists did gradually come to realize that individuals with "good" traits were spread throughout society, but they predominantly focused on the group, not the individual, and their definitions of quality were determined by the norms of their upper-class society. "Fit," in other words, was largely a corollary for the fair-skinned middle and upper classes.

The movement was never popular among the larger public, though its central idea—the concern with differential fertility among ethnicities and social classes—was at least casually supported by many educated, white Americans. The organized movement declined in the 1930s, despite efforts to tame its doctrine to allow a role for nurture as well as nature, and was then nearly killed off by the public's recognition of the links between Nazism and eugenics. A sanitized eugenic ideology lingered into the postwar United States, and the revolution in human genetics revived eugenic goals of manipulating the population that still echo today, but the American eugenics movement must ultimately be labeled a failure.

Historical Roots

Charles Darwin's theory of evolution was the intellectual cornerstone of the trans-Atlantic eugenics movement. In *The Origins of the Species* (1859), Darwin argued that species evolve through "natural selection," a "struggle for existence" in which reproductive success is determined by heritable differences. Eugenics was born in 1860s England when Sir Francis Galton, a cousin of Darwin concerned with the declining birth rate of the upper classes, applied statistical methods to the study of heredity to create what he hoped would become a new secular religion of scientific breeding. (He later coined the term "eugenics" from the Greek word for "good in birth.") Eugenic thought grew in the last third of the nineteenth century with Social Darwinism, the intellectual movement that sought to apply Darwin's model of natural selection to human society.

Eugenics and Social Darwinism shared a basic evolutionary outlook. Yet while Social Darwinists argued that society should not interfere with the struggle among social groups, eugenicists hoped to "speed up" and improve upon natural selection by influencing who gave birth. Unimpeded natural selection implied chaotic breeding followed by destruction, but eugenics promised to bring into the world only superior individuals. "If farmers could breed better plants," Galton wondered, "Could not the race of men be similarly improved? Could not the undesirables be got rid of and the desirables multiplied?" His *Hereditary Genius: An Inquiry into Its Laws and Consequences* (1869) argued that the superior came from only a few families and previewed his Law of Ancestral Heredity, which held that characteristics (ranging from eye color to intelligence) were inherited in an orderly, linear fashion. Karl Pearson, Galton's principal successor, preferred science to action, but the two jointly advanced and promoted the infant science of "biometrics," the statistical study of human characteristics and inheritance.

Galton and Pearson's work and prescriptions gained a smattering of acceptance among American scientists and philanthropists, but two major precon-

ditions were required before eugenic thought would gain momentum during the first decade of the twentieth century. The first was the development of a new evolutionary paradigm, which, unlike Darwin's theory of natural selection, greatly privileged heredity over environment and hence forged a temporary alliance between science and eugenics. The triumph of hereditarianism was a multistep process. Galton's theories of inheritability had actually been out of step with the ruling theory of evolution in the late nineteenth century neo-Lamarckism, which held that evolution involved the adaptation of organisms to their environment and that characteristics acquired during the lifetime of an organism could be passed on.

By insisting on the biological transmission of acquired characteristics, neo-Lamarckism blurred the distinction between heredity and environment and laid the groundwork for the triumph of heredity. The next major development in the theory of evolution, the German scientist August Weismann's overturning of neo-Lamarckism in the 1880s and 1890s, continued the trend toward hereditarianism. Weismann's germ plasm theory divided the body into germ cells, which transmitted hereditary information, and somatic cells, which did not. His work thus suggested that many traits were not inherited, but his discovery that changes accumulated during the lifetime of an individual organism were not passed on to the germ cells of the next generation was taken by many as endorsement of the ultra-hereditarian position.

Finally, around the turn of the twentieth century, American and European scientists rediscovered the forty-year-old experiments with the breeding of peas by Gregor Mendel, an Austrian monk. Mendel had identified dominant and recessive genes (what he called "unit characters") and argued that traits either appeared or did not appear; and the new Mendelians demonstrated that some human traits (e.g., color-blindness) indeed worked according to Mendel's binary model. They forged a consensus that the mechanism of evolution was mutation rather than natural selection, or the ability of organisms to pass on acquired characteristics. American eugenicists not trained as biologists may not have understood the finer points of Mendel's work—indeed, his theories allowed for a complex relationship between environment and heredity—but they seized on the notion that traits could be reduced to a single gene. For the first third of the twentieth century, American eugenicists would largely ignore advances in genetics in favor of a biological determinism that explained nearly all human actions and characteristics in terms of simple Mendelian unit characters—and which therefore held that only biological manipulation, not environmental reforms, could enhance the "quality" of the population.

Race, Ethnicity, and Eugenics

The second precondition was the tumultuous transformation of American society in the years surrounding the turn of the century—and the perception that deficiencies in groups rather than individuals accounted for many social ills. American eugenic ideology was shaped by concerns surrounding race, gender, and class; and the rise of mass immigration, urbanization, and industrialization reinforced anxieties in each of these three areas. The science of identifying "races" (which claimed the superiority of the "white race") had been popularized in the years following Darwin and reinforced traditional American racism. Confronted with a falling birthrate among native-born, "white," middle-class Americans (the result, many argued, of the selfish attitudes of the city-dwelling "New Woman") and higher birthrates among the newer immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, many elite individuals, including Theodore Roosevelt, warned of a pending "race suicide." In a society with increasing ethnic and economic divisions, eugenics also provided members of the upper classes a biological justification of their status. It was a social ideology with (supposed) scientific support.

Eugenics was also a multidisciplinary enterprise. The natural sciences led the way—a committee of the American Breeding Association became the first eugenics organization in the nation—but scholars in several fields contributed to the vogue. Eugenic explanations appealed to some psychologists and psychiatrists seeking to find the roots of deviance. For example, the psychologist Henry Goddard, who ran a school for the "feebleminded" in New Jersey, published a flawed but influential study of the offspring of one man called *The Kallikak Family: A Study in the Heredity of Feeble-Mindedness* (1912). It assumed that mental capacity was a single genetic trait, and it purported to show how the nation could be swamped with degenerates and "morons" (he coined the term) within a few generations. Eugenic research institutions grew as well.

The leading early American eugenicist was the biologist Charles B. Davenport, who with support from the Carnegie Institution founded a research station in 1904 at Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island. In 1910, the Harriman railroad fortune bankrolled the creation of

the nearby Eugenics Record Office, which served as a clearinghouse for genetic information via the thousands of family-trait histories mailed to it. Still, one must be careful not to exaggerate the reach of the eugenics movement. Without contemporary polling data, the exact amount of support for the movement in any segment of society cannot be precisely gauged, but it is safe to assume that, although only a small minority of American natural and social scientists was in vocal opposition, an even smaller minority was in active support. Most professionals were either indifferent or bound by a code of professional ethics not to criticize colleagues. And many geneticists shied away from the eugenic debate because eugenic organizations were a source of grant money.

American Eugenics Society

Hereditary organizations, with membership based on genealogical purity, had existed since the late nineteenth century, and now more explicitly eugenic societies sprang up in dozens of cities. The first incarnation of the national American Eugenics Society was founded in 1910. Membership never exceeded 1,200—a small number by any measure—but its membership of elite businesspeople, social activists, philanthropists, and scientists did afford it, for a time, a modest amount more influence than its size suggested.

Among the movement's first generation of leaders was David Starr Jordan, the first president of Stanford University, and luminaries such as John D. Rockefeller Jr. and George Eastman provided financial aid. Eugenic groups sought to make the public "eugenic-minded" by sponsoring "fittest family" contests at state fairs, successfully lobbying for the addition of eugenics into college curriculums, canvassing the lecture circuit, and participating in international eugenic conferences. World War I also buttressed the movement. Concerns with the quality of the population grew when childless youth in their prime went to fight; and eugenicists, including Goddard, aided the army in developing intelligence tests for soldiers, the results of which further reinforced the eugenic belief in the dominance of nature and the inferiority of nonwhites.

The Movement's Diverse Strands

The majority of Americans had little knowledge of the eugenics movement, though many nonwhites knew that it constituted a threat. For a time many elite Americans did consider eugenics a reputable, if somewhat odd, reform movement, in large measure because the movement's unifying ideas of evaluating social problems in biological terms and reforming society by modernizing procreation were malleable enough to attract support from a variety of constituents. The outlook of eugenicists ranged from the utopian to the reactionary.

Radicals did not generally support the movement because of its early insistence that women adhere to traditional roles of childbirth and mothering (that is, serve as "race mothers"). However, some did find common ground in the movement's lack of religiosity and in its assertion that unregulated capitalism made the cost of children prohibitive to the middle classes and hence damaged the gene pool. Whereas mainstream eugenicists before the 1930s tended to be anti–birth control, advocates for legalized contraception, including Margaret Sanger, used the eugenic argument that spreading access to birth control to the lower classes would improve the quality of the population.

Eugenics was also popular in the conservative, racist wing of the Progressive movement, the umbrella term for the diverse efforts to tame industrial capitalism in early twentieth-century America. Progressives and eugenics overlapped in their calls for the scientific management of society, their desire for efficiency (eugenics would reduce the taxpayers' bill of caring for the poor and disabled), and their belief that individual decisions (e.g. childbearing) should be subordinated to the needs of the greater society. Finally, racist conservatives such as Madison Grant, author of the influential *The Passing of the Great Race; or, The Racial Basis of European History* (1916), hoped above all that eugenic measures would preserve America as a "Nordic" nation. Despite the diversity of political opinion, the vast majority of eugenicists were middle- to upper-class European-American Protestants who tended to equate "good traits" with those of their dominant group.

Target Populations

Beyond increasing societal concern with the "quality" of the population, the American eugenics movement achieved specific success in two major policy areas: sterilization and immigration restriction. Most eugenicists believed in the basic preservation of voluntary decisions surrounding marriage and childbirth and hence merely urged people to think eugenically. Even the most fervent realized that revolutionary selective-breeding policies, for example, requiring a license to give birth, were unlikely to emerge. However, in the case of those they deemed severely disabled or "fee-

On March 10, 2000, Sarah Jane Wiley stands in the operating room in which she was sterilized forty-one years earlier in the Virginia Colony for the Epileptic and Feebleminded in Lynchburg. Wiley and her brother were among the thousands of Americans sterilized without their consent in the name of eugenics. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

bleminded," which they considered a genetic trait, they sought to actively prevent procreation through involuntary sterilization. As a result of eugenicists' lobbying as well as a broad societal consensus, between 1907 and World War II more than half the states enacted laws permitting the involuntary sterilization of the "feebleminded."

The targets of sterilization were generally the mentally ill, but "feeblemindedness" was a flexible category; thus, sexual promiscuity and other forms of "immorality" were often grounds for sterilization. The belief in the biological origins of social behavior sometimes made criminals targets, too. The vast majority of those sterilized were poor, and in at least one state (Virginia) nearly half were African American. In *Buck v. Bell* (1927), the U.S. Supreme Court upheld Virginia's sterilization law, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes declaring, "three generations of imbeciles are enough." Separately, the eugenics movement contributed to passage of the 1924 Johnson-Reed Act, which adopted racial quotas for immigrants that largely closed America's borders. The Congressional Dillingham Commission on Immigration, which reported in 1910–1911, used eugenic research to report that immigrants were less intelligent than the native-born, and Harry H. Laughlin, Davenport's assistant at Cold Spring Harbor, made similar arguments while serving as "Expert Eugenical Agent" to Congress in the early 1920s.

Opposition and the Movement's Decline

Criticism of the movement widened in the 1920s and into the 1930s as the temporary triumph of nature over nurture crumbled on many fronts. The vast ma-

jority of a new generation of geneticists, led by Herbert Jennings, rejected the movement's spurious biology—its simple, like-produces-like model of inheritance as well as the racism embedded in eugenic research. They noted that given the nature of recessive genes, meaningfully reducing the occurrence of any physical or mental deficiency (even the few that could be definitively identified as solely genetic in cause) would take hundreds of years.

Further developments in population genetics in the late 1930s and 1940s, particularly recognition that a species displayed a range of characteristics, cemented the break between eugenics and science. In addition, the fields of anthropology and psychology, which had adopted the stress on nurture in the early twentieth century, turned toward an environmentalist approach and further eroded acceptance of biological determinism. The major foundations eliminated their support for eugenic projects, and, in 1935, the American Neurological Association issued a report rejecting the genetic rationale for sterilizations. Religious groups stepped up their campaign against the assumption that some individuals were superior to others. As the 1930s progressed and a better understanding of the Nazi regime emerged, American eugenicists' links to the regime (indeed, parts of the 1933 Nazi eugenic law were modeled after California's sterilization law) significantly tarnished public opinion of the movement. Eugenics had become both a flawed moral endeavor and a stigmatized science.

In response to declining institutional strength and legitimacy, the eugenics movement tried to save itself in the 1930s by softening its rhetoric. Leadership shifted to a loose coalition of "reform" eugenicists, led by Frederick Osborn, a retired financier who broke with his uncle, a paleontologist at the New York Museum of Natural History and virulently racist eugenicist. Reform eugenicists maintained the desire to use the science of heredity to improve the quality of the population, but they at least claimed to recognize a role for nurture as well as nature and to emphasize differences among individuals rather than between groups. Rejecting many eugenicists' earlier preference for pure science over propaganda, they also articulated lofty social reform goals.

Osborn believed that the goal of the eugenics movement was to maintain a sufficient quantity of men of sufficient quality as a means of improving civilization. Women were still expected to perform traditional roles, but support for birth control and the right to sexual satisfaction grew. (Indeed, eugenicists now assured leery doctors that sterilizations were not "unsexing.") In short, the movement now tried to create a democratic eugenics far removed from totalitarian racial science.

The reform-eugenic project transformed and simultaneously ensured the survival of the core concerns of the movement, but it was ultimately both a hollow intellectual endeavor and ineffectual in influencing social policy. Eugenicists had blended into the maturing American demography profession, which thus declared its intentions to research both the qualitative and empirical components of the population even as it strove to remove the taint of eugenics from population science. When in the 1930s eugenic-demographers and other social scientists instigated an unsuccessful campaign for a comprehensive American "population policy," the concern with quality remained alongside the concern with quantity (demographers now falsely predicted a future decline in the aggregate population) and the concern with the geographical imbalance between people and industry.

Many planks of the ideal population policy, such as improved public health and a downward redistribution of income through tax and spending measures, were nearly indistinguishable from other New Deal–inspired blueprints for social reform. "Quality" no longer connoted the germ pool so much as the health and welfare of the population. Still, the drive for population policy was very much a positive-eugenics campaign. The hope was that equalizing environmental conditions would make children more affordable for the "better" families in the middle classes. In addition, although there was a new recognition of the effect of social inequalities on "quality"—some even stressed that economic redistribution would prove that the genetically superior could be found in all socioeconomic groups—many eugenicists remained unable to shed the idea that class and ethnicity were reasonably accurate predictors of biological quality. Finally, while eugenicists publicly emphasized the campaign to extol the virtues of motherhood and large families, negative eugenics actually thrived. About 9,000 Americans had been sterilized between 1907 and 1928; by 1941, the number had reached 36,000.

Survival of Eugenics

Full revelation of the horrors of Nazism discredited eugenics in postwar America. Sterilizations sharply decreased, and the organized movement dwindled to almost nothing, despite its promise to seek improve-

ment of only the human race as a whole. Nonetheless, eugenic ideas did not disappear in postwar America. Concerns with the quality of the population were embedded in the 1950s vogue for family values and child rearing; and eugenicists from the 1930s reemerged as leading figures in the marriage counseling movement. A eugenic discourse of quality was also present in the development of family-planning programs in the Third World designed to address the population explosion.

Although the field of human genetics made every effort to separate itself from its eugenic heritage, the discovery of DNA, better identification of genetic disorders, and the concomitant promise of "genetic engineering" through prenatal screening and later artificial insemination also fostered a revival of eugenic goals. Herman Muller, a geneticist who had advocated a socialist eugenics in the 1930s, led the new movement for "germinal choice"—artificial insemination after freezing the sperm for a long period of time so that the quality of the donor could be properly measured. After his death in 1967, a sperm bank with his name was established that initially accepted only the sperm of Nobel laureates. Finally, the "white backlash" that emerged in the late 1960s in response to the civil rights movement and the rise of Affirmative Action also permitted a brief revival of neo-eugenic ideas in educated circles. Most famously, a 1969 *Harvard Educational Review* article by Arthur Jensen suggested that genetic differences were perhaps a contributing factor in the gap between African-American and white test scores.

Yet social critics and historians have perhaps been too eager to find the contemporary "legacy" or "survival" of the eugenics movement. The germinal choice movement was inconsequential, and the current fear over the cloning of humans seems to indicate that serious efforts at eugenic reproduction are highly unlikely. True, many Americans continue to fear that certain groups will have more babies than others; and some social scientists occasionally resort to crude biological determinism. For example, the widely debated and refuted book *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life* (1994) by Herrnstein and Murray argued that success in America is largely determined by supposed innate differences in intelligence among social classes and ethnicities. In addition to using spurious research funded by racist organizations, the book contained several methodological errors, including falsely assuming that intelligence is reducible to a single number and is unresponsive to environmental shifts. Still, garden-variety American racism preceded the eugenics movement, and the continued strength of racism should not be seen as evidence of the residual strength of the eugenics movement. Even during the movement's heyday in the early twentieth century, eugenic ideas were just one element of a larger concern with social, mental, and racial hygiene, and by the third decade of the twentieth century they were already in decline.

Today eugenics is important not as an ideology or as a movement but as a weapon—a tool to stigmatize certain groups and ideas that, according to their critics, have overreached in their pursuit of manipulating the population. For example, advocates of stringent birth control measures (such as paying young women not to have children) have been called eugenic by minority groups. To be sure, echoes of eugenics can be found in several social policy debates, such as those related to social benefits. (The image of the "welfare mom" incorporated fears that the poor were outbreeding the nonpoor.) Eugenic ideas, grounded in traditional bias and tantalized by the coming mastery of the human genome (misunderstood by many as the promise of once again discovering single genes that account for complex traits), seem unlikely to fade away entirely. However, given America's almost universal acceptance of at least formal racial equality, the rise of individual civil liberties, and widespread fears of genetic experimentation, a new eugenics movement seems unlikely.

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Alcoholics Anonymous

Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) is a voluntary, mutual-help movement comprised of recovering alcoholics devoted to aiding still suffering alcoholics overcome alcohol addiction. Since its formation in 1935, few organizations, public or private, have rivaled AA's impact on prevailing conceptions of alcoholism and addiction treatment. During its history, AA has grown from a fledgling movement of 100 to 1 million members in the United States and over 2 million members worldwide. With its success in helping alcoholics, AA's conception of alcoholism and addiction treatment has become the predominant model of professional treatment in the United States. As early as 1939, AA members were actively aiding hospitals in the treatment of alcoholics. By 1957, AA members were present in over 250 hospitals nationwide. Today, there are few treatment programs that do not treat alcoholism as a disease and employ some part, if not all, of AA's Twelve Step practices in their treatment program. Besides alcoholism treatment, the Twelve Step approach to life change has been adopted by numerous mutual-help groups to address problems ranging from gambling and sex to overeating and emotions. Underlying each of these movements is a practice of mutual help where members help themselves recover by helping others do the same.

Despite its widely recognized impact on conceptions of alcohol addiction and treatment, AA is not often considered as a social movement because it defies ordinary divisions, classifications, and distinctions within social movement theory. In part, the classificatory difficulties are created by AA's self-described relation to wider social practices. Unlike social movements that explicitly or implicitly identify their aims with socioeconomic or political change, AA recognizes only one purpose for its membership: to aid other alcoholics in abstinence. Some scholars classify AA as a self-help movement to highlight the fact that members seek help for addiction problems that they believe cannot be cured through existing social institutions. According to this view, members seek help from others with similar difficulties rather than professionals who specialize in aiding them. Other scholars classify AA as a mutual-help movement to stress the ways that members cooperatively aid one another and engage in a practice of helping themselves through helping others. Each of these classifications adds a dimension to understanding AA as a social movement, but difficulties remain. Since official AA literature endorses strict rules of nonaffiliation, organizational autonomy, and the singular purpose of helping alcoholics, there is little explicit clarification of AA's social aims in its official self-descriptions.

The most substantial effort to understand AA as a social movement is Robin Room's article entitled "Alcoholics Anonymous as a Social Movement," which suggests that AA is a mutual-help movement aimed at personal rather than social transformation. Drawing on AA's organizational principles, commonly known by members as the Twelve Traditions, Room interprets AA as a social movement by focusing on AA's self-described organizational structure and complex pattern of relating to wider social practices. Unlike the Twelve Steps that guide members in overcoming their addiction to alcohol, the Twelve Traditions guide AA groups on internal policies and external relations. For example, AA promotes an open membership policy as expressed in tradition three, which states that "the only requirement for AA membership is a desire to stop drinking." Membership requirements in the traditions correlate with AA's primary mission to help suffering alcoholics. In addition to open membership policies, AA traditions also stress the primacy of group independence and financial self-sufficiency, prohibitions against external affiliations or property ownership, and external anonymity. Each of the aforementioned policies is a distinctive feature of AA and provides a helpful lens by

TWELVE STEPS

1. We admitted we were powerless over alcohol—that our lives had become unmanageable.
2. Came to believe that a Power greater than ourselves could restore us to sanity.
3. Made a decision to turn our will and our lives over to the care of God as we understood Him.
4. Made a searching and fearless moral inventory of ourselves.
5. Admitted to God, to ourselves and to another human being the exact nature of our wrongs.
6. Were entirely ready to have God remove all these defects of character.
7. Humbly asked Him to remove our shortcomings.
8. Made a list of all persons we had harmed, and became willing to make amends to them all.
9. Made direct amends to such people wherever possible, except when to do so would injure them or others.
10. Continued to take personal inventory and when we were wrong promptly admitted it.
11. Sought through prayer and meditation to improve our conscious contact with God as we understood Him, praying only for knowledge of His will for us and the power to carry that out.
12. Having had a spiritual awakening as the result of these steps, we tried to carry this message to alcoholics and to practice these principles in all our affairs.

Source: Alcoholics Anonymous. 4th ed. (Alcoholics Anonymous World Services, 2000).

which to understand AA's relation to wider social norms. For instance, early AA members realized the importance of anonymity for individual members and AA as an organization. Thus, in press reports, members went by first name and last initial in their self-identifications. In film, members covered their faces with a mask or some other way to conceal their identities. Early experiences taught members that anonymity secured the trust of new recruits, insured member confidentiality and avoided the negative impact of members who might fall off the wagon and damage the AA name.

Analysis of the traditions reveals much about AA as a social movement, but Room's approach leaves a crucial tension between AA's helping-others practices and its organizational principles unexplored. Although it is true that the Twelve Traditions are a barometer for assessing AA's internal policies and its relationship to wider networks, focusing on the Twelve Traditions misses fundamental points of contact between central AA practices and wider social practices. Most notably, a central feature of AA membership is the practice of helping-others or what is referred to as "Twelve Step work." Practices aimed at helping-others often include hospital visits to alcoholics in rehabilitation clinics, meetings at prisons or detoxification centers, and promoting the abstinence practices of AA. Attempts to understand AA as a social movement apart from this "Twelve Step work," obscures the significant degree of interaction between AA members and wider social practices and networks of alcohol treatment activities. By limiting his analysis to the traditions, fundamental practices and sources of AA's development and character as a movement are minimized.

Context of AA's Beginnings

Pre-AA Treatment for Alcoholics

Pre-AA approaches to aiding alcoholics vary widely over the 220-year history of helping alcoholics in the United States. Undoubtedly, a careful study would elaborate the varying conceptions of alcoholism and sources, whether moral, religious, or medical, that contributed to these conceptions. Although aid to alcoholics has taken different guises, the advocates of helping alcoholics have all shared some basic ideas and aims. Most notably, helpers view alcoholics as powerless over alcohol in such a way that requires some sort of intervention (whether religious, moral, medical, or political) to cure their alcoholism. In this respect, the conception of alcohol and alcoholism presented by AA is unique in its approach to alcoholism, but shares significant affinities with previous notions of helping alcoholics. Dr. Benjamin Rush, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was among the early advocates of helping and aiding alcoholics. Unlike many of his contemporaries, Rush forwarded the idea that alcoholics were powerless over their drinking habits and needed help in overcoming their drinking as early as 1774. In response to the problems of alcoholism, Rush proposed the establishment of a "sober house" where alcoholics would be rehabilitated through religious and moral education.

In addition to professional helpers, attempts to aid alcoholics also emerged in the temperance movements, which aimed to help alcoholics by requiring their members to pledge to refrain from drinking dis-

tilled spirits and attend temperance gatherings. In addition, the temperance societies often provided public information regarding alcohol and its impact on health. Initially, temperance supporters advocated pledges to moderate drinking; but by the middle of the nineteenth century, temperance supporters began to advocate total abstinence either through an individual's pledge or government-backed prohibition. The shift in policy resulted from numerous causes, including the rising number of alcohol-related difficulties facing the early republic and the general sense among temperance advocates that alcoholics could only overcome drunkenness through total abstinence.

A temperance movement of particular significance to AA's historical consciousness is the Washingtonian movement. The Washingtonians advocated total abstinence, held regular meetings where members shared their experiences with drinking and abstinence, and provided service to others. By 1842, when the Washingtonians were at their peak, over 600,000 pledges had been signed and its speakers lectured across the country. In addition, the Washingtonians engaged in political action and aimed at social change. Early members of AA suggested that the Washingtonians splintered and failed when they directed their energies toward the social and political features of the temperance movement and lost their singleness of purpose. Although the AA founders often looked to the Washingtonians for lessons, it is likely that other mutual-aid groups devoted to alcoholism influenced early AA members, including the Emmanuel Movement and the Jacoby Club, which described itself as "A club for men to help themselves by helping others."

Oxford Group Movement: Beliefs and Practices

The Oxford Group Movement (OGM) was one of the most significant influences in shaping AA's approach to aiding problem drinkers. Unlike temperance movements and other alcoholic help strategies, the OGM never focused on the problem of alcoholism. Instead, they focused on the problems of sin and viewed alcoholism as an effect of an underlying sinful condition. Early members of AA, including both cofounders, attended OGM meetings in their efforts to quit drinking.

Founded by Frank Buchman in 1908 as a Christian revival movement, the OGM employed personal evangelism practices or what adherents sometimes called soul surgery. Personal evangelism aimed to induce a conversion experience sufficient to overcome an individual's struggle with sin. Through personal evangelism, OGM adherents believed that they were aiding others in living a Christian life by overcoming sinful living. Personal evangelism practices were not unique to Buchman and his followers. Henry Drummond, Dwight L. Moody, and John Mott employed similar methods in their revival efforts. In fact, Buchman most likely developed many of his techniques through the guidance of Henry B. Wright of Yale University, who wrote manuals explaining personal evangelism practices and techniques. According to Wright, the task of personal evangelism was a persuasive appeal that introduces a person to Christ through the evangelist's example and labors. The techniques employed by personal evangelists focused on personal interactions and trust building. Wright's "expert friendship" model required evangelists to befriend others to provide a living example of Christ's effects in one's life. Practically speaking, Wright believed personal evangelism was best done within specialized groups such that students worked with students, soldiers with soldiers, and so on. Although rarely noted, the practice of expert friendship as expounded by Henry Wright bears significant resemblance to the early practices of helping others and what has since become standardized in AA under the practice of sponsorship where one alcoholic mentors another into the AA program.

In turn, Buchman summarized Wright's tasks and techniques under the label of the "Five C's" of confidence, confession, conviction, conversion, and continuance. Thus, members were to gain the confidence of a new recruit, witness to the recruit to bring to awareness how his anxiety was a sign of sin (conviction), and thereby induce a conversion. Conversion was followed by a sustained attempt to live a life free of sin, governed by God's will and guidance. To this end, the OGM members promoted the four absolutes of honesty, purity, unselfishness, and love as the guides to action that cleansed the heart and mind so that God's guidance could be received. As a group, members would sit silently and await God's guidance in "quiet time." When a member received guidance on a particular problem or question, he or she would share it with the group to assess whether the guidance in question was reliable.

The OGM often claimed greater revival successes than could ever be verified. In part, the OGM leadership believed that publicity was an excellent form of evangelization. Although its critics accused OGM leadership of publicity seeking, the movement was still visible across the United States by 1932. Regardless of its actual impact, it actively began operations

in 1930 at Calvary Church in New York under the American leadership of Reverend Samuel Shoemaker. Between 1930 and 1936, the OGM gathered frequently at Calvary Church. Although they did not seek out drunks, some alcoholics were attracted to their membership. Among these was Rowland Hazard. During his brief association with the OGM, Hazard learned that a friend, Ebby Thatcher, faced commitment for alcoholic insanity. Hazard visited Thatcher with an OGM team, and Thatcher responded by attending the OGM meetings at Calvary Church in New York. Thatcher would later become the connection between the OGM and AA cofounder William Wilson.

AA Founders

The AA literature identifies AA beginnings with the initial encounter and subsequent collaborations of cofounders William G. Wilson and Dr. Robert H. Smith, later known as Bill W. and Dr. Bob, respectively. Both men suffered years of heavy drinking and hospitalizations, and eventually sought help for their drinking problems in the OGM.

Wilson was born to Gilman and Emily Wilson in East Dorset, Vermont, in 1895. His childhood and adolescence were marked by two traumatic events. When Wilson was ten, his parents divorced. Shortly afterward, his mother went to Boston to pursue a career as an osteopath, leaving Wilson and his younger sister in the care of her parents. Later in life, Wilson recalled his deep sense of rejection and abandonment resulting from the absence of his parents. During his adolescence, Wilson's grandparents sent him to Burr and Burton Academy. While at the Academy, Wilson became head of a Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) chapter, excelled in school, and fell in love with a classmate, Bertha Branford. During chapel one morning, Wilson was devastated to learn that Bertha had died suddenly while traveling in New York with her parents. Later in life, Wilson acknowledged that Bertha's death began a cycle of depression that lasted nearly three years. Despite these early traumas, it was not until shortly after Wilson was commissioned as a second lieutenant in 1917 that he had his first drink while attending a social function supporting servicemen and the American war effort in Europe. Most notably, Wilson experienced a subtle shift in his disposition from a sense of awkwardness to social ease.

Between 1918, when Wilson married Lois Burnham, and 1923, there is little evidence that Wilson's drinking was a problem. In fact, during that period Wilson completed a year-long tour of duty in Europe, finished law school, and became a stock company researcher. Little by little, however, Wilson's drinking escalated to troubling proportions. Despite significant success as a stock investigator on Wall Street, Wilson recorded a written pledge in the family Bible to abstain from drinking for one year in 1923. His pledge lasted only two months. In 1927, he made another pledge with similar results. With the stock market crash in 1929, Wilson's financial future looked bleak. Through an associate, he was able to find good paying work in Canada, but this opportunity ended with a drinking-related conflict. For the next several years, Wilson struggled with his alcoholism and found keeping a job difficult. By 1933, he was admitted to Charles Townes Hospital in the first of several efforts to cure him of his alcoholism.

Wilson was aided in these early efforts at abstinence through his association with the OGM. Wilson's acquaintance with the OGM and its practices began when Ebby Thatcher, an old school friend and known drunkard, visited Wilson in November 1934. Unlike previous visits, Thatcher was clear eyed, sober, and eager to discuss his newfound sobriety with Wilson. Crediting the OGM brand of "religion" and "life-changing" for his newly acquired self-control and abstinence, Thatcher encouraged Wilson to attend the OGM. Although religion did not appeal to Wilson, four alcohol-related visits to the Charles Townes Hospital between 1933 and 1934 left him open to his school friend's suggestions. Wilson attended his first OGM meeting at Calvary Church mission in New York. Drunk on arrival, he was allowed to participate after eating a meal and drinking some coffee. After the meeting, Wilson returned home without stopping at a bar. A few days later, he checked himself into the Townes Hospital one last time. While at the hospital, he had a spiritual experience. Filled with feelings of desperation and hopelessness, he found himself asking God to help him. Then Wilson felt an assuring presence he believed to be God.

Upon leaving Townes Hospital in late December of 1934, Wilson began to associate with the OGM and to focus his efforts on evangelizing to other alcoholics. His brief experience with OGM, his twelve years of excessive drinking, and his trips to the Townes Hospital convinced him of two basic ideas that shaped his message. First, alcoholics are powerless over their desires to drink, and a self-conscious recognition of this powerlessness was essential to an alcoholic's recovery. Second, recognition of one's powerlessness must be accompanied by the recognition that the only remedy for alcoholism is a spiritual experience. Through his association with the OGM, Wilson learned the per-

sonal value of sharing his experience with other alcoholics, and to his own surprise he found that sharing his story with other alcoholics was helping him stay sober. Although he was ineffective in persuading alcoholics to adopt a life design consistent with OGM, Wilson still persisted in efforts to help other alcoholics.

Wilson's cofounder, Dr. Robert Smith, followed a slightly different path to alcoholic desperation. At age nine, Smith had his first drinking experience. Throughout his education, especially his college years at Dartmouth, Smith was regarded as a heavy drinker, but it was not until medical school at the University of Michigan that he began to suffer alcohol-related problems. Unlike his college years where he could drink without consequences, he now began to engage in heavy binge drinking that interfered with his studies. Shortly before his dismissal from the University of Michigan in 1907, Smith transferred to Rush Medical School in Chicago where he was able to finish his degree only after swearing off drinking for two semesters. After completing medical school, Smith moved to Akron, Ohio, and opened a medical practice. There his drinking continued to intensify, regularly landing him in sanitariums. In 1914, Smith's father brought him back to Vermont to sober up. Smith stayed sober and married Anne Ripley in 1914. His sobriety lasted until just before passage of the Volstead Act. After the passage of Prohibition, Smith continued to drink by forging alcohol prescriptions for himself and, later, sedatives as well. During his sixteen years of heavy drinking, he placed himself under medical care on no fewer than one dozen occasions. By 1933, his medical practice was nearly destroyed. Guilt-ridden and ashamed by the impact of his drinking on his family, Smith agreed to attend meetings of the OGM in Akron with his wife, Anne Smith. Beginning in 1933, he began regularly attending OGM meetings but with little impact on his drinking.

Wilson/Smith: First Meeting

In May of 1935, Wilson found himself alone in the Mayflower Hotel in Akron, Ohio, after a failed business venture. While puzzling over his next move, he began calling local ministers in search of another alcoholic with whom he could share his story. Through a clergy contact, Wilson was put in touch with an OGM member who had been working with Dr. Robert Smith.

Wilson and Smith met on Mother's Day in 1935 at the Akron home of an OGM member. In his message to Smith, Wilson emphasized that alcoholism was a disease of mind, body, and spirit. Like his friend Ebby before him, Wilson shared his observations on how drinking had destroyed his life and how his continued abstinence depended on helping others through sharing his story. The conversation was by no means novel to either man. Wilson had been attempting to help other alcoholics for months through his association with the OGM. Smith had spoken with medical experts, clergy, and friends about his drinking, and none of these previous discussions had proven effective. Yet, both men were changed by their meeting. Years later, Wilson reported that his initial encounter with Smith was marked by an altogether different attitude and approach. Unlike previous attempts, Wilson did not preach or try to convert. Moreover, as he spoke with Smith, he began to realize that he needed Smith as much and possibly more than Smith needed him. Similarly, Smith later reported that his exchange with Wilson was reciprocal and mutual. In Wilson, Smith found a man who shared a similar struggle with alcohol and was cured by the same spiritual practices he was pursuing.

Encouraged and moved by Wilson's message, Smith invited Wilson to stay that evening at his home. Wilson remained with the Smith family for the next several weeks while Wilson and the Smiths tried to apply OGM practices to their lives in an attempt to stay sober. Smith remained sober for three weeks, at which time he was called away from home for a few days to attend an annual medical convention. When he returned, he was drunk. Wilson and Anne Smith tended to Smith as he tried to sober up. Only three days later, Wilson drove Smith to the hospital to perform surgery. Before the surgery, Wilson gave Smith a beer to calm Smith's jitters. After the surgery, Smith committed to the project of sobriety and suggested to Wilson that they ought to start something to help other alcoholics. Smith claimed his first date of sobriety as June 10, 1935.

Together, Wilson and Smith began their mission of helping other alcoholics within the context of the OGM. They began their project by seeking out alcoholics at the Akron City Hospital. Within a few weeks, Wilson and Smith had recruited a third member to their fledging group of sober alcoholics. By the end of the summer when Wilson returned to New York, he and Smith had increased their number to six. In these very early efforts, Wilson and Smith searched out other alcoholics in an effort to share their experiences with alcohol and abstinence. Moreover, Wilson and Smith continued to employ OGM practices in working with alcoholics by stressing powerlessness over

alcohol to new recruits and instructing them to follow policies of rigorous honesty, restitution, and unselfishness through unpaid aid to other alcoholics. Although the self-conscious identification of AA would not be complete for another four years, the basic practices were now in place.

Steps Toward Independence and Group Identity

Wilson/Smith Difference with OGM

As their numbers increased, the presence of alcoholics focused primarily on helping other alcoholics began to strain relations between the alcoholic and nonalcoholic members of OGM. The most prominent strain in the New York branch of the OGM centered on an insistence by more senior OGM members that Wilson and his fellow alcoholics should evangelize to any, and all, sinners and not limit their efforts to alcoholics. But within only a few months, Wilson and his small group within the OGM had shifted its focus from saving sinners to saving alcoholics. Moreover, whereas the OGM focused its efforts around its motto, "Nation changing through life changing," the alcoholic members focused solely on life changing without regard to social and political transformation.

This fundamental difference was not the only one. Certain OGM practices, including the four absolutes, guidance, and quiet time, were either too explicitly religious or counterintuitive to working with down-and-out drunks. These practices found little support among the alcoholic members of OGM. In addition, OGM public relations were seriously jeopardized by Frank Buchman's favorable comments about the Nationalist Socialist Party in Germany and the impending condemnation of the OGM by the Roman Catholic Church. By 1937, the differences were too difficult to bear, and Wilson and his drunks left the OGM and began meeting independently. The split in Akron occurred in 1939 but was less contentious.

Clarifying the Alcoholics Anonymous Identity

Several important events transpired during the years between the initial Wilson/Smith encounter and the publication of the AA "Big Book" that contributed to solidifying group identity. In 1936, Charles Townes offered Wilson a paid position as lay therapist and asked him to transport his practice of helping others into the Townes Hospital. Enthusiastically, Wilson brought the proposal to his alcoholic colleagues, who openly worried that involvement with for-profit enterprises might undermine the efforts and successes they were experiencing with helping others. Wilson rejected Townes's offer on recommendation from the members of the new fledgling and unnamed society of alcoholics helping other alcoholics. Later, Wilson's decision would be formalized in Tradition Eight which reads: "Alcoholics Anonymous should remain forever nonprofessional, but our service centers may employ special workers."

Shortly thereafter, through family connections, Wilson was given a meeting with John D. Rockefeller's charitable foundation. Wilson requested $50,000 to continue their work and build a hospital. Rockefeller declined but put a small sum in trust to support Smith and Wilson while they continued their efforts to help alcoholics. Rockefeller reasoned that early AA members were better off working without the aid of these funds. The experience with Rockefeller would later be institutionalized as the seventh tradition, which states: "Every AA group ought to be fully self-supporting, declining outside contributions." In order to oversee the funds donated by the Rockefeller Foundation, the Alcoholic Foundation was established in 1938.

A crucial component of the articulation and evolution of group identity was the production of what would later become *Alcoholics Anonymous: The Story of How Many Thousands of Men and Women Have Recovered from Alcoholism* (1939). In May 1938, Wilson began drafting an outline of practices he and his new colleagues found successful in helping other alcoholics. The book is divided into two parts. The first part is devoted to outlining the practices early members followed in successful abstinence. Wilson began by outlining the six steps he and others were employing in helping others: a recognition of powerlessness, honest self-appraisal, shared honesty with another, amends and restitution to persons harmed by alcoholic drinking, help to other alcoholics without compensation, and reliance upon God. Wilson later expanded these six steps to the Twelve Steps. The second part of the book consists of forty-four similarly structured personal stories, averaging between 1,500 and 2,000 words, that narrate experiences of the founding members. Wilson's draft was carefully edited by other sober alcoholics in New York and Akron. The book was later called "The Big Book" in reference to its large dimensions and thick paper. Later, this moniker would take on additional connotations and has since been referred to by scholars as the AA Bible, which references how the book has come to be the object of special reverence by some of the AA membership.

By 1939, AA membership had reached 100, *Alcoholics Anonymous* was published, and groups were located in several cities. Among the contributions to AA's early growth was the positive press received by the group. Articles in *Liberty Magazine* and the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* generated over 1,000 calls for help. In 1941, an established reporter, Jack Alexander, wrote an article on AA for the *Saturday Evening Post* that resulted in 6,000 new members in a ten-month period. In 1944, members of AA began a "meeting in print" entitled the *AA Grapevine*, which quickly became a national newsletter and source of exchange between AA members throughout the United States. Even with the aid of the newsletter, small groups across the United States looked to AA's central office in New York for guidance and instruction. With its rapid expansion, the AA membership began facing important issues of group governance, organization, and authority. In some cases, disputes emerged over internal policies and relations to the wider public.

During its first decade, the AA members accumulated substantial experience indicating that certain group attitudes and principles were particularly valuable in assuring the survival of the informal structure of the "fellowship." In 1946, the fellowship's international journal, the *AA Grapevine*, published these principles as the Twelve Traditions of Alcoholics Anonymous. They were accepted and endorsed by the membership as a whole at AA's first international convention in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1950.

TWELVE TRADITIONS

1. Our common welfare should come first; personal recovery depends upon AA unity.
2. For our group purpose there is but one ultimate authority—a loving God as He may express Himself in our group conscience. Our leaders are but trusted servants; they do not govern.
3. The only requirement for AA membership is a desire to stop drinking.
4. Each group should be autonomous except in matters affecting other groups or AA as a whole.
5. Each group has but one primary purpose—to carry its message to the alcoholic who still suffers.
6. An AA group ought never endorse, finance or lend the AA name to any related facility or outside enterprise, lest problems of money, property and prestige divert us from our primary purpose.
7. Every AA group ought to be fully self-supporting, declining outside contributions.
8. Alcoholics Anonymous should remain forever nonprofessional, but our service centers may employ special workers.
9. AA, as such, ought never be organized; but we may create service boards or committees directly responsible to those they serve.
10. Alcoholics Anonymous has no opinion on outside issues; hence the AA name ought never be drawn into public controversy.
11. Our public relations policy is based on attraction rather than promotion; we need always maintain personal anonymity at the level of press, radio and films.
12. Anonymity is the spiritual foundation of all our traditions, ever reminding us to place principles before personalities.

Source: Alcoholics Anonymous. 4th ed. (Alcoholics Anonymous World Services, 2000).

AA as a Social Force for Treating Alcoholics

As AA became a recognized source of aid for problem drinkers, local groups were deluged with calls for help. In an effort to field these calls and facilitate communication within groups, local groups formed central offices and intergroup associations designed to keep updated lists of meeting times and locations, distribute AA literature, and provide a clearinghouse for service opportunities. By the twentieth anniversary of AA beginnings, the original Alcoholic Foundation had been renamed the General Service Board and the office in New York renamed it the General Service Office, which began its services as the basic support structure for group activities throughout the United States. Recent studies of AA suggest that its unique structure forms an upside-down pyramid, with the central structure serving as a base to local activities rather than the reverse. Through this process of adaptation, AA built an administrative structure that enabled new groups to develop their own constituencies and form networks at the local levels while providing the local groups with the necessary communication and support.

The AA Program: The Twelve Step Practices

The Twelve Steps are offered as suggestions in both *Alcoholics Anonymous* and a later exposition written by Wilson entitled "Twelve Steps and Twelve Traditions." Unaltered since their initial presentation in print form, the steps represent the collective experience of AA's founding members itemized into the most

basic components of a turn from a life of active alcoholism to a life guided by AA principles and practices. In this respect, the steps refer to shifts in beliefs, actions, and attitudes of alcoholics and their relations to alcohol, self, God, and others.

Many scholars divide the Twelve Steps into three categories: decision, action, and maintenance steps. The decision steps (1–3) are classified as decision because members make significant and life-altering decisions with respect to their own beliefs, attitudes, and actions. These life changes refer specifically to an alcoholic's recognition of powerlessness, belief in a higher power, and a choice to surrender to that higher power.

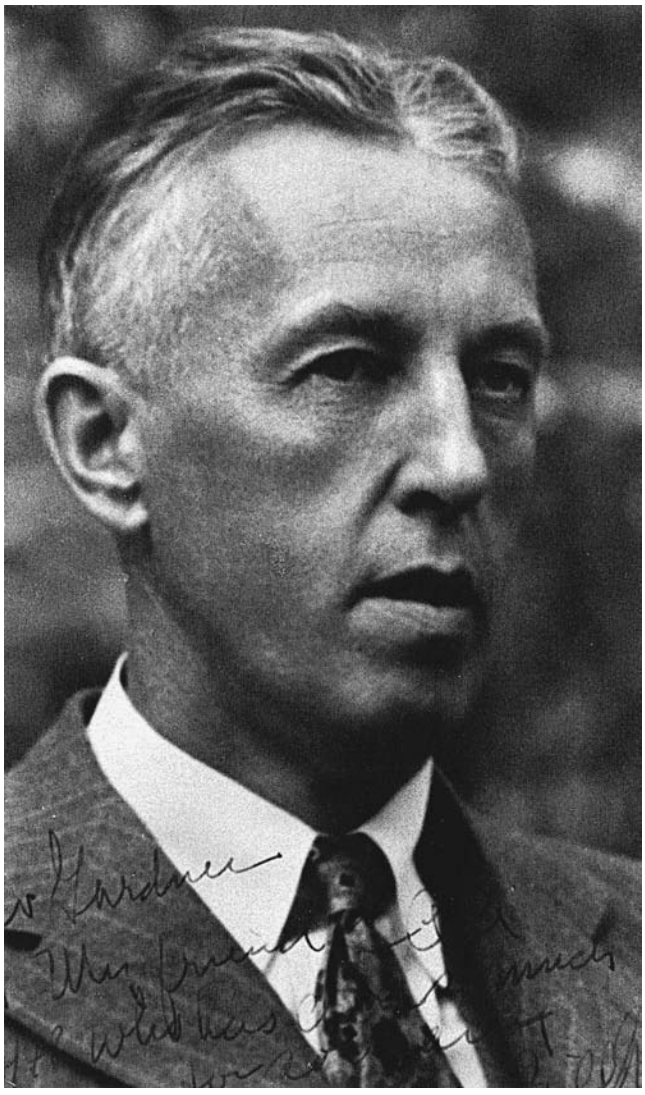
The action steps (4–9) refer almost explicitly to repairing relations with others by changing the beliefs, attitudes, and practices that figure into one's relations with others. Underlying these action steps is the idea that certain beliefs, attitudes, and actions become mechanisms in one's ordinary life. When the mechanisms are organized around self-will and self-reliance, the results are invariably dangerous for alcoholics since poor relations with others hinders sobriety. Thus, the steps are guides to rooting out these deleterious mechanisms. Two such mechanisms, fear and resentment, are cited as the kinds of mechanisms targeted by Steps 4 through 9. For example, fear is described as a pervasive force extending to every area of life. According AA literature, alcoholics have a special tendency to allow fear to motivate their life choices. The mechanisms connected to fear vary but tend to connect fear to excessive self-reliance, which produces dishonesty, manipulation, and other vices. What is crucial, however, is to realize that the inventory and admission steps (4 and 5) identify these mechanisms as they play out in an individual's life as well as the subsequent steps that aid in ridding persons of those mechanisms and replacing them with alternative mechanisms based in reliance upon God.

The maintenance steps (10–12) refer to maintaining sobriety through continued efforts to keep right relations with others (Step 10), God (Step 11) and sobriety through the practice of helping others (Step 12). Step 12 reads: "Having had a spiritual awakening as the result of these steps [steps 1–11], we tried to carry this message to alcoholics and to practice these principles in all our affairs." Carrying the message to alcoholics is practiced communally and individually. Group activities identified as carrying the message include AA meetings, group commitments to set up AA meetings for alcoholics in rehabilitation or detoxification centers, and other forms of outreach. Individually, helping others involves participation in meetings through sharing one's story, service activities for the meeting (e.g., making coffee or setting up chairs for the meeting), outreach to the still suffering alcoholic, and sponsorship (working one-on-one with another alcoholic).

Helping Individual Alcoholics

The seventh chapter of the Big Book, "Working with Others," identifies further techniques and guides for helping others. In short, these techniques emphasize a regard for the still suffering alcoholic. In helping others, members are directed to search out alcoholics who are ready for change in their drinking practices and express their readiness through a desire to stop drinking. AA members are advised to refrain from approaching drinkers who have not solicited their help or advice. This "readiness requirement" even suggests that members might find it necessary to wait for a potential recruit to go on an alcoholic binge before approaching him or her, because it is after a binge that the alcoholic is most remorseful and ready for the AA message. A second requirement for helping the prospective candidate is sharing one's own experience. This sharing must follow the storytelling formula and must therefore emphasize that recovery from alcoholism depends on shifting from a life based on self-will to a life based in God's will or the will of a higher power. The only restriction on this technique is that members are advised against imposing a conception of God or spirituality on a recruit. A related requirement is to never let the alcoholic believe that his or her recovery depends on something other than God's will because it is just such a belief that promotes self-will. Thus, those who would make recovery contingent upon the restoration of family or career are informed that this basis is insufficient. The aim of this emphasis is to ensure that the prospective member possesses the appropriate reasons for embarking on the new pattern of life.

The rule of helping others is balanced with special relations besides membership, such as self, family, and employers. A member may go to great lengths to help a prospective candidate, provided that the prospective member is not using the member's generosity as a "blank check" for motives other than reassembling a life according to spiritual principles. Whether providing money, shelter, or other assistance that is required, helping others should never deprive the family, creditors, or employer of their due. This balance is justified by the experience of complimenting self and others. Helping others should not empty one of the



After years of excessive drinking, William G. Wilson cofounded Alcoholics Anonymous in the 1930s. The group's "Twelve Step" program, which Wilson largely created, has helped millions of people worldwide to overcome their addiction to alcohol. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

capacity to meet special commitments necessary to human flourishing.

A 12th Step Call is an occasion where a member shares his or her story with the "still suffering alcoholic." This may involve meeting the prospective member at his or her home, a detoxification center, hospital, or AA meeting. Members make Twelve Step calls only when requested by an alcoholic. Thus, the 12th Step Call is a venue where the existing member and prospective share a similar struggle with self-will. In this sense, the 12th Step Calls, however anonymous, involve a relationship based in mutuality. The paradigmatic story against which all other stories are measured is the encounter between cofounders Bill Wilson and Dr. Bob Smith.

Meetings

Meetings serve as the primary medium for AA practice and are crucial to AA's success as a social movement. Meeting locations vary significantly from church basements to community halls, but meeting participants occupy space in predictable patterns. Typically, important features of AA practices such as the Twelve Steps and Twelve Traditions are posted in prominent places. Similarly, pictures of AA cofounders Wilson and Smith, important slogans, and the Serenity Prayer are posted. Finally, a literature table with AA literature as well as a list of meetings in the local area is usually found at the entrance. Meeting participants will vary their seating arrangement according to meeting sizes, with larger meetings in audience style and smaller meetings arranged in a circle of chairs. Practically speaking, meetings are the social sites where members acquire the skills, relationships, and motivation to sustain abstinence. When new members express concern over success in their new endeavor, older members will reassure new members by saying, "Read the Big Book, Go to Meetings and Listen to Your Sponsor."

Ordinarily, AA meetings are divided into closed and open meetings. Closed meetings are restricted to members only, while open meetings allow family and friends of alcoholics as well as interested outsiders. Although open meetings typically present a speaker with a minimum amount of sobriety to share his or her story, closed meetings follow a variety of formats designed to focus on particular elements of the program.

Meeting formats do vary, but a typical meeting is opened by a group member who welcomes regular attendees, guests, and newcomers. Participants are then prompted to introduce themselves by saying, "My name is _____, and I am an alcoholic." Not all participants are required to add "alcoholic" to their introductions as visitors may indicate their indecisiveness. After introductions, a member will review announcements for the group and then read, or request a volunteer to read, from foundational texts within the group. Often a member reads aloud Chapter 5 from *Alcoholics Anonymous*, entitled "How It Works," which contains a description of the alcoholic dilemma and the Twelve Steps. Some meetings select additional readings, but these choices are left to group discretion per traditions of meeting autonomy. Con-

current with the readings, members will pass a hat to honor the fifth tradition, which states that each AA group is fully self-supporting. The money collected is used to pay for meeting expenses and AA literature, and a small amount is sent to the General Service Office in New York. Afterward, members will often set aside time to recognize sobriety anniversaries ranging from twenty-four hours to many years. Depending on meeting type, the remainder of the typical meeting varies. For instance, speaker meetings will devote the remaining time to a speaker or speakers who share their stories, which follow the standard pattern established in the Big Book. Speakers share "what it [their drinking experience] was like, what happened [the intervening experiences that led to AA membership], and what it is like now [life since the beginning of sobriety]." In discussion meetings, a more experienced member will raise a topic for discussion through a five- to ten-minute talk, and then each member is given time to discuss the topic as it relates to his or her experience. In larger groups, there is a short break to reconfigure into smaller discussion groups, where each member is given an opportunity to share. Meetings may also have a special agenda. For example, in step meetings speakers discuss one of the twelve steps rather than a topic, and in Big Book meetings a sustained study of the Big Book is usually involved. Almost all meetings close with a prayer ritual that in many groups still reflects the influence of the OGM. Members will sometimes join hands to close the meeting with a prayer, which could be the serenity prayer or what is known as the Lord's Prayer in the Christian tradition.

Alternative Alcohol Recovery Movements

The diffusion of AA and the Twelve Steps as the predominant treatment modality has spawned several alternative alcohol recovery movements such as Synanon, Women for Sobriety (WFS), Secular Organizations for Sobriety (SOS), and Rational Recovery (RR), to name only a few. In each of these cases, these movements were self-conscious departures from AA practices emerging from ideological differences with AA. For example, Jean Kirkpatrick, Ph.D., founded WFS in 1976 to aid women in recovery from alcoholism. Drawing on her experiences with AA recovery practices, Kirkpatrick concluded that the masculine bias in AA could never successfully aid women in their recovery efforts because AA practices failed to account for significant gender differences contributing to alcoholic behaviors and recovery. From sexist discourse at meetings to a male-oriented approach to recovery that begins with powerlessness, Kirkpatrick concluded that women alcoholics were ordinarily saddled with subordinate roles that led them to experience a feeling of dependence. Instead of focusing on powerlessness, Kirkpatrick suggested that women alcoholics need to focus on recognizing alcoholism as a physical disease and to assume responsibility for their bodies and the illness from which they suffer. In keeping with these differences, WFS employs alternative recovery techniques such as the thirteen affirmations that emphasize the power of positive thinking rather than AA's Twelve Steps. Members introduce themselves by saying: "My name is _____ and I'm a competent woman" rather than "My name is _____ and I am an alcoholic." Organizationally, groups are limited to ten members who meet weekly for ninety minutes under the direction of a Certified Moderator.

Both SOS and RR describe their organization as an alternative model of recovery based on a secular approach and view addiction recovery as independent of religious or spiritual endeavors and projects. For instance, SOS views alcoholism as a disease requiring total abstinence, but total abstinence does not require spiritual experiences or religious ideology. Instead, the SOS program of recovery stresses substituting cycles of addiction with cycles of sobriety. According to this view, addiction begins with a physiological need habitually satisfied until addiction satisfaction becomes a fundamental priority. The addict simultaneously suffers from denial of this very problem. In response to the cycle of addiction, SOS recommends a cognitive therapy based on individual acknowledgment of one's addiction, acceptance of one's disease, and emphasis on sobriety as one's number one priority. The cycle of sobriety remains unless the addict chooses to abandon it.

Understanding AA's Impact as a Social Movement

Most scholars agree that researchers are years away from calculating AA's impact on treating alcoholics, but two sites of activity express and signify AA's impact as a social movement: alcohol treatment practices and attempts by U.S. courts to evaluate the constitutionality of Twelve Step practices in criminal rehabilitative efforts.

Almost since its inception, AA practices have been adapted to professional treatment settings in varying degrees. William White's authoritative history of alcohol treatment in the United States chronicles AA's influence in shaping models of alcohol

treatment. Beginning with Dr. Bob's efforts at St. Thomas's Hospital in Akron, the practice of hospitals employing a Twelve Step philosophy and relying on unpaid members of AA to help treat alcoholics is the dominant treatment model. The St. Thomas model emphasized sponsorship of patients by members of AA, employed the Twelve Steps in treating alcoholics, and stressed mutual-help strategies, with clients helping clients. Similar strategies and arrangements emerged simultaneously within prison and correctional facilities to treat alcoholics.

In recent years, rehabilitation programs that draw on the Twelve Steps, or require AA attendance, have been challenged in U.S. courts on the basis that mandated and compulsory attendance at AA meetings violates the establishment clause. In almost all cases heard before the courts, the questions have emerged from the presence of Twelve Step practices in the criminal rehabilitation process. In the earliest cases before the courts, the role of Twelve Step practices as a part of sentence fulfillment was ruled as constitutional. According to these early cases, the courts found that correctional authorities who employed Twelve Step practices and mandated AA meetings were in fact neutral on questions of religion and that whatever religious encouragement an inmate might endure at a Twelve Step meeting was secondary to the state's interest in treating an inmate's substance abuse problems. In short, the earliest cases followed a fairly strict application of the traditional "Lemon Test" the courts employed to verify establishment clause violations (*O'Connor v. California* [1993], *Stafford v. Harrison* [1991], and *Jones v. Smid* [1993]).

The courts have not been uniform in viewing the religious features and effects of AA and Twelve Step practices as secondary. For instance, in 1996, the New York Court of Appeals decided in favor of David Griffin, an inmate at New York State Shawangunk Correctional Facility, who petitioned the court to excuse him from taking part in the Alcohol and Substance Abuse Treatment Program (ASAT). ASAT provided treatment services for corrections inmates suffering from alcoholism and chemical dependency. Griffin sought relief from participating in ASAT because the program involved attendance at AA meetings, which based some of its therapeutic techniques on religious principles. Griffin's attorney argued that compelling attendance at AA meetings violated inmate rights to religious freedom.

The court ruled that the nature of the ASAT program and Griffin's participation in it violated the establishment clause and was unconstitutional. Griffin's involvement in ASAT and the resulting expectation of attendance at AA meetings were predicated on his participation in the Shawangunk Family Reunion Program, which placed three conditions on participating inmates. First, inmates must have served a minimum length of their sentence, and, second, inmates must be free of disciplinary probation for prison rule violations. The last condition, and the most contentious one, required inmates with histories of substance abuse to participate in ASAT as a condition of participation in the Family Reunion Program. Because Griffin met each of these conditions (including sustained heroine abuse from 1955 to 1968), his participation in Family Reunion required his attendance at ASAT and AA meetings. In the court's view, the connection between AA and sentence requirements created the primary effect of advancing religion.

Finally, what the sites of treatment practices and the court rulings direct our attention to is the range and impact AA has had on practices of helping alcoholics, the difficulties of measuring AA's impact, and the contested territories in which AA operates. In focusing on the practice of helping others, the present article has traced but one genealogy in a complex web of untold stories. To fully appreciate the movement, further analysis focused on AA practices as they relate to race, gender, disability, and class is needed.

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8

Religious, Utopian, and Health Movements

Introduction

The explosive combination of America's radical religious and cultural diversity within a hegemonic, entrenched Protestantism has served as the catalyst for some of the most powerful social movements in U.S. history. Pre-contact Native Americans practiced many different beliefs whose multiplicity was only enhanced by the post-Columbian immigration of Europeans and Africans with their own myriad systems of belief and practice. The U.S. Constitution's prohibition against establishing a single national religion further set the foundation for a plurality of religions to flourish. Without the state to regulate orthodoxy, Americans were free to believe as they chose and to start new movements when they became dissatisfied with existing religions. Substantial immigration added to America's religious diversity. Men and women from all over the globe brought their cultures to the North American soil. Yet immigrant and Native religions never remained static, but in different regions around the country evolved in particular and distinct ways, lending local flair to adherents' spiritual lives. At the same time, Protestant Christianity has left an indelible imprint on the major institutions, creeds, and belief systems that shape civic life. But like every other American religion, Protestantism has changed over time, influencing other religions as they influence it. American religions are in a constant state of evolution resulting from centuries of contact between competing groups of religious people. This contact and combination between the dominant culture and the nation's many subcultures has been the definitive characteristic of American religion and has inspired complex social movements.

Colonists raced to the Americas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for a variety of reasons, including reaping profit, proselytizing, and building a new way of life. On the East Coast, pluralism flourished as New England Puritans sought to define the trajectory of North American life, while Quakers, Natives, and a host of other religious groups served as constant reminders that the American story was much more than one of Protestant triumphalism. On the West Coast, Father Junipero Serra and his allies struggled to bring Roman Catholicism to the indigenous people of California. Within a couple of centuries, revivals broke out on the Eastern Seaboard, which helped set the stage for the American Revolution.

After the war, multiple major religious movements emerged. One of these movements, "civil religion," was initiated primarily by elites who sought to give religious meaning to their new nation. Other movements emerged from a series of Protestant-initiated revivals that fit the character of the times. They were more democratic and egalitarian than the revivals of the prewar era, and they spawned unique social movements affecting Anglos, African Americans, and Native Americans, among others, in different ways. Visionaries, unencumbered by the restrictions of previous generations, built utopian communities, while prophets looking heavenward foretold the end of the world.

After the Civil War, the United States' immigration patterns shifted. More and more people began arriving from Central, Eastern, and Southern Europe in contrast to the previous generations which had more often originated from Western Europe. And on the West Coast, Asians arrived in great numbers, answering American business's call for inexpensive labor. With the evolving immigration came new religious trends. The country's Jewish and Catholic populations, which were already sizable, surged. At the same time, new religions from other parts of the globe appeared for the World's Parliament of Religions, a conference of leaders from major world religious groups held in Chicago in 1893. Out of this increasingly pluralistic context and fueled by continuing heavy immigration, many new social move-

ments emerged, which only multiplied after World War II. In the 1960s, Congress passed legislation that reformed America's immigration laws. Nonwhite, non-Protestant religions flourished as quotas favoring the immigration of Europeans and restricting the immigration of Asians and other national groups came to an end. The result has been a revolution in religious diversity in which America's pluralism has emerged from back alleys and moved to Main Street. Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism are among the groups that illustrate this change, while other Americans have reached out to the New Age movement.

Religiously based social movements have defined America. Thousands of pioneers have emerged, some manipulating historic faiths and others building entirely new movements. Some have enjoyed tremendous success, while others have faded into oblivion. Heavy immigration, charismatic individuals, strong organizations, and protection against the establishment of a single religion have allowed thousands of religious movements to thrive in North America.

Utopian and Health Movements

This section also includes entries documenting the unique phenomenon of utopian communities that have been integral to American society from the origins of European colonization. From the earliest days of settlement to the contemporary era, utopian and communal communities remained pivotal to understanding the distinctive American culture and society built on the yearning to build a better society. From the earliest days of settlement in North America, utopian sentiment proliferated, as people with idiosyncratic ideologies and religious feeling, estranged in their homelands abroad or alienated within the broader American society, sought out a more meaningful life. Throughout the nation's history, utopian communities have held a broad range of beliefs and ideologies, ranging from fundamentalist religion to ideological principles on building egalitarian communities.

Although many held distinctive and contradictory ideas and practices, they all shared dissatisfaction with mainstream society, whether they were European Christians migrating to the nation to establish religious communities that more specifically adhered to their sometimes fundamentalist beliefs and ascetic lifestyles or utopian socialists seeking to establish collectivist communities. Utopian communities established settlements that put their sometimes abstract philosophical beliefs into active practice. Another feature of utopian communities was their lack of continuity. Again and again, utopian societies have been established, expanded, and then usually declined as the most extreme advocates lost their passion or could not convince their descendants to stay on and carry out their missions. Still, some older utopian communities remain to this day, though on a smaller scale, and new models that attract new generations of adherents gain power. Throughout U.S. history, communities establishing communal forms of organization have predominated, starting with the early colonists who escaped established European religions and extending much later to the Buddhist retreats and Hindu ashrams that have gained sway in the contemporary era.

Religious fervor or alienation from the dominant community has always been a central feature of utopian communities. Perhaps the most well-known such communities were the Shakers—formally, members of the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing—who migrated from England in the late eighteenth century and established a community based on ascetic ideals of repentance and denial of what they considered to be gluttonous and worldly lifestyles based on the pleasures of life. A distinctive feature of the Shakers was their demand that all members remain celibate. Ironically, the Shakers became known for their handiwork and their production of craftworks that were demanded outside their communities. Later the Shakers became known for their innovations—including the circular saw, the clothespin, and flat broom—and were keen on new technological advances, including the automobile. Still, at the core of the Shakers' religious belief was their strong belief in monastic, simple lives unencumbered by possessions and human desire. At their height in the early nineteenth century, the Shakers had several thousand members in twenty community villages. But the membership began to decline at the end of the nineteenth century as communal villages closed. Today only one Shaker community remains—Sabbathday Lake, Maine, and the sect's future is tenuous and uncertain.

As new immigrants arrived on American shores, fervent religious believers among them established new utopian communities. In the nineteenth century, religious German communities were established in the Northeast and Midwest, including the Harmonists and the Rappites, Inspirationists, Amana, Noyes, and

the Oneidans. But religion was not the only basis for the formation of communal societies. Some communities were established on the basis of cooperatives and the sharing of all resources. Perhaps the best known was Harmony Society established in New Harmony, Indiana, in early 1825. Utopian communities frequently failed to establish enduring communities, primarily because they were open to all and because of difficulty in encouraging all to participate on an equal basis, as was the case in New Harmony, two years after its formation. Although utopian communities frequently did not flourish, as was the case in New Harmony, they attracted academics, scholars, and scientists, and became models for progressive educational reform.

Brook Farm, a community formed in 1841 in West Roxbury, Massachusetts, by New England transcendentalists, including Ralph Waldo Emerson, pursued free mental exploration and direct experience of the material world in rural areas in the early nineteenth century. The community engaged in manual labor and thoughtful interchange, education, and socializing, which helped them gain adherents throughout the country. Subsequent communities based on the Brook Farm model, most notably Charles Fourier's phalanx community, were specifically designed according to plans intended for communal participation. Still, most were short lived. Subsequent secular communities were established throughout the late nineteenth century as European settlement moved West. Traditions ranged far and wide, from communal sectarianism, economic reform to socialism and anarchism.

The formation of communal settlements by immigrants and by those alienated by the big cities expanded throughout the nineteenth century as Americans searched for spiritual nourishment and uplift. Perhaps the most well known were the Mormons—a sect that, although essentially jettisoning the communal experiment, expanded into major religious social forces to this day. Members were attracted to the religious fervor and to the social and economic supports such communities provided. During the war years, from 1914 to 1945, German pacifists facing discrimination formed the Hutterite community, which grew to over 40,000 members in 400 colonies, declining to about 2,000 members by the early 2000s.

New Age religions, whose roots are largely in Eastern philosophy, became popular in the early twentieth century but exploded after the 1960s. Each community, even those based on common religious philosophy, maintained distinctive ideas. Communal Hindu ashrams and Buddhist monastic communes of all types proliferated throughout the country from the 1960s to this day, each with a distinctive sectarian twist. In the 1960s and 1970s, communes were established in the wake of the social movements of the era, including Anarchists, groups espousing music and the arts, and those promoting psychedelic drugs.

Religious fervor has been an enduring theme in American culture, and sectarian utopian societies continue to form on the basis of fervent belief even in the age of enlightenment, the development of scientific discoveries disproving religions, and rational thought. Indeed, after the 1970s, religious fervor spurred the formation of religious communities embracing radical millennial philosophies of Armageddon, the second coming of Christ, and the coming of the Messiah. Frequently, the leaders of communities were self-styled messiahs, charismatic figures such as James Jones and David Koresh, who were able to sway typically down-and-out and weak people to embrace them as the saviors. Engaging in some of the very same practices as communal societies of generations past—hard work and denial of human urges (except for leaders)—the communities nonetheless became emblematic of the search for meaning and the singular importance of their cause. These sects went so far as to engage in ritual mass suicide, as for instance, the Hale-Bopp Cult that believed they would be chosen for space travel by aliens. Each group had a distinctive character—vegetarianism, gun ownership, drug use, rock and roll, sex, science fiction, and popular culture.

Communes and utopian communities in the United States have both reflected the alienation felt by many in American society and revealed the continual desire of the alienated to create meaning in their lives beyond the culture of consumerism through sharing and visualizing a better future for themselves.

This section also examines the health food movement, comprised of a diverse, disparate effort among many Americans to make food an integral part of their daily living. The health food movement extends well beyond consumer choice and represents an integral part of a long tradition of adherents with a strong belief system. One's choice in food was an ethical consideration on which the fate of the larger community, the nation, and the world depended. Like the utopian communities, the health food movement had

no central core belief, but was comprised of many followers with a diversity of beliefs and ideologies about how food connected to their lives. The movement was led by religious groups, scientists, and ethical organizations committed to the ethical treatment of animals, the environment, politics, and nutrition. For the movement to operate practically, it was connected to food producers, marketers, and distributors that profited from those committed to the movement. The health food movement has remained firmly grounded in American tradition from the nineteenth century to the current era.

Matthew A. Sutton and Immanuel Ness

Religious Movements: Overview

From pre-Columbian indigenous rituals to modern mass market, technologically savvy faiths, religion has served as a catalyst for social engagement. Steady immigration, revitalization movements, charismatic leaders, and strong institutions have transformed the ideas of a few pioneers into powerful religious movements, reshaping American culture.

Religion in America is distinguished by the combination of a radical religious and cultural diversity with a hegemonic, entrenched Protestantism. Native American groups practiced many different beliefs whose multiplicity was only enhanced by the post-Columbian immigration of Europeans and Africans with their own myriad systems of belief and practice. The U.S. Constitution's prohibition against establishing a single national religion further set the foundation for a plurality of religions to flourish. Without the state to regulate orthodoxy, Americans were free to believe as they chose and to start new movements when they became dissatisfied with existing religions. Substantial immigration has also bolstered America's religious diversity. Men and women from all over the globe have brought their cultures to the North American soil. Yet immigrant and native religions never remained static, but in different regions around the country they evolved in particular and distinct ways, lending local flair to adherents' spiritual lives. At the same time, Protestant Christianity has defined the major institutions, creeds, and belief systems that a broad selection of the American public accepts. This influence is evident in the nation's holidays, songs, political activities, and popular culture. But like every other American religion, Protestantism has evolved over time, influencing other religions as they have influenced it. Historian Catherine L. Albanese argues that American religious life is best described by religious combination. Rather than treating religious systems as relics that resist change and transformation, American religions are in a constant state of evolution resulting from centuries of contact between competing groups of religious people. This contact and combination between the dominant culture and the nation's many subcultures has been the definitive characteristic of American religion and has inspired complex social movements.

Colonial Religion

Colonists raced to the Americas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for a variety of reasons, including profit-making, proselytizing, and building a new way of life. On the East Coast, pluralism flourished as New England Puritans sought to define the trajectory of North American life, while Quakers, Native Americans, and a host of other religious groups served as constant reminders that the American story was much more than one of Protestant triumphalism. Meanwhile, on the West Coast, Father Junipero Serra and his allies struggled to bring Roman Catholicism to the indigenous people of California. As each of these groups labored across generations to advance their religions, a revival broke out on the Eastern seaboard. Known as the Great Awakening, these meetings revitalized colonial Protestantism in the 1730s and 1740s.

England's efforts to expand its empire in the 1600s led to the creation of American Puritanism, one of the continent's most distinctive and formative social movements. Frustrated with the state of the Church of England in the sixteenth century, British Puritans abandoned their homes in search of a place where they could isolate themselves from England's supposed moral degradation and where they might raise their children in the faith. The Puritans believed that in coming to America, they were establishing an unbreakable covenant with God, which was chronicled by Plymouth, Massachusetts, governor William Bradford. Another group of Puritans, who settled a decade later on Massachusetts Bay, had a slightly different

goal in mind. They had embarked on an "errand into the wilderness" to build a holy city, which they hoped would provide a model for governing back in England.

As their leader John Winthrop articulated their goal, they sought to establish a godly, utopian society in the New World that would demonstrate the legitimacy of the Puritan faith to the English. The Puritans ultimately expected to be welcomed back to their homeland where they could lead a religious and political reformation, but this wish never materialized. Puritanism's success derived from its integration of religious ideology with all other aspects of life and society. Government, church, and community were seamlessly entwined, establishing a powerful foundation for the movement to flourish. Puritans were committed to education and built strong schools in North America. They also left little room for dissent. Mavericks who challenged colonial authorities were quickly and severely punished. The two original groups of Puritans eventually merged and together, with new immigrants from England, articulated one of the major religious themes in U.S. history, that of Protestant triumphalism. The Puritans believed that they were God's chosen people for his chosen land, an idea that has resonated with generations of American Protestants.

Although the Puritans have received the most scholarly attention, they were not the only European colonists building religious movements in early America. The Society of Friends, or Quakers, were influential religious pioneers who constantly and intentionally antagonized the Puritans. They built successful communities in New England and in the middle colonies as well. The largest Quaker settlement was in Pennsylvania, a colony established by William Penn as a refuge for his co-religionists. Quakers tended to be more egalitarian than other Protestants and were tied together by their strong communal emphasis. They dressed simply, they rejected social distinctions, and they attempted to live humbly. Theologically, they emphasized all people's ability to find the light of Christ within them, which they believed was a means by which God communicated. This radical idea empowered individuals and shattered religious hierarchies—God could speak through anyone, regardless of age, race, or gender. Unlike most of the Puritans who insisted on keeping their colony religiously "pure," Penn promoted toleration of other groups, including different Protestant sects, Catholics, and Native Americans. Quakers dominated Philadelphia's politics, and as slavery increased in North America they became leading abolitionists. In the nineteenth century, Quakers helped direct the fight for women's equality.

Religious movements were developing on the West Coast as well. In the mid-1700s, Franciscan Father Junipero Serra established an impressive line of mission stations along the California coast from San Diego to San Francisco where Native converts lived with Spanish missionaries. Indians were required to adopt European cultural norms, but in subtle ways they helped the Catholic fathers apply their faith in a context quite different from their homeland. The missions offered Indians tools, trade goods, and food and became a means of social advancement for some. The religious life of the missions became a hybrid of European and native North American customs that were actively negotiated by the two people groups. Well after the missions secularized, local Natives continued practicing an integrated religion that drew from both Catholicism and the traditions of their tribes, which permanently influenced religion in the Southwest.

Over the course of American history, revivals of faith were common. They often arose when religious men and women, dissatisfied with the state of their religious lives and institutions, looked back to previous generations for inspiration. In their predecessors, they discovered what they believed was a higher level of commitment and authenticity than that characterizing their own generation. As a result, they would demand a return to the old-time faith of their forebearers, which led to a renewal of religious vigor and a revitalization of faith. This occurred in the mid-eighteenth century and has occurred repeatedly among people of different ethnicities and faiths ever since.

In the mid-1700s, the colonies experienced a tremendous revival called the "Great Awakening," which eventually influenced the entire Eastern seaboard. Led by charismatic men and women, the revival stemmed from the growing discouragement of a handful of preachers over what they thought was rampant impiety. The faith of their Puritan forebearers had been diluted over time. They believed that even other clergy lacked the proper spiritual credentials to be leading parishioners. Therefore, a group of men and a few women, starting in the middle colonies and New England and progressing to the Southern colonies, began traveling from town-to-town calling for revival. They were controversial, and their ideas eventually caused many churches to split between loyalty to traditional leaders and allegiance to the revivalists. Among the many factors contributing to the Awak-

JUNÍPERO SERRA (1713–1784)

Junípero Serra was born Miguel José Serra in Majorca, Spain, on November 24, 1713. On September 14, 1730, he entered the Franciscan Order and took Junípero as his name. For his proficiency in studies, he was appointed lector of philosophy before his ordination to the priesthood. Later he received the degree of doctor of theology from the Lullian University at Palma, where he also taught philosophy for fifteen years. He occupied the Duns Scotus chair of philosophy until he traveled to Mexico in 1749.

In 1749, Serra was sent to Mexico with Francisco Palou, his lifelong friend and biographer, and proceeded to Mexico City, where he taught briefly at the College of San Fernando. For three years he worked successfully among the Native Americans of the Sierra Gorda and then returned to Mexico City for seven more years, working half of each year in the surrounding villages. A strenuous defender of Indians, he learned the language of the Pame Indians, and translated the catechism into their language. He became famous as a most fervent and effective preacher of missions. His zeal frequently led him to employ extraordinary means in order to move the people to penance. He would pound his breast with a stone while in the pulpit, scourge himself, or apply a lighted torch to his bare chest.

In 1769, Serra went with the second expedition to California, which was commanded by Gaspar de Portolá. When the party reached San Diego, Serra remained to found the mission there, while most of the rest of the party went on in search of the harbor of Monterey. It was the first of the twenty-one California missions (he established nine himself) which converted all the natives on the coast as far as Sonoma in the north and marked the beginning of the European settlement of California. When they returned unsuccessful from the expedition, Serra urged the sending of another, which he accompanied. After they reached Monterey and founded the mission San Carlos de Monterey (1770), Serra remained there as president of Alta California missions; in 1771, because the soldiers were not friendly to the Indians, he moved the mission to Carmel-by-the-Sea and renamed it San Carlos Barromeo de Carmelo, which became his headquarters for the rest of his life. He died at Monterey, California, on August 28, 1784.

Serra is considered by many to be the founder and the pioneer of California. The esteem in which his memory is held by all classes in California is reflected in the fact that a non-Catholic had a granite monument erected to him at Monterey. A bronze statue of heroic size represents him as the apostolic preacher in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco. In 1884, the California legislature passed a concurrent resolution making August 29 of that year, the centennial of Father Serra's burial, a legal holiday.

James G. Lewis

ening's success were charismatic leaders, a well-developed intellectual foundation, and changes in technology and communications.

The Great Awakening's most important and successful revivalist was Englishman George Whitefield, who tied together the many strands of revival into a somewhat distinct social movement. Known as the "great itinerant," he was not confined to one particular church and pulpit, but proclaimed his message wherever he could find listeners. He first came to America in 1739 (at age twenty-five) and eventually made seven trips to the United States, touring all over the colonies. He regularly spoke outdoors to accommodate large crowds, and he preached without notes, in stark contrast to the traditional written sermons of the Puritans. Whitefield's style reduced the physical and social distance between preacher and listener, making him seem accessible to common people. He became America's first intercolonial hero, a celebrity superstar, which was an image he cultivated. His appeal lay in his powerful voice, his theatrical panache, his unique looks—he had a wandering eye—and his masterful rhetorical skill.

The primary philosopher and theologian of the Great Awakening, and one of America's most brilliant minds, was Jonathan Edwards, the pastor of a Congregational Church in Northampton, Massachusetts. In the mid-1730s, Edwards began to preach on the importance of justification by faith, which caused a revival in his church. Congregants experiencing conversion expressed themselves in a variety of ways ranging from weeping to convulsing, to falling prostrate onto the ground, to producing strange verbal sounds. Seeking to build the movement, Edwards began working with other preachers in the region, triggering a widespread revival across the Connecticut Valley. He combined Puritan theology with Enlightenment philosophy, reading heavily in John Locke and Isaac Newton. His intention was not to teach static doctrine, but to bring about a change of con-

sciousness in listeners. He did this by appealing to their "affections," or emotions, with vivid sensational images. He also served as the Great Awakening's foremost promoter, publicist, defender, and interpreter.

Another element of the Great Awakening's success was its inclusive nature. The revival affected more than just Anglo Americans. David Brainerd, Edwards' son-in-law, became a "missionary to the Indians," taking Edwards' ideas to Native Americans. He led a revival among a band of Delaware Indians, baptized thirty-eight of them, and formed a church. When Brainerd died prematurely, Edwards fashioned the revivalist's diary into a heroic book that popularized Brainerd's work, which was read all over the colonies. On Whitefield's tours to the South, many African Americans converted, marking the beginning of Christianity's integration into slave culture. Women were also key players in the movement. A few, the most famous of whom was Bathsheba Kingsley, actually went from church to church preaching and exhorting audiences and even ministers to experience conversion. Although male leaders were never entirely comfortable with women preaching, some like Edwards acknowledged the women's contributions. The revivals ultimately challenged traditional gender roles, providing opportunities for women to speak in public and to teach the scriptures.

The Great Awakening emerged at a time when important new innovations in communication were developing, which was most obvious in the distribution of newspapers. Colonists in both North and South could read about the tremendous crowds and the amazing spectacles of Whitefield's meetings. These reports helped build momentum behind the revivalists and aroused the interest of common people and elites, from poor farmers to Benjamin Franklin. In addition to its formative influence on American Protestantism, the Awakening also had a decisive effect on the colonists' move toward revolution in that it provided one of the first unifying experiences of the eighteenth century. As a result of the widespread popularity of people like Whitefield, colonists began thinking of themselves as distinctly American rather than English or "Virginian." More important, revivalists infused in their audiences a belief that the common person could trust his or her own instincts. No longer did established authorities have to be deferred to, but the religious impulses of regular people were valued. A new national identity, a communications revolution, and the fracturing of traditional authorities spawned by the Awakening helped the colonies unite against England during the Revolution.

The Revolution and Early Republic

In the wake of the American Revolution, two major religious movements developed. The first was civil religion, a movement initiated primarily by elites who sought to give religious meaning to their new nation. The second was a series of revivals called the Second Great Awakening. These revivals fit the character of the times. They were more democratic and egalitarian than the revivals of the previous centuries, and they spawned a number of unique social movements affecting whites, African Americans, and Native Americans in different ways.

One of the most important and distinctively American belief systems is "civil religion," which emerged around the time of the American Revolution. First and foremost, civil religion stemmed from the patriots' efforts to give religious significance to their new nation. The religion of most of the Revolutionary leaders was not the evangelical faith of Jonathan Edwards or George Whitefield but a synthesis of Puritan ideas and humanist philosophy. Like their Puritan predecessors, the patriots believed that America occupied a unique position in God's unfolding plan for history. The result was a combination of religious and political language that put the Revolution on a par with biblical epics. Their belief in a dualistic world with good battling evil, an unrelenting sense of the providence of God, and melodramatic interpretations of international events also had Puritan roots.

These ideas were tempered by the patriots' confidence in humans' ability to make the world a better place and assumptions about God's transcendence from His creation, which derived from European philosophy. Revolutionary leaders, under the spell of the Enlightenment, replaced the active deity of Whitefield with the God of reason, natural law, and natural rights. The Bible inspired much of the rhetoric of the war, but it was a deistic God who had set the universe in motion with specific laws whom they honored. George Washington, after his death, became the ultimate symbol of civil religion. He acquired an almost divine status, recognized as the messiah of the new nation. In America's national songs, on the walls of its shrines, on its money, and in its holiday celebrations, religion and patriotism merged.

While civil religion influenced the national life of the United States, the early Republic proved to be fertile ground for the birth of new social movements. Protestants, who remained the dominant religious group, reshaped their faith in ways that ultimately accommodated the growth of new sects. A few sweep-

ing trends made this possible. First, conversion was simplified. Rather than having to make public and arduous demonstration of their faith, people were able to make an immediate and inward decision to convert. This individualistic accentuation of Christianity appealed to the illiterate and poorly educated, including slaves, rural settlers, and newer immigrants. Second, the role of the preacher evolved. One's authority was justified on the basis of his or her individual conversion experience and his or her ability to attract followers; many Protestants rejected the traditional requirement of a "proper" education for their leaders. Third, religious outsiders faced few restrictions. They encountered a world turned upside down by the Revolution where anything was possible. Traditional authorities had been subverted, leaving insurgents free to shape their faith as they chose.

Out of this context burst the Second Great Awakening. In the last decade of the eighteenth century and in the first of the nineteenth, the colonies experienced a tremendous revival of Christianity, both in the East and among settlers expanding into the Western United States. Among the most famous and important of these revivals were the Cane Ridge camp meetings of 1801. Seeking to influence the spiritual lives of the thousands of people heading westward, local clergy around rural Bourbon County, Kentucky, sent off invitations for a nationwide revival. Between 10,000 and 25,000 people responded, arriving in wagons for this unprecedented opportunity to socialize, to catch up on news and gossip, and to gain valuable information about the West. The result was a sudden and temporary urban setting springing up for a week in the wilderness. Religious meetings were organized around crude, mostly outdoor, preaching platforms, which were shared by a potpourri of speakers, including black and white Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians. Parishioners responded physically to the revival services by falling, experiencing the "jerks," dancing, barking, running, and singing when they came under the "power of the Spirit." So many people fell to the earth that parts of the revival grounds appeared to be strewn like a battlefield, bodies shook and convulsed, and some enthusiasts babbled incoherent speech. Skeptics, however, noted that more souls might have been conceived at Cane Ridge than saved. Each of the major denominations represented at Cane Ridge continued to organize similar meetings in the following years. As a result, thousands of Americans converted to the evangelical Protestant faith and many new churches were established, fueling the growth of Presbyterianism in the South and the explosion of the Methodist and Baptist denominations in the West.

Cane Ridge occurred as a semispontaneous, enthused event that represented church leaders' growing concern about the souls of their peers and Americans' increasing appetite for religion as they built a new nation. The Methodists made the most of this opportunity, creating an enormous network of churches through their brilliant organizational skill. Like the itinerants of the Great Awakening, Methodist preachers traveled from region to region spreading the gospel. However, rather than focusing on the spiritual state of the churched as had Edwards and Whitefield, Methodists worked hard at organizing the unchurched. As the American population sprawled westward, Methodist preachers called circuit riders took it upon themselves to ensure that the influence of the Christian gospel did the same. Their goal was to restore the "primitive church," freeing religion from the encumbrances of tradition and shaping it for the needs of the changing nation. The circuit riders divided up regions between them, overseeing multiple congregations at the same time since there were not enough ministers to match the nation's expansion. They traveled from church to church, stopping to preach whenever a crowd gathered. Between visits by the circuit rider, Methodist congregations met on their own for prayer and worship. If they had a skilled lay exhorter, he or she might occasionally preach. As a result of its democratic tendencies and its strong organizational efforts, Methodism appealed to Americans of all races and classes, becoming the largest American religious movement in the nineteenth century.

While Methodists built churches around the country, Charles Grandison Finney attempted to fuel the revival fires in the Northeast in the 1820s and 1830s. A lawyer by trade, Finney had a radical conversion experience. He then began preaching, leading a large revival in the boom town of Rochester, New York, where the Erie Canal had opened the way for rapid growth. Finney was an innovator; he encouraged women to testify in public, and he pioneered the use of the anxious bench—a bench placed at the front of the church where suppliants could contemplate their sinfulness and seek conversion. Finney's success may be partially attributable to the support of capitalists leading the market revolution engulfing Rochester. As workers gained more autonomy over their private lives, business leaders benefited from churches that taught workers to be temperate and reliable. However, religion seems to have been much more than an

opiate for the masses. Workers used religion as a liberating force in their lives and for opportunities to build relationships in their community. Finney later moved to Ohio where he became president of the new Oberlin College, a school that admitted men and women, whites and blacks. The college was also one of the nation's leading voices for social reform.

Revival affected the South as well as the West, transforming life in slave communities. Little noticed by whites, slaves responded to the democratic, egalitarian message of the Second Great Awakening in radical ways. Not content worshiping in the prescribed manner of their masters, slaves crafted their own network of churches and anointed their own religious authorities. They met secretly, often after dark, in shanties far from masters' homes where they were free to worship, to pray, to share news, and to testify. The religion slaves followed merged West African practices and beliefs with evangelical Christianity, which provided a framework for analyzing the hardships they faced and allowed them to take solace in each other and in their creator. The church inspired many of their most fervent calls for freedom and cultivated the leadership skills of men and women who orchestrated revolts. Throughout the nineteenth- and twentieth-century South, the black church served as the centerpiece of the African-American community. African Americans took the religious ideas and practices of their homeland and of the Second Great Awakening, blended them, and created their own religious movement that provided much of the basis for their economic, political, and social life.

Large numbers of African Americans in the North also found religion to be an empowering force. Independent black churches arose in part out of African Americans' growing impatience with racist church policies. One influential early leader was Richard Allen, who was born into slavery in Philadelphia. He was converted by Methodists and began preaching, eventually converting his own master who responded by allowing Allen to purchase freedom. He became a circuit rider after the war, and then returned to Philadelphia where he led prayer services at the biracial St. George's Methodist Church. As the congregation's black population increased, so did the racial animosity of the whites. Ultimately, the white church leadership began segregating the pews and altar areas. In 1787, Richard Allen and a number of his friends left St. George's in protest of its racial discrimination and started a church in a blacksmith shop. It led to the creation of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, which focused on both the spiritual and economic well-being of African Americans. The denomination became an important center of political and social support for the black community in America.

Women were also involved in the development of the black church. Jarena Lee, a member of Richard Allen's congregation, believed that God had called her to preach. Although Allen originally forbade it because of her gender, Lee spontaneously arose during a service and began preaching extemporaneously. Allen stood and told the congregation that Lee was as qualified as any of the men to speak. She then became an itinerant preacher, traveling with a message of revival. She wrote and published an autobiography, an unprecedented action for a black woman in this era.

Methodists were not the only people in North America attempting to elicit religious revival. When Europeans first landed on the shores of North America, they encountered a diverse set of cultures. American Indians lived in hundreds of different societies with distinct languages, cultures, and religions, sharing little in common. Over the centuries, however, they occasionally began to work together, creating new alliances in the face of their common threat. A consequence was Native American religious revitalization movements. One of the most famous began in the early nineteenth century when a Shawnee named Tenskwatawa started having visions. He claimed to know the key to Native survival: Indians must completely reject all of the cultural practices that they had inherited from Europeans. Dress, tools, dietary and religious practices were all to return to traditional Native ways if they wanted to protect their land. Tenskwatawa was aided by his bother Tecumseh, a powerful chief who had built a confederacy of tribes in Michigan, Ohio, and Indiana. Together the chief and the prophet organized a large coalition of Indians against whites in a political and religious alliance. Ultimately, however, they were defeated at the hands of the American military under the command of William Henry Harrison. U.S. soldiers decimated one of Tenskwatawa's critical towns, forcing the Natives to retreat. As a result, Tenskwatawa's power quickly declined, extinguishing the movement. Despite its political failure, this revitalization movement evidenced the Natives' growing frustration with white encroachment on their land and their savvy at organizing powerful religious and political alliances that unified quite diverse people groups.

The Nineteenth Century

The revivals of the early nineteenth century spawned many more unique religious movements. Visionaries,

unencumbered by the restrictions of previous generations, built utopian communities. Prophets looking to the sky were sure that the end of the world was near. In the mid-nineteenth century, despite growing tension and ultimately war, men and women adapted their faiths in unique ways, finding refuge from their surroundings in new expressions of religion.

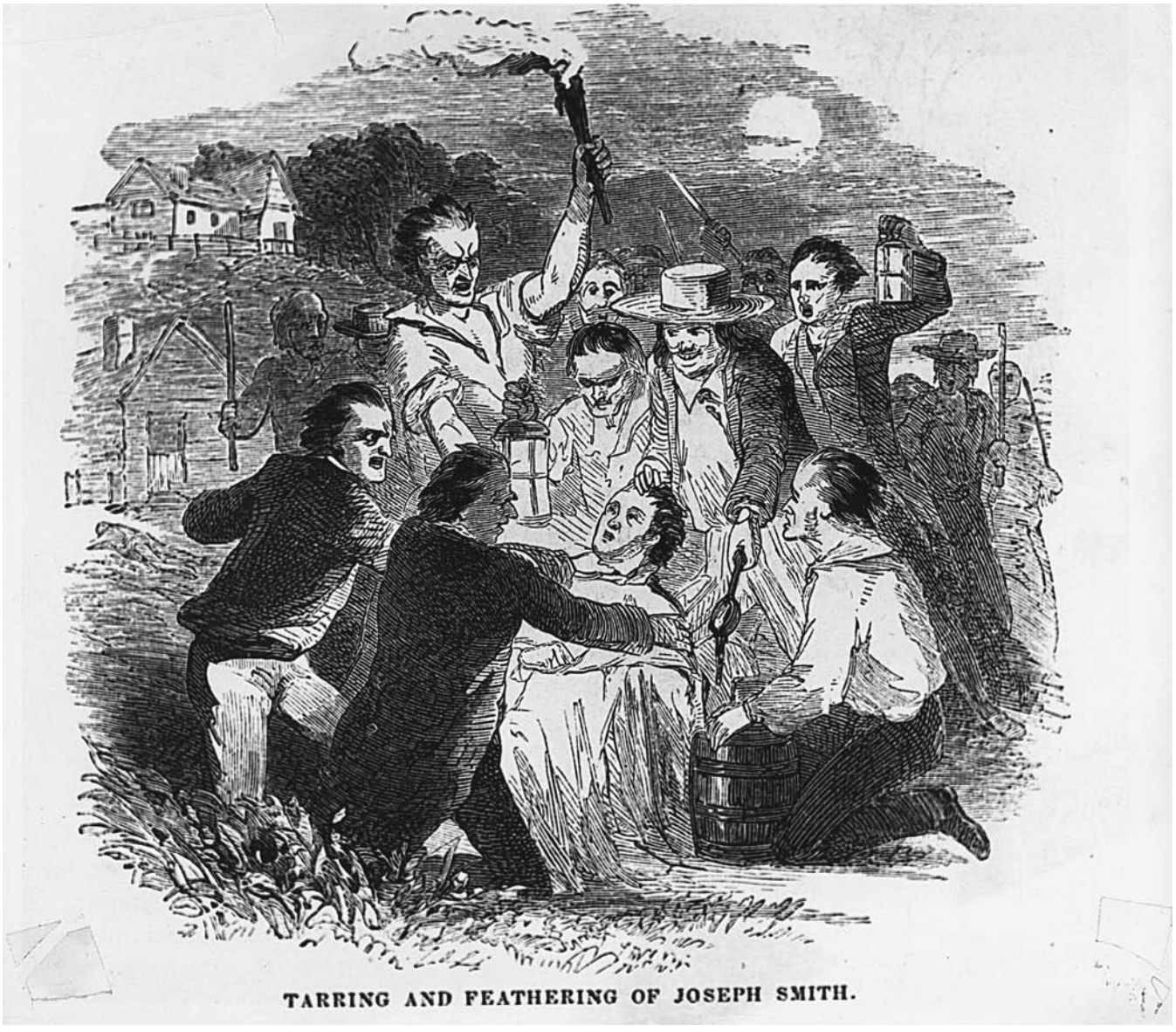
One of the most original and distinctively American religions is the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, whose adherents are more commonly known as Mormons. Joseph Smith, Jr., a poor teenager from upstate New York's "burnt-over-district"—named for the many revivals that passed through it—started the movement early- to mid-nineteenth century when he claimed to have received new revelations from God. Smith had been distressed by the competing and seemingly contradictory messages of local preachers as well as the social turmoil rural Americans faced as a result of the Revolution. He claimed to have seen a great light in the woods and later to have been visited by an angel named Moroni, who directed Smith to a secret location where golden tablets were buried. These tablets purportedly revealed the history of early America. Smith eventually translated the plates with magic stones, which became the basis for the *Book of Mormon*, a foundational text of his movement.

The *Book of Mormon* is a uniquely American work that blends civil religion and biblical themes with a few unique innovations. It teaches that Native Americans descended from members of the twelve Hebrew tribes of the Old Testament, some of whom traveled to America around 600 B.C.E. According to this book, the United States was therefore not a new Israel as the Puritans had asserted but was actually linked with God's original chosen people. America was a sacred place unlike any other in which the Almighty had revealed His new gospel. The *Book of Mormon* also contained an element of social protest. It attacked the class distinctions of the era and took organized religion to task for perpetuating and reifying inequalities.

Smith's ideas provoked a lot of opposition since most Americans believed that it was heretical to supplement the "divine revelation" of the Bible with new revelation, and since the Mormons engaged in controversial social practices. As a result, Smith was forced to lead his band of followers from place to place, seeking refuge and a peaceful region where the movement could blossom. In the 1840s, with over 10,000 followers, Smith was jailed and then killed by a lynch mob. Brigham Young, who replaced Smith as the Saints' leader, took the group to Utah where they established a permanent Mormon empire. In Utah the movement's growth exploded. The Mormons' commitment to hard work, a centrally planned economy, strong families, and a belief in their potential divinity led to their success. A religious group that was once on the outskirts of American culture, the Latter-day Saints are now as American as apple pie.

Although Smith achieved the greatest following, many other visionary leaders built social movements in the nineteenth century; among them were William Miller, Ann Lee, and John Humphrey Noyes. William Miller was a self-educated religious innovator. The strength behind his movement derived from his marketing skills and the scientific appeal of his ideas. A Baptist and a New York farmer, in the 1830s, Miller abandoned his land to become a lay exhorter. He traveled from church to church, proclaiming the imminent return of Christ. Crowds followed, generating excitement that was stimulated by the work of his publicist, Joshua Himes, who created elaborate charts detailing Miller's calculations for determining the date of Christ's return. These charts fed Americans' fascination with things that appeared "scientific." Using a rigid interpretation of the Bible as his guide, Miller calculated and publicized the day of Jesus's reappearance: March 21, 1843. When Christ didn't return as expected, Miller adjusted his calculations and placed the new date in 1844, but was again disappointed. Members of his Millerite group later reorganized themselves as the Seventh-day Adventists. Over the course of his life, Miller published over 5 million pieces of literature, including numerous religious tracts and a magazine.

Yet another visionary dedicated to Christ's imminent return was Ann Lee, who built a small following. Lee was illiterate and worked as a domestic servant. She lost four children during infancy, which caused her to question the appropriateness of sexual activity. Consequently, she began advocating total abstinence, both within and outside of marriage, and she also taught strict equality between the sexes. For a while she worked with a band of Quakers, whose trembling (or "shaking") during worship influenced her religious style. She later ventured out on her own, building a movement officially called the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearance, but more often referred to as the Shakers because of their distinctive worship practices and stylized dance. The group lived communally and simply, holding almost everything in common. They led demanding lives, working hard and sacrificing much to support the community. Unlike groups such as the Latter-day Saints who gave birth to many children, the abstinent



An angry mob tars and feathers Joseph Smith, founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, popularly known as the Mormons. Smith claimed as a child to have had revelations from God and been visited by an angel. Mormons were attacked everywhere they settled, and Smith was murdered by a mob in Carthage, Illinois, in 1844. *(Brown Brothers)*

Shakers adopted children in an effort to perpetuate the movement, but their growth was limited. The community eventually came to regard Lee as the incarnate Christ.

Similar to the Shakers in their communitarian emphasis was another nineteenth-century group, the Oneida Perfectionists, who sought to build an enduring religious movement. Led by John Humphrey Noyes, this group believed that people could live sinless lives, they practiced economic cooperation, and they sought divine healing. Noyes, like other religious leaders of the era, had a unique interpretation of Christ's second coming. He believed that Jesus had returned to earth in C.E. 70, which was the basis for his commitment to the attainability of perfection. More controversially, Noyes and his community also practiced "complex marriages" in which wives and husbands rotated between one another in the community. Opposed by their neighbors, they relocated to Oneida, New York, in 1848, where, in contrast to

many of the century's other utopian communities, the faithful at Oneida enjoyed economic prosperity for a time. They built steel traps and the still popular Oneida silverware. However, by the end of the century, the movement had mostly dissolved.

As pioneers ventured out on their own, others sought to reform more mainstream religions. One of the central strands of the era, human perfectionism, had a tremendous impact on men and women like Noyes as well as on American Methodists. John Wesley, the founder of Methodism in Europe, encouraged Christians to strive for perfection in their lives. As a result, Wesleyans emphasized the sanctifying work of the Holy Spirit after conversion and attempted to embody absolute love for God and one's fellow human beings. Combining the century's optimism with its religious creativity, the holiness movement emerged from this strain of Methodism. Holiness's most popular teacher was Phoebe Palmer, a woman who had a postconversion experience in which she claimed to feel the Holy Spirit's power. She then began teaching other women about her experience and eventually taught men too, inciting a renewed effort toward perfect living. A popular lecturer, she went on numerous tours around America and published many books. Among her lasting contributions to the nation's religion was a biblically based defense of women's right to preach. Holiness advocates like Palmer also believed strongly in missionary work, and they engaged in many of the moral reform movements of the era.

The Progressive Era

After the Civil War, the United States' immigration patterns shifted. More and more people began arriving from Central, Eastern, and Southern Europe in contrast to the previous generations of newcomers who had more often originated from Western Europe. On the West Coast, Asians arrived in great numbers, answering American business's call for inexpensive laborers. With the evolving immigration came new religious trends. The country's Jewish and Catholic populations, which were already sizable, surged. At the same time, new religions from other parts of the globe arrived for the landmark 1893 World's Parliament of Religions, held in Chicago. Out of this increasingly pluralistic context and fueled by continuing heavy immigration, many new social movements emerged.

Jews were among the major groups benefiting from the new immigration. They had been on American soil since the seventeenth century, migrating like many other groups in hopes of practicing their religion freely. In the mid-nineteenth century, a new, distinctively American, movement called Reform Judaism developed. Proponents of Reform Judaism sought to make the ancient faith more compatible with modern American life through numerous changes. They used English rather than Hebrew for their services, they initiated mixed-gender seating, and most controversially they denied the actual personhood of the Messiah. Instead, Reform Jews believed that the Messiah was the religion itself. A leading advocate of these alterations was Isaac Mayer Wise, who founded Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati to shape and perpetuate Reform Judaism. The movement appealed to many older generation Jewish Americans who sought to integrate their beliefs more thoroughly with American culture. Through Reform Judaism, they were able to practice their historic faith without isolating themselves from the surrounding society.

Not all Jews, however, found this movement appealing. Reform Judaism was especially problematic among the newer immigrants arriving from poorer parts of Europe. They were troubled by the Americanized changes and believed that such "reforms" did little more than dilute the faith. These religionists insisted on keeping the genders segregated during worship, on obeying all 613 laws prescribed in the Torah, and on using Hebrew for worship services. To distinguish themselves from Reform Judaism, they began calling themselves Orthodox Jews. They settled primarily in the nation's major cities, forming close-knit communities where they could protect their religious traditions. A third group, called Conservative Jews, embodied a sort of synthesis between Reform and Orthodox. Also emerging during the late nineteenth century, they interpreted the Torah more loosely than their Orthodox brethren, and they placed significant value on the nonreligious elements of Jewish culture.

As the Jewish population in the United States increased, so too did the size and power of the Roman Catholic Church. Between 1870 and 1910, it quadrupled. Because the Catholic Church had historically penetrated so many different cultures, it found a variety of expressions in America. As Catholic Europeans poured into the country, they developed their own national churches based on ethnicity, which functioned as religious, as well as social, political, and economic strongholds for the local community. Diverse groups of Poles, Irish, and Italians all maintained their autonomy and yet struggled together to defend their faith in the face of the dominant, sometimes hostile, Protestant culture. Meanwhile, turmoil and revolution in Mexico pushed Catholic Latinos into the Southwestern United States, where they practiced their own

culturally distinctive form of the faith. Each of the various Catholic ethnic groups sought to promote their beliefs among younger generations in America and, at times, battled each other for control of the Church in the United States. They built shrines, celebrated holidays, and organized parades to demonstrate their religious devotion and to honor their local traditions. They also proved to be capable institution builders, establishing thousands of parochial schools and a number of colleges to raise their children in the faith.

As Catholic immigrant groups adjusted their religion for a new context, so too did America's Natives look for creative ways to build and sustain their religious lives. In the late 1800s, a widespread social movement similar to the revitalization movement earlier in the century linked religious ideas with a political agenda. The movement began when a Nevada Paiute named Wovoka had a series of dreams in which he traveled to a utopian land full of wild game and resurrected Indian ancestors. He returned from this paradise with an edict for his fellow Indians. They were to stop fighting with each other and with whites. Instead, Wovoka taught them a sacred practice, called the Ghost Dance, which was supposed to drive the whites away, to restore the land, and to reunite the Indians with their ancestors. The Ghost Dance spread, bringing political ramifications. The Sioux believed that through their practice of the Ghost Dance, they would be invincible in battle. As a result, they engaged in bloody confrontations with the American military, which concluded in a massacre of Natives at Wounded Knee, South Dakota. The Ghost Dance, like many of the other utopian movements of the nineteenth century, left its adherents disappointed.

Similar to Native Americans and Jewish and Catholic immigrants who modified their faiths to fit their particular social circumstances, a group of white, somewhat elite Protestants, did the same. In the Progressive Era, good physical health was a highly prized commodity, and in every newspaper and on every street corner thousands of people offered myriad cures, remedies, and practices for attaining it. Christian Science, developed by Mary Baker Eddy, became a popular religious movement driven by Americans' concern with their well being. As a child Eddy struggled with poor health and found few answers in mainstream American religion or in medicine. She eventually met Phineas P. Quimby, a folk healer who believed that reality was no more than an idea pervading from God's mind. He also reasoned that God was absolutely incapable of error, suffering, or death. Taking Quimby's ideas to their logical conclusion, Eddy believed that suffering was therefore just an illusion. She articulated a corresponding interpretation of Jesus. He was not God incarnate, but the model human who understood such ideas. She published her teachings in a series of books, the most important of which was called *Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures* (1875). Although the Christian Science movement spread around the nation, Eddy was most popular in the Northeast, especially among the wealthier classes. Christian Science appealed to the many men and women hoping to recover from the ailments of the era.

Confronted with the rapid growth of other religions and new sects, traditional American Protestants, whose constituencies were declining, faced an identity crisis. Theological and philosophical trends sweeping the nation further contributed to their identity crisis. The growing popularity of Darwinian evolution and the application of literary criticism to the Bible became divisive issues that would eventually sever many churches and even some denominations. On the one side were the fundamentalists, who rejected contemporary trends and maintained a literal approach to the Bible. They were willing to fight for their beliefs, refusing to let modernism seep into their churches, schools, or homes. On the other side of the debate were the liberal Protestants, or modernists, who were broadly characterized by their efforts to keep their faith up-to-date with the latest scientific and philosophical movements. Like Reform Jews, they wanted to contemporize and apply their faith to the modern world. Ascribing generally to either the modernist or the fundamentalist movements, dozens of smaller Protestant submovements emerged. Two of the most influential were the Social Gospel and Pentecostalism.

The Social Gospel was a revival of sorts that developed out of mainstream Protestants' efforts to meet the demands of a changing nation. The United States, like Europe, faced increasing economic inequality, abysmal healthcare, dangerous working conditions, exploitation of workers, and unrestrained, rapid urban growth, triggering clerics' movement out of their church and onto the street. The Christian gospel, they believed, was not just about a person's relationship with God but also about his or her social relationships. These men and women taught Christians to engage their faith with culture and to think about the social message of the scriptures. The Social Gospel in-

fluenced many of the classic Protestant denominations, but its most obvious expressions surfaced through interdenominational organizations. The Men and Religion Forward Movement of 1911–1912 (which linked a form of "muscular Christianity" that emphasized the strength and virility of Jesus with the Social Gospel) and the Federal Council of the Churches were two leading organizations with strong Social Gospel components. Through such interdenominational agencies, the movement accomplished many things. It revived Protestant liberalism and reshaped the role of the church in society. Religiously inspired men and women established schools for all ages to educate the new urban public, while settlement houses were built for the poor. Northern churches created schools in the South for African Americans who otherwise received little help. Some leaders immersed their churches in political issues like suffrage, prohibition, and expansionism, while others were more subtle about their politics. Social action groups, missionary societies, and student organizations were established or expanded under the auspices of the movement. From church pulpits, seminaries, street corners, and the academy, Social Gospel leaders attempted to convert all who would listen to a new way of life.

Pentecostals, on the other hand, were linked to both the emerging fundamentalist movement and the Holiness movement. They subscribed to most of the same beliefs about the Bible's inerrancy as fundamentalists; they too claimed to interpret it literally, and they rejected many of the intellectual and cultural trends of the era. Their distinguishing feature was an emphasis on what they called the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. Like Holiness folks, Pentecostals believed that after conversion, a person gained a sense of empowerment derived from the Holy Spirit. They were subsequently able to exercise the spiritual gifts listed in the New Testament, the most prominent of which was speaking in tongues. With strong organizations, charismatic leaders, a somewhat more racially inclusive attitude than many other Protestants, and the appropriation of new technologies, Pentecostalism became one of the most vibrant social movements in the twentieth century.

Modern American Religious Movements

After World War II, many of the religious movements developing in the Progressive Era continued to expand. In the mid-1950s, sociologist Will Herberg published *Protestant, Catholic, Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology* (1956), which argued that America was no longer a religiously monolithic nation, but a pluralistic country composed primarily of the three major faiths constituting his title. However, little did Herberg know that America was on the verge of a new explosion of religious diversity. In the 1960s, Congress passed legislation that reformed America's immigration laws. Nonwhite, non-Protestant religions flourished as quotas favoring the immigration of Europeans and restricting the immigration of Asians and other national groups came to an end. The result has been a revolution in religious diversity in which America's pluralism has emerged from back alleys and moved to Main Street. Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism are three groups that illustrate this change, while other Americans have reached out to the New Age movement for answers.

Islam is one of the fastest growing of America's "new" religions. Muslims have been on North American soil for hundreds of years, but their numbers remained small until Progressive Era immigration brought additional Muslims from around the world to America. Most settled in the urban cities of the North and in California. For centuries they remained primarily in the shadows, living in close-knit communities where they tried not to draw attention to themselves. In recent decades, this pattern has reversed itself. Muslims have erected thousands of mosques, developed thriving student movements, and established influential community organizations. As it has integrated into American society, Islam has evolved in particularly American ways. Muslim women participate more in public life than they do in traditional Muslim countries and worship centers, and services have taken distinctly American tones. Muslims have reconceptualized their faith to make it relevant for a generation of children born and raised in the United States.

One offshoot of historic Islam is the American-based Nation of Islam. This movement appeals primarily to urban African Americans who have rejected more mainstream American traditions. Although Islam has prospered among Africans and African Americans for centuries, it experienced a significant revival during mid-century under the mysterious Wallace Fard and his successor Elijah Muhammad. In 1930s Detroit, Fard established a Temple of Islam, which drew parishioners from the city's working-class black population. Fard taught that blacks were God's

highest creation, whereas whites were an inferior offshoot. The movement capitalized on widespread black identity movements, which critiqued mainstream American religion for its pervasive racism. Under Elijah Muhammad, the Nation of Islam established a new headquarters in Chicago. A brilliant leader and organizer, Muhammad integrated the Qur'an with the Bible and reshaped some of the major creeds and holidays of the faith to mold them for an American population. Malcolm X became one of the Nation's most popular spokespeople. The movement's success lay foremost in its practicality. Muhammad taught his followers the values of hard work, economic independence, and a strict moral code. Although controversial, the Nation of Islam has subsequently transformed many inner-city areas, helping the black community defend itself against the hegemony of the dominant culture.

Like the world's other major religions, Hinduism has been present on American soil for generations. In the nineteenth century, Transcendentalists like Ralph Waldo Emerson were influenced by classic Hindu texts; however, there were few practicing Hindus in the United States until Indians began migrating to North America in the Progressive Era. Hindu Swami Vivekananda came to the United States for the 1893 World's Parliament of Religions, where he was well received. Sensing unparalleled opportunity, he established the Vendanta Society in America, which sought to influence the West with his ideas that emphasized the ultimate unity and peace of all things. He taught religious practices including yoga, which has found widespread popularity in the United States. Yoga consists of physical and breathing exercises that are designed to relax the body and to bring about a state of total concentration. Since the immigration reforms of the 1960s, numerous other gurus, or religious leaders, have arrived in the United States where they have built small followings. Although many immigrants practice Hinduism, the religion has also appealed to white Americans who reject Christianity for what they find to be a more peaceful, holistic religion from the other side of the globe.

Adding to America's religious diversity is Buddhism, whose adherents first arrived in significant numbers in America during the eighteenth century. Chinese immigrants entering California and Japanese laborers seeking work in Hawaii continued their religious traditions in the new land, adapting as had just about everyone else to novel social circumstance. Temples were erected in places like San Francisco where Buddhism blended with other traditional Asian religions. Missionaries also arrived from the East, hoping to convert Americans to their faith. Over time, Buddhist immigrants reshaped their religion in America in traditionally "Christian" ways, building "churches," anointing "bishops," and holding Sunday services complete with Sunday schools.

One of the more popular and elite social movements emerging from Buddhism was the Zen movement. Zen had been represented at the World's Parliament of Religions in Chicago, and over the coming decades a few pioneers worked to popularize it in the United States. The foremost leader was Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, who wrote many books in English about Zen and lectured in major universities. San Francisco "beat poets" of the 1950s such as Allen Ginsberg and Jack Kerouac began practicing and popularizing a form of Zen. Shunryu Suzuki, a Japanese religious teacher, established one of America's first Zen religious centers in San Francisco in the 1960s where practitioners would sit and meditate in traditional postures, seeking to clear their minds and to achieve enlightenment. The movement places little emphasis on religious texts or artifacts but is instead based on concentrated meditation, often on a paradoxical question. As Zen's popularity grew among educated, young, white Americans, the movement engaged in social issues such as the AIDS crisis and the environmental movement.

Among the most influential religious movements in the last part of the twentieth century was the New Age movement. Although it has roots in America's long-standing metaphysical tradition, the modern New Age movement began in the late 1960s and early 1970s, a period when many Americans were being challenged to rethink their traditional religious beliefs. Frustrated with mainstream religions, they reached out for something that seemed more authentically "spiritual." The New Age movement evades definition and consists of countless religious ideas and practices that adherents appropriate selectively. Some New Agers express their beliefs through environmental activism or holistic health practices, whereas others look to channeling or astrology. Many practitioners emphasize positive thinking and look within themselves for transformation rather than to a religious community. Although they usually deny the supernatural worlds of more traditional religions, New Agers commonly believe in a different type of transcendent, extraordinary dimension of entities—for example, many believe in the existence of life on other planets and UFOs. The immigration of religious teachers from all over the world, the revitalization of

Native American spirituality, and the rise of the holistic health movement opened many people's minds to new ideas, fueling the birth and growth of the New Age movement.

Social movements based on religion have defined America. Thousands of pioneers have emerged, some manipulating historic faiths, while others built entirely new movements. Some have enjoyed tremendous success, while others have faded into oblivion. Heavy immigration, charismatic individuals, strong organizations, and protection against the establishment of a single religion have allowed thousands of religious movements to thrive in North America.

Matthew A. Sutton

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Religious Movements 1730s–1830s

The eighteenth century in America was a time of awakening from the slumber of the past. Light was shed on the darkness of superstition, irrationality, autocracy, aristocratic privilege, and dogma. The individual, weighed down by the chains of time, institutions, thought, and traditions, became unencumbered and liberated. The new science taught Americans the value of reason, the laws of motion, and the tools of empiricism. Political and social philosophers on both sides of the Atlantic discovered the laws of nature that applied to society and government. Religious thinkers broke from the constraints of orthodoxy, presenting Christians with the gift of choosing how best to recognize, worship, and serve God. The Great Awakening, beginning in the 1730s, was a reaction to the limits of the past and to the social and economic constraints of the present. The awakeners shared a vision of a society based on the recognition that God's will was the basis for human actions, thought, institutions, history, and existence.

Calvinists and Puritans

American history seemed indeed to be shaped by the will of God. So argued seventeenth-century New England Puritans such as William Bradford (in *Of Plymouth Plantation,* completed in 1651, though not published in full until 1856) and Cotton Mather (in *Magnalia Christi Americana,* 1702), who believed that divine providence led religious reformers to America to fulfill the visions of the first Protestant reformers, in particular John Calvin. As Jeremy Belknap wrote in his *History of New Hampshire* (1784), "It is happy for America that its discovery and settlement by the Europeans happened at a time, when they were emerging from a long period of ignorance and darkness. The discovery of the magnetic needle, the invention of printing, the revival of literature and the reformation of religion, had caused a vast alteration in their views, and taught them the true use of their rational and active powers." Similarly, Calvin believed that God shed light upon His will and His works for those who could discern it and act upon such knowledge for the sake of His kingdom. Calvin thought that the cornerstone of the Protestant Reformation was the individual examination of God's holy word in Scripture and in nature. The awareness of what is the true and original expression of Christianity would lead to active reformation of those abuses in contemporary Christianity that were inconsistent with God's will and word. Calvin, educated in French legal scholarship and the texts and assumptions of the Renaissance, envisioned congregations of devout Christians working in concert to achieve virtue in civil society that was never accomplished by secular governments. These saintly citizens of the "Bible commonwealth" were to reform the world according to the model of the heavenly city of God found in the Old Testament and New Testament. Calvin and his followers organized these self-perceived Christian "saints" (those bound for heaven) into active soldiers fighting for the word of God. This joining of political and social concerns and actions with deeply held religious beliefs had a revolutionary impact on Europe, England, and America.

Calvin's followers in England, for example, sought to purify not only the Roman Catholic Church but the Church of England (the Anglican Church) as well. Each congregation of these "Puritans" performed illegal, treasonous actions in refusing to abide by all of the requirements of the Church of England, which included use of the Book of Common Prayer and obedience to the hierarchy of church authorities, culminating in the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Crown. Puritans believed in action to accomplish God's will. Their singular devotion to a perceived divine cause resulted in dramatic consequences, the two most important of which were the English Civil War and the Puritan migration to North America.

American Calvinists such as John Winthrop saw in the examples of the Old Testament patriarchs and the teachings of the New Testament apostles models for uniting political and religious order under one system of government. The "New England Way" was very close to a theocracy, basing governing on religious belief and participation in religious activities. These first New England Puritans perceived themselves engaged in an "errand into the wilderness," a notion that continued to guide religious and secular thinkers alike in coming centuries. The errand was to create a religious commonwealth, to civilize and hence Christianize the wilderness and its native peoples, to stay true to the covenant that united themselves to God, to exercise constant restraint in material and secular matters, and to reform as much as possible human institutions.

As the decades passed, however, the errand into the wilderness was forgotten and ignored, its institutions altered, its ideals trod upon. Some Puritan ministers called upon the flock to repent and to form a new covenant with God, but in vain. Change forever has an impact on religious beliefs and institutions. The anxiety and uncertainty of sixteenth-century Europe brought about a religious response, the Protestant Reformation. Likewise, social, economic, political, and intellectual changes in America during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries brought about varying religious consequences. Trade grew, particularly with England. Merchants became wealthy, inspiring in others the same goal. Population expanded because of immigration, better diet, and growing medical knowledge. As a consequence, cities emerged from the wilderness.

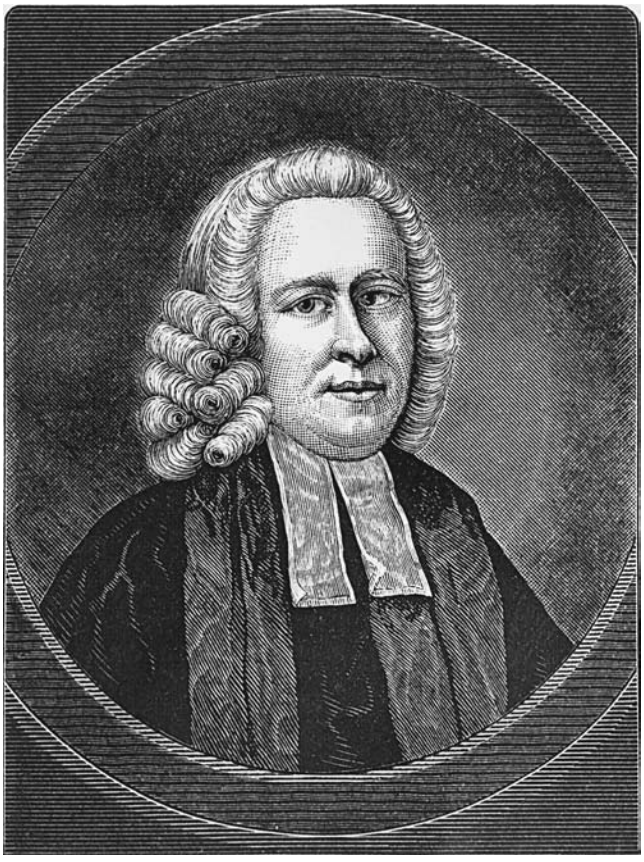
Success breeds jealousy and aggression among contestants for land and wealth. British Americans contested with Native Americans and French Americans over the rich frontier and important waterways of the Piedmont and lands west of the Appalachian Mountains. Wars in Europe yielded wars in America. The expanding frontier brought with it a host of political problems. Meanwhile, Americans became aware of new ideas in science about the universe and its governing laws; in the philosophy of science and government; and in the origins, progress, and significance of Christianity. Bombarded by the new and unknown, uncertain as to what were right and wrong, good and bad, some Americans rejected Christianity as untenable; others embraced it all the more. Such was the setting for the Great Awakening of the 1730s and 1740s.

Old Lights and New Lights

George Whitefield, an itinerant preacher from England, personified the uncertainty and restlessness that resulted in the Great Awakening. A man without a parish in America, a wanderer intent on attracting notice by dramatic speeches rather than solid theology, Whitefield caught the attention of masses of men and women, young and old, seeking release from life's daily drudgery, searching for alternatives to the sermons of college-educated clergy who always had the same message. Whitefield was different. Theology meant little to him. Denominational distinctions, the intricate variations of the sacraments, the learned discourses of the educated, were meaningless next to the horror of the dread consequence of sin and the joy of salvation through Christ. Whitefield's appeal to the emotions fit well the character of a people devoted to the practical and commonplace who eschewed thought for action, who were experiential and intuitive rather than logical and sophisticated. Whitefield tapped into common American qualities that transcended the individualism of a capitalist, frontier society.

Imitating Christ in his choice of venue, Whitefield preached in open spaces, fields, and meadows. Farmers journeyed from far and wide in response. Whitefield's discourse, filled with imagery and drama yet void of doctrinal intricacy, fit well in such unpretentious, familiar surroundings. People listened in common and responded en masse. The old ways of religious habit and perfunctory faith, a nod to God on Sunday and a return to sin on Monday, vanished as the multitude felt anew the presence of a Redeemer disgusted with the sinful neglect of His people, demanding wholehearted repentance and complete abandonment to His will.

Some forms of Christianity have thrived on fear, guilt, loneliness, and despair. The Great Awakening brought such suffering, an awareness of its causes and consequences, to the surface, where it lost its illusory singularity and achieved common recognition. Personal anxiety, fear, suffering, and pain were revealed as universal human experiences. One could sob and wail in the open, surrounded by strangers, and yet feel the comfort of releasing a burden to one's intimate friends. Surprised by joy amid suffering, one could laugh and shed tears of happiness without embarrassment. Religious affectations became emotions to share with others rather than to experience in private. This was an "awakening" of fundamental hu-



Speaking up and down the colonies in open fields and meadows, George Whitefield drew large, enthusiastic crowds in the late 1730s and 1740s. His emotional sermons—filled with imagery and drama and void of distinctions based on class and wealth—fueled a religious revival known as the Great Awakening. *(Brown Brothers)*

manness. New light was shed upon the darkness of the soul.

Jonathan Edwards, the Yale-educated pastor of Northampton, Massachusetts, understood these feelings of loss and hope, repentance and redemption, the abandonment of self to God, that were products of the "New Light" experience of the Great Awakening. In *A Treatise Concerning Religious Affectations* (1746), Edwards argued that the emotions rather than the intellect were the true foundation and expression of religious belief. Who can have an intellectual understanding of the Incarnation or the Resurrection? One can only feel Christ's sacrifice, empathize with it, and make the experience one's own. In *A Divine and Supernatural Light* (1734), Edwards showed that reason relies on intuition, that thought is dependent on emotion. Knowledge of God comes from God, who makes Himself known in the human heart and soul; only later does the mind acquire recognition. Edwards's *Personal Narrative* (1765) provides wonderful insights into his own religious journey, his abandonment of reason and thought to his base feelings of sin and depravity, and his joyful emotions of healing and redemption through Christ, not self. Yet Edwards's *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God* (1737), which focuses on the revival in Northampton, describes the Great Awakening as a group rather than an individual phenomenon.

For some clergy, the emotional response of tears and wailing and writhing on the floor of the New Lights did not fit at all the decorum, piety, and restraint required of the pilgrim when worshipping in the house of the Lord. The Boston clergyman and theologian Charles Chauncy responded to Edwards's joyful tracts with literary attacks on the enthusiasm, spontaneity, and emotions of the masses. The uneducated common herd of humankind could hardly know how best to worship God. Emotion is not an adequate tool to measure God's will and ways. Christ requires piety, forbearance, silence, reason, order in His worship, he stated. Chauncy's *Enthusiasm Described and Caution'd Against*, published in 1742, was welcomed by the solid middle and upper classes, the well educated and professionals, who were suspicious of the immediacy of New Light religious conversion. Their experience taught them that God revealed Himself to the intellect, not the emotions. Conversion took time; it was a subtle occurrence rarely recognized until by learned hindsight one could trace it and accept it. Chauncy and other Old Lights, content with the ways of their fathers, could hardly accept Edwards's description of hell in *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God* (1741), which was graphic, horrifying, and intent on eliciting the most emotional response. The uneducated lacked the intellectual resources to decide such matters of God's benevolence, justice, and love for themselves. The Old Lights refused to accept the logical contradiction of a just and loving God who condemns His children to unending torment in Hell. New Light arguments—that human sin is universal, inherited from the first man and woman, Adam and Eve; that all humans deserve condemnation; that God for unknown reasons mercifully saves some from hellfire; that humans do not have the free will to determine their own eternal fate—did not accord with a rational God currently being fashioned in Europe and America by Arminians and Deists. Chauncy and the Old Lights, raised in the Calvinist theological environment of Congregationalism, slowly rejected Calvin's claims

and the revolutionary consequences of Calvinist social thought.

Religion and Revolution

Indeed, it is not surprising to learn that as the eighteenth century progressed, the Old Lights were less apt to embrace the revolutionary political arguments of Whig statesmen. In contrast, the New Lights could accept the paradoxes and dangers of the American Revolution simply because their theology taught them that life is full of paradox, that human reason is limited, that God Himself threatens all of His sinful children with eternal damnation, that security in mind, body, society, and institutions is illusory. The Great Awakening taught its adherents that God does not respect class, inheritance, fame, and power. All humans are equal in respect to God, who alone is separate, elevated beyond all others. New Light religious beliefs did not allow them to accept the pretensions to power and rank of the British aristocracy, the House of Lords and House of Commons, and the King. Politics made little sense without religion, and if religion taught equality among all men and women, politics must follow. The revolutionary tendencies of the Great Awakening spilled over into the revolution against Great Britain.

Neither theology nor politics is black and white—and sensitive eighteenth-century Americans often found themselves caught between the Old Light/New Light debate as well as the struggle between Loyalists and Patriots. It was difficult to reconcile the order and decorum at the meetinghouse on Sunday and the disorder and chaos of town meetings on Monday. Some Old Lights such as the Boston clergyman Mather Byles, refusing such contradiction, became notorious (if consistent) Tories. Others, such as the New Hampshire pastor Jeremy Belknap, sought ways to avoid the confrontation of religion and politics by questioning the traditional beliefs of their fathers. Belknap was raised in the still Calvinist environment of mid-eighteenth-century Boston. He was descended from Increase and Cotton Mather on his mother's side. As a communicant of South Parish, he found a mentor in the Reverend Thomas Prince, a clergyman interested in science and history. At Harvard College Belknap discovered the writings of Jonathan Edwards, which inspired in him a search for God's saving grace. His great uncle Mather Byles counseled the young pilgrim not to seek the type of emotional conversion described by Edwards. But Belknap was dissatisfied with a rational approach to God. He refused to consider the ministry until he experienced the saving change of God's grace, which occurred during the long New England winter days of 1766. Belknap became the pastor of the First Parish of Dover, New Hampshire, in 1767 and proceeded to try to inaugurate an awakening among his parishioners. But Dover was not Northampton. Belknap found a few close associates willing to allow emotion and intuition to guide them; but his religious zeal alienated many others.

Eventually, Belknap, like many clergymen, turned his religious zeal toward political issues. Like many of his colleagues of the cloth who were alumni of Harvard or Yale, he became a firm, if conservative, patriot. The pastor and his family suffered economic privation during the war and rarely were free from the dismal feeling of possible doom should the British gain the upper hand in the war. Belknap's solace was his historical and scientific studies. But as a clergyman he was called to study the Scriptures as well. One bleak day in 1778 Belknap experienced a revelation while reading the book of Daniel in the Old Testament. He felt sure that Daniel prophesized the eventual defeat of Britain and American independence. In other words, it was God's will that America become free. Excited and astonished, Belknap preached a sermon and told his friends and family about his insight. For the remainder of his life, twenty years, he lived according to this revelation of the divine will.

That the divine will might enter into and direct society and government was not a new idea. Pagans and Christians, Muslims and Jews, if devout, rarely purposefully act in contradiction to what they perceive to be God's will. The uniqueness of the Protestant Reformation was the range of interpretation of God's will. Calvin channeled the perception of God's grace that he and his fellow "saints" had purportedly experienced into an active crusade to spread Christianity and the awareness of God's will on earth. It is slightly absurd, of course, to proclaim the omniscience and omnipotence of God and in the same breath proclaim that notwithstanding the limited perspective, clouded by time and sin, of one's life one still knows God's will. Some Christians, both New Light and Old Light, turned their freedom of the will into God's will, and vice versa.

Jonathan Edwards, in his essay *Freedom of the Will* (1754), argued that free will, which obviously exists, is not "will" itself, just as human goodness is not "good" itself. These were not new ideas. What was new was the unique situation of eighteenth-century America. Edwards and his parishioners felt the presence of the Holy Spirit, God's overwhelming will, even as they felt called upon to exercise their respec-

tive freedom to choose. This differed from John Calvin. One senses from Calvin's *Institutes* a sense of the inexorable will of God that no human can reject. Calvin needed the help of the community of believers to substantiate this feeling that he was chosen, against his will, but according to God's will, to act for the sake of God and His kingdom. Calvin manufactured a kind of certainty amid all the overwhelming uncertainties of life. And yet he still felt a terrible anxiety knowing that his will was never perfectly free, yet bound to another.

Uncertainty and consequent anxiety are the sine qua non of life. Some respond in silence and humility, becoming a monastic in theory or in fact. Others give voice to their fears in writings and confessions, hoping to solicit a silent empathy from listeners and readers. Still others are driven by anxiety to join in common with others equally in despair, where numbers and a collective voice drown out solitary cries, giving energy, even if elusive and fleeting, to one's individual impulses. When one is afraid, it feels so much better to act when others are acting as well. Collective action gives legitimacy to individual actions. One person might not challenge the world, but a host can; one person might not challenge authority unless joined by countless others; one person might not speak in tongues, or scream and faint in the presence of the congregation, unless others have removed its singularity.

To do something strange or untraditional requires a certain anonymity, which the collective provides. If the Great Awakening had been the awakening of one soul to God, it would be a footnote, not a chapter, in the pages of history. Social, religious, and political movements require the subjugation of the individual self to the collective self, which ironically legitimizes and strengthens individual self-perception. Scores of people believing and acting give credence to the claim that it is God's will that drives such actions.

It felt good to Edwards to reduce his freedom to a single spark in the light of freedom. In a similar way, it felt good to Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson, and all the other patriots who rejected tyranny for freedom, to universalize their feelings, to make their cause *the* cause, to make their perceptions self-evident to all humans. Jefferson's Declaration of Independence reads like a religious tract in its focus on the will of the people, the necessity of history, the laws of nature and God. Some patriots, like Jeremy Belknap, applied Jefferson's secular, deist tone to a religious format. But clearly Jefferson's vague allusions to the divine and concrete images of human experience and action struck a chord with the mass of Americans, who by 1776 had been awakened to a recognition of God's will, no matter what form it might take.

Hence, the Great Awakening succeeded, but only through transformation, adjustment to the perceived realities of the Enlightenment. The enlightened thinker of the middle to late eighteenth century had come to realize the power of human reason. Yes, there might be this vague universal force, Reason, but it was distant, growing more anonymous, giving a perfunctory nod to Reformation and Revolution. Freedom of the will grew in stature before, during, and after the American Revolution. There might be a transcending Will, as the French believed in their Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, which legitimized the violence of the French Revolution, but even this transcendent force was the general will of the people rather than the universal will of God.

Social and political movements still sought St. Augustine's *City of God* but with a secular twist. Theirs was a heavenly city, a utopia, on earth, where all humans would find happiness; disease, starvation, poverty, ignorance, would be eliminated. The millennium still beckoned; it could still be inaugurated on earth. The millennium of the enlightened philosopher of the eighteenth century, of the utopian thinker of the nineteenth century, was still eschatological, still divinely sanctioned, however vaguely. Yet this millennium lacked Christ. It lacked the Second Coming, the sound of trumpets, Armageddon, Judgment. It was a secular millennium that the philosophers and quasi-religious called for and expected.

The Self-Reliant Believer

Social and ideological movements of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were still caused by uncertainty about life, anxiety brought about by the fear of change and death, and the manifold wars, epidemics, famines, and the like of the times. The mind struggles to make sense out of disaster, mortality, and suffering, and it finds answers to fit the times. The answers of the early nineteenth century were of an astonishing variety: Deism, Universalism, Unitarianism, Transcendentalism, Millennialism, Mormonism.

The apparent diversity of these responses to the uncertainty and anguish of war, revolution, and industrialization should not blind us to their similarities. The groups who take political and social matters into their own hands, who rise up and revolt and realize their power, understand sovereignty not according to the exclusive right of kings and aristocrats but according to the inclusive right of all people. They

experience power as a possession, an expectation, a fundamental right. Having experienced such power, they will hardly relinquish it to others, human or divine.

The years before and after the American Revolution, then, hosted the unabashed awareness of the power of the human mind. Deists allowed human reason to penetrate all facets of the human and natural past. Thomas Paine referred to his time as *The Age of Reason* (1794), where superstition and the supernatural took a back seat to science, mathematics, historicism, and empiricism. "My own mind is my own church," he proclaimed. Unitarians used logic and experience to proclaim that God is a Unity rather than a Trinity. Universalists assumed that their kind of God would not contradict human expectations of goodness and justice in condemning humans, both guilty and not guilty, to eternal torment in hell. Unitarians and Universalists, like Transcendentalists, ignored revelation, sources of truth and inspiration such as the Old Testament and New Testament, preferring instead their own reason and experiences to gauge what is truth and what is falsehood, what is divine and what is not. Taking a page from the Old Lights, the Unitarians and Universalists could not countenance beliefs and institutions based on the fundamental assumption of human sinfulness, for humans are inherently good, and Adam's fall has no bearing on the present.

A good example of the movement toward a less rigorous Christianity, a more accommodating spirituality of love, goodness, and peace, was the Transcendentalist Henry David Thoreau. Thoreau and his friends and associates, such as Ralph Waldo Emerson, believed that the route to truth lay within the human heart. Intuition, not reason, not revelation, not tradition, taught the individual self what to believe and how to act. Self-reliance, independent thought, personal authority, personal knowledge: these were the credos of the early-nineteenth-century Romantic. Thoreau and his associates rejected the rationalism and empiricism of the Enlightenment thinkers and Old Lights as well as the energetic acceptance of God's will of the awakened New Light for the self in search of meaningful human experience. The only authority was the scripture of self, searching for and finding God within oneself via the conduit of nature. Emerson felt "perpetual youth" in nature and childlike innocence as well. Sacrifice, suffering, atonement, redemption, crucifixion, and resurrection blend in and become lost in the untold variety and plenty of nature, where all is good and life is peace. The phenomenon of social movement—the idea of a Great Awakening—was ignored and became inconsequential to Transcendentalists such as Thoreau and Emerson.

Self-reliant philosophies such as Unitarianism, Universalism, Deism, and Transcendentalism could hardly sponsor—rather, they could only eschew—the religious concerns of the mass of people. In retrospect, a Second Great Awakening was inevitable given the confident, passive tone of early nineteenth-century religion and philosophy and at the same time the overwhelming anxiety caused by modernization. Americans, particularly in the northern states and especially the growing middle class, were going through a dramatic period of questioning and seeking answers. Independence brought with it a host of concerns. How could a society based on the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights sponsor such glaring abuse to people of color, slave and free? How could the factories of the North continue to rely on the raw materials of the South grown through human suffering and despair? What would be the price of the coming Industrial Revolution? How could Americans avoid unstoppable growth, urban blight, increasing poverty, and inequality? How best could ambitious young people best utilize their talents and energies in a society and economy exploding to the west, up rivers and canals, over the Appalachians, down the Ohio and Mississippi, up the Missouri, across the Rockies? The decade of the 1830s repeated the experiences of the 1730s—the change, the anxiety, the search, the discovery, the "answer."

New Religious Stirrings and the Second Great Awakening

For some Americans, the answer to economic and social change was religious change—a new ideology, new scripture, new church, new life. John Humphrey Noyes at Oneida, New York, headed a community of believers who reveled in their perfection—and their sexuality. Shaker communities in New England practiced celibacy and awaited Christ's imminent return. Joseph Smith proclaimed his revelation that Christ had all along picked America as His chosen land, the place where He would return to reign for a thousand years, a millennium.

Indeed, millennialism was on the minds of quite a few people during the first half of the nineteenth century. The Second Great Awakening of the 1830s resulted from new ideas about Christianity, the sinner's relation to God, Christ's role in redemption, and the millennium. The great spokesman of the Second

Preaching that personal redemption and individual salvation were attainable by all, the evangelical Charles Grandison Finney led a religious revival in the Northeast in the 1820s and 1830s. The Second Great Awakening, as this revival was called, helped spark the abolitionist and social reform movements of the nineteenth century. *(Brown Brothers)*

Great Awakening was Charles Grandison Finney, who preached to the farmers and shopkeepers of New York, particularly upstate New York along the Erie Canal. Here were towns and cities undergoing tremendous change. Rochester, for example, experienced a population explosion, new trade, and business; it was a bustling atmosphere with young people willing to work hard, intent on achieving material success.

Finney, like Edwards and Whitefield of a century earlier, was a grand orator who could hold the audience of the hopeful in the palms of his oratorical hands as he re-created hell and suffering for sin, then painted a picture of redemption and heavenly success. For Finney, the sinner can achieve salvation completely by his or her own means. Just as the businessman needs to change his lifestyle to succeed, so the sinner needs to change her lifestyle to reach heaven. But before death bids us to such joy, the redeemed sinner, having made the conscious decision to reject sin for salvation, will enjoy signs of heaven on earth. Material prosperity awaits the person who chooses to be saved. Gone from Finney's sermons were God's anger and the damnation of sinful souls, born in sin, predestined for hell.

The preceding century had taught rational Americans that God left the choice of salvation entirely in each person's hands. Self-reliant, independent, freedom-loving Americans could experience do-it-yourself salvation. Conversion does not come from some hidden, unexpected source in response to one's appeal to God for help. Conversion is a conscious decision to succeed, rather like the choice to go into business.

One can imagine the enthusiastic response to such a doctrine of salvation and success open to all with very little inconvenience. The people of the industrializing North, the people of Rochester, embraced such ideas and put their hearts to the grindstone to learn to be "perfect, as Christ is perfect." Christ's perfection, of course, resulted in terrible suffering and death. But the atmosphere of business, materialism, success, Americanism, and free will of the 1830s would hardly accommodate such a negative theology. Life had changed during eighteen hundred years, and so too had the church, the elect, sin, and salvation. Gone were the days of priests, confessions, the damned, God's wrath, suffering, and the cross. The Second Great Awakening and consequent evangelical movements gave the American in approaching the afterlife what he had always had in life: free choice, self-reliance, independence.

Religious social movements in America from the 1730s to the 1830s possessed a peculiar irony. Americans responded to anxiety and uncertainty by allowing themselves to be caught up in a movement involving large groups of people who conformed to the requirements of the majority, and who accepted the teachings of the religious spokesman. Yet these teachings tended to contradict the nature and function of the revival itself. Social movements sweep up the individual, make him a part of a whole, force him to relinquish some of his freedom, demand the merging of his identity with that of the group. The sacrifice of the individual earns rich dividends in return. By becoming a part of the group, one feels more an individual. By giving up freedom to act on one's own, one achieves the freedom of salvation. Free will is elusive in theory, yet in practice one can revel in it. And best of all, one can agree that the teachings of Christ—

humility, peace, acceptance, poverty—are best realized in the pride of conversion, the violence of reform, the pursuit of progress, and the rich signs of salvation.

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Religious Movements 1830s–1870

Following the Second Great Awakening, the religious movements of the antebellum period through the Civil War focused much of their energies on moral and religious reform. Although they may have differed over approach to reform, there was little difference in general objectives: moral reform. Moral reform meant social reform, and social reform meant a moral *reformation* of American society. It did not matter that moral reform might lead to armed conflict or that women remained disenfranchised and without direct political power. Abolition, temperance, and other moral reforms were part of the broader effort to attain Christ-like perfection, the final goal of moral reform.

A national reform impulse did not suddenly appear in 1830. Reform efforts had been ongoing for decades, but beginning in the 1830s reform took on newer approaches, emphases, techniques, and ideas. The numerous immediate antecedents of the antebellum reforms can be found in the Second Great Awakening, that period of early-nineteenth-century American history characterized by revivals as the primary means of Christianizing the growing U.S. population. By the 1830s, reform had assumed the characteristics that would distinguish it for the next several decades. Whereas most of the revivals and campaigns of the Second Great Awakening began locally and did not expand to become a coherent national movement, the antebellum and post–Civil War reforms became national—national in vision, national in goals, and national in operations. Most important, they had national implications.

Abolition of Slavery

Abolitionism provides an excellent example of how a regional idea became a national reform crusade and changed American society. Although the Religious Society of Friends, or Quakers, had long opposed slavery, the religious revivals of the 1820s inspired many new followers, including Theodore Dwight Weld, William Lloyd Garrison, and Arthur and Lewis Tappan, to take up the cause of "immediate emancipation." Garrison, the Tappan brothers, and sixty others gathered in Philadelphia to found the American Anti-Slavery Society in December 1833. The abolitionists wanted to expunge the entire nation of evil in hopes of redeeming and saving the nation. Although by the 1830s slavery was restricted to Southern states, Northern abolitionists argued that the guilt for slavery was nationwide. Since guilt was national, repentance should also be national. "The highest obligations [are] resting upon the people of the free States to remove slavery by moral and political action," the American Anti-Slavery Society declared at its founding, "as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States."

To aid the cause, leading reformers sought the support of others around the country through various publications such as Garrison's newspaper, *The Liberator*, or in political tracts, and through state antislavery societies. The American Anti-Slavery Society received significant moral and financial support from African-American communities in the North and set up hundreds of branches throughout the free states. But Garrison's provocative call to discard the Constitution because it sanctioned slavery and his support of women's rights alienated the more conservative members of the movement, leading to harmful factionalism over the means to ending slavery.

Another abolitionist, Theodore Weld, promoted the "perfectionist" wing of the revival movement in a much different fashion than Garrison. Weld, a follower of the American clergyman-educator Charles Grandison Finney, left a career as a revivalist and temperance advocate and in 1832 enrolled at Lane Seminary in Cincinnati, Ohio, for more formal ministerial training. Most of the student body followed Weld's

Founder of the antislavery newspaper *The Liberator* in 1831, William Lloyd Garrison was one of the nation's foremost abolitionists. *(Brown Brothers)*

lead by converting to his abolitionist principles and, together, began working with the city's black community. When the trustees of the school ordered Weld and his followers to cease their activism, they refused and instead moved to Oberlin College, where Finney was teaching theology. Founded in 1833 by New England Congregationalists, the college had already gained a reputation as the center for social radicalism and soon became the first coeducational and interracial American institution of higher learning. (Ohio saw the establishment of over a dozen colleges by evangelical churches in the first half of the nineteenth century.) Weld became a widely known organizer and publicist for the antislavery cause in the Ohio and New York region, helping to bring pressure to bear on the federal government and Northern opinion about slavery.

Impact of Slavery on Organized Religion

Slavery opened the rift between Northern and Southern Christians very slowly at first. In 1852, it was ripped asunder with the publication of Harriet Beecher Stowe's book *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in which she indicted organized Christianity for its failure to overthrow the "injustice and cruelty" of slavery. The use of biblical language and references in discussions of slavery soon became common ideological currency. It was therefore not surprising that Americans often described the Civil War in biblical terms or viewed it as a religious event, or at least one with religious overtones.

Antislavery sentiment was either localized or regional, or did not cause lasting schisms among the "liturgical churches"—the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Episcopalian churches. Congregationalist and Unitarian churches were scarce in the South and remained largely unaffected as a result. But the three large national evangelical denominations—the Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches—all split over the issue. The formation of the Southern Baptist Convention in 1845 created little stir, in part because it was a decentralized denomination from the outset, and the split occurred rather quietly. The Methodists, who initially followed English religious leader John Wesley's antislavery teachings, tolerated slaveholding bishops when they first came on the scene in the 1830s, but the denomination finally split over that particular issue in 1845.

The Presbyterians faced a more complicated problem. By the 1830s, the denomination had begun to splinter into two factions over the issues regarding missionary work and doctrinal matters. The "liberal" ideas, given shape by American theologian Nathaniel William Taylor, led to the formation of a "New School" theological stance compatible with the activist spirit of revivalism. The liberal New School favored interdenominational benevolent societies aimed at reform, while the conservative "Old School" followers favored tradition, including keeping women from holding power in the church and the idea of predestination. The Old School followers gained control of the church's General Assembly in 1837 and ousted four New School synods, which immediately held their own assembly, leaving the church split along these ideological lines.

The Northern and Southern wings each split over slavery. The New School, mostly rooted in the North, divided in 1857 after some leaders took a series of

increasingly stronger antislavery positions. The Old School, more Southern-based and conservative, split in 1861, leaving the Presbyterian denomination divided into four different assemblies. After the Civil War, the various factions reformed along sectional lines, creating Northern and Southern Presbyterian churches that finally reconciled and merged in 1984.

"Rum and Romanism"

Although the Protestants may have turned against one another over slavery, they did unite during the 1830s over one issue: their stand against Catholicism. In the early days of the Republic, Catholicism presented little problem because there were so few Catholics in the United States. Yet to be a good Protestant in the colonial and early Republic periods meant a person had to be something of an anti-Catholic. Protestantism, after all, came into being as a protest against the alleged corruption and evil of the Roman Catholic Church. Beginning in the 1830s, as the number of Catholics, particularly Irish Catholics, increased in large part because of immigration, anti-Catholicism, and with it antiliquor sentiment, grew in response. To American Protestants and nativists (those opposed to immigrants), the evils of alcohol and Catholicism—"rum and Romanism," as they were derisively called—went hand in hand.

Protestants responded with a combination of evangelism and temperance. Reverend Lyman Beecher, pastor of the Congregational Church in Litchfield, Connecticut, and one of the most eminent preachers of his day, launched one of the first attacks of this reform era on intemperance in 1825 by calling for total abstinence as the only solution to drinking and drunkenness. His six sermons on intemperance were printed and widely distributed over the next several years. After that, it was only a short step from the arguments for abstinence to the demands for prohibition as the best means of saving the American family in particular and American society as a whole. The rise of abolitionism in the 1830s and 1840s and the need to court the immigrant vote in the 1850s overtook the temperance movement and pushed it to the background until after the Civil War.

Protecting the Home and Family

As many as two-thirds of those converted during the Second Great Awakening were women. But just as quickly as their membership numbers rose, their power in public arenas eroded. By the time of the Civil War, public forums for women were all but eliminated and their sphere of influence had been largely reduced to the immediate household and issues directly affecting it. Through their participation in Sunday schools, missionary alliances, and benevolent societies, women frequently exercised powers denied to them in other public forums. At a time when they could not openly protest their subjugation and were denied the right to vote, involvement in evangelical reform movements provided a means of asserting their autonomy. It was not until after the Civil War that women would regroup and demand rights for themselves.

Although the majority of church members were women, paradoxically the church disenfranchised women and stripped them of power. But that did not drive women away. They stayed because they shared the church's perceived role of transmitting republican and moral values to the next generation and because it offered them moral support as they coped with the great difficulties associated with motherhood. Their influence was felt in the message from the pulpit. The portrayals of Jesus and God evolved from one of Christ as king and magistrate to one of a gentle Jesus and a loving and forgiving God.

As the economy industrialized and society urbanized, married middle-class women found they had fewer opportunities to exert themselves than their single counterparts and increasingly became relegated to nonincome-generating work. They embraced their new roles as provider and protector for piety and domestic purity. Their evangelical values made it possible for them to better serve as guardians of morality, purity, culture, and patriotism, collectively known as "domestic feminism." As they lost power in the public sphere, they embraced their role as "great sufferers," which allowed them to invoke the suffering of Christ on the cross and the grievous loss and sacrifice of his mother to their benefit. They took advantage of the tradeoff to exert tighter control over household activities and assert themselves in sexual matters, such as having a say in the number of children they had.

Domestic feminism extended to the schoolroom and benevolent societies. Catherine Beecher, daughter of Lyman Beecher, argued that Christian perfectionism could be attained when children received the benefits of a sound Christian education. Although she was instrumental in opening the teaching profession to women, she also supported the notion of less compensation for women than men received. Mary Lyon founded Mount Holyoke Female Seminary in 1837 as a school for women and preached revivals on religious subjects. Mount Holyoke trained hundreds of missionaries and teachers who fanned out across the

country, carrying forth the values instilled in them at the school.

With few other outlets for their energy available to them, middle-class women became deeply involved in benevolent reform. As part of their work to eliminate prostitution, alcoholism, and other threats to their men and society, they acquired political and organizational skills and handled money and property on behalf of their societies. Some published stories about their evangelical experiences, while others hit the revival circuit to speak. In the home and at public meetings, they discussed issues such as slavery or closing businesses on Sunday. Many men initially accepted the idea that women should have strong opinions on some public questions because women were long considered the guardians of Christian and republican ideas.

Abolitionism proved the first great forum for women to accumulate and exercise power. The American Anti-Slavery Society attracted a great deal of participation by women. Women organized local and state-level Female Anti-Slavery Societies, which gave them opportunities to organize and lead. The abolition movement provided the first taste of autonomy for many of them. Feminists and women's rights leaders such as Sarah and Angelina Grimké, Margaret Fuller, Lucretia Mott, and Lucy Stone all began their women's rights work while campaigning for abolition. But William Lloyd Garrison's support of women's rights and his confrontational manner led to a falling-out within the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1840 that hurt the feminist cause. The American Anti-Slavery Society split over whether it was proper for women to speak publicly to audiences containing both men and women. The more conservative members, including many clergy, withdrew and formed the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in which the role of women was more restricted. Despite this setback, participation in abolitionism and other reform efforts nonetheless increased female empowerment.

With the ending of the Civil War and slavery, temperance reemerged as the most pressing reform issue. This gave women a new opportunity to assert themselves as never before by expanding the focus of their benevolent societies. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), formed in 1874, initially concerned itself only with eliminating alcohol but became a leader and supporter of women's suffrage and other reform efforts. Several of its members took the energy they had poured into abolitionism and focused it on gaining a political voice in hopes of protecting immigrants and lower-class women and children being exploited by the industrial revolution. Their work and that of others laid the groundwork for the Progressive reformers, who shared many of the same Protestant values and employed the techniques pioneered by the mid-nineteenth-century reformers.

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Religious Movements
1870s–Present

After the Civil War, the dominant social groups in the United States were primarily white, native-born, and small-town or rural. Imbued with an aura of respectability, they were institutionalized to such an extent that regular attendance in a moderate Protestant denomination—Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregational, and in some regions Lutheran or Baptist—signified not only religious devotion but also an opportunity to establish social networks and demonstrate civic involvement, which was so essential for those aspiring to positions of authority in business or public life. Other Protestant sects, practiced primarily by the rural poor and people of color, and Roman Catholicism, practiced primarily by the urban working class, were variously marginalized or suppressed. Non-Christian religious traditions were ignored. During the twentieth century, however, a number of social movements mobilized, with little denominational support, to challenge the hegemonic status of moderate Protestantism and champion the religious traditions of the disenfranchised.

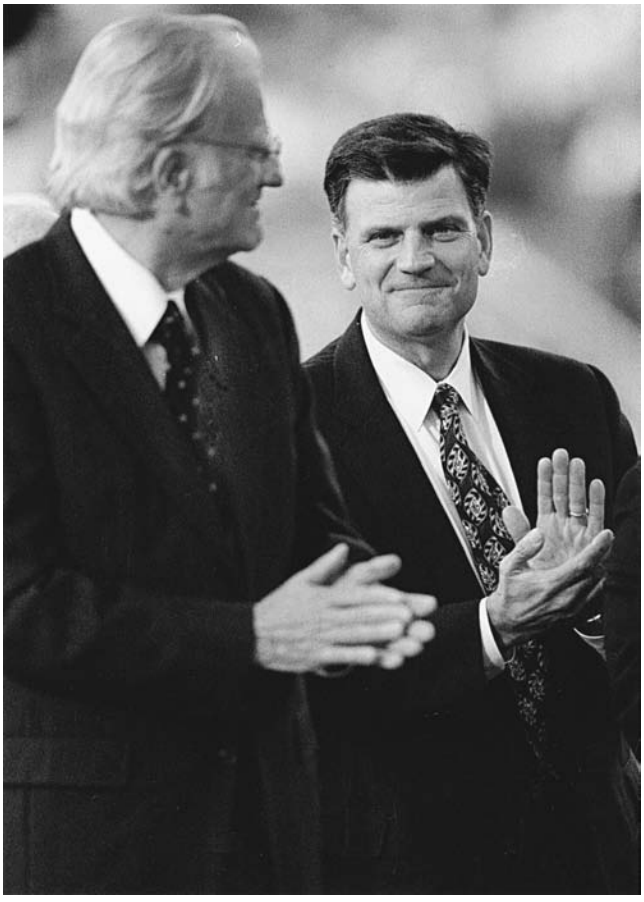
Conservative Christian Movements

The Fundamentalist Movement

During the 1880s and 1890s, many working-class, poor, and rural believers separated from the Methodist-Presbyterian-Congregational mainstream of American Protestantism, believing that their increasing attention to liberalism and commitment to social justice hindered or even perverted the true goals of Christianity: "evangelizing," or converting nonbelievers, and attaining "holiness," or spiritual perfection. In 1895, Phineas F. Bresee consolidated several such groups into the Church of the Nazarene, the most prominent of the new Holiness denominations.

During the 1910s and 1920s, concerns over the increasing encroachment of modernism led many Protestants, mostly from evangelical and Holiness denominations, to affirm that they were "fundamentalists," aggressively adhering to "fundamentals" of the Christian faith that soon expanded from a short list of doctrinal positions (the Virgin Birth, the Blood Atonement, and so on) to disdain textual criticism of biblical texts and embrace a more or less rigid interpretation of the Bible as the literal Word of God. During the first twenty years of the century, they mobilized against all sorts of developments they deemed public ills, from alcohol consumption to the cinema, but especially against the theory of evolution, which they condemned as atheistic and subversive. The trial of John Scopes in 1925, in which a Tennessee schoolteacher was arrested for teaching evolution, gained national recognition for the fundamentalist movement, but cast it as backward, superstitious, and rigid, causing fundamentalists to shy away from political activism for the next half-century. There were only a few fundamentalist groups with much impact outside their own denominations until the Cold War, when the association of Communism and the forces of Satan made a new mobilization imperative.

During the 1950s, mobilization occurred most frequently in high schools and colleges. The Intervarsity Christian Fellowship, a fundamentalist collegiate group founded in England in 1877, entered the United States in 1941 and by 1950 had chapters on nearly 500 college campuses. Campus Crusade for Christ, founded by Bill Bright in 1951, brought the twin principles of evangelization and spiritual perfection to almost every college campus in the United States through small peer-led Bible studies and "witnessing," or one-on-one proselytization. Meanwhile, Youth for Christ, founded in 1944, virtually abandoned its early outreach to soldiers stationed overseas to form "Campus Life" groups at thousands of high schools and junior highs. Adult men could join the Christian Businessman's Committee, founded in 1938,



Rev. Billy Graham applauds with his son Franklin Graham during a religious crusade in North Carolina in 1996. The elder Graham was the nation's most prominent evangelist for more than half a century. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

and the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship, founded in 1952, which provided not only evangelization and the quest for Christian perfection, but also social networking that mirrored the Chambers of Congress and Toastmasters popular in mainstream society, and the assurance that God was a capitalist.

Although fundamentalist churches remained small and deeply suspicious of the "world," with outreach mostly to the disenfranchised, dozens of parachurch organizations, beginning in 1950 with the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, introduced the twin goals of evangelization and Christian perfection to a huge mainstream audience. They even managed to redefine "Christian" to refer only to those who have been "born again"—that is, experienced a spiritual transformation through a personal relationship with Jesus. Intimate of movie stars and presidents, Billy Graham had the uncanny ability to popularize his moderate evangelical message through television and radio appearances, a series of well-received evangelistic films, and many local, stadium-filling crusades. He was followed by dozens of evangelists working primarily through the new medium of television; only Robert Schuller matched his charisma and moderate message, but Kenneth Copeland, Jimmy Swaggart, Benny Hinn, John Hagee, Ron Parsley, and Pat Robertson all drew adherents. The excesses of the 1970s and 1980s, ranging from sexual improprieties to money laundering to extreme claims (such as Oral Roberts' threat that God would kill him unless he raised $8 million) sent televangelism into a decline survived by only the most tenacious. Yet televangelists still managed to imbue local fundamentalist Christians with a sense of community that transcended denominational and doctrinal differences, mobilizing them into a formidable social force that has endured into the twenty-first century.

The Charismatic Movement

Glossolalia, or speaking in unknown tongues during spiritual ecstasy, is common to many religious traditions, but prior to the twentieth century it occurred only rarely in Christianity. The modern charismatic movement associates speaking in tongues and other spiritual gifts (interpreting tongues, prophecy, and so on) with baptism in the Holy Ghost, the second work of grace in the Holiness tradition and either a requirement for salvation or a sign of Christian perfection. It began in January 1901, when several students at Charles Parham's Bethel Bible School in Topeka, Kansas, began speaking in tongues. Lauding the event as evidence of the restoration of the true Christianity practiced by the Apostles, Parham closed his school and began amassing followers in the Apostolic Faith Missions, mostly among the disenfranchised poor and nonwhite in the southern United States. Little glossolalia recurred until 1906, when one such mission on Azusa Street in Los Angeles experienced the "new Pentecost" under the direction of William J. Seymour, and the signs and wonders continued for three years. In the wake of Azusa Street, many new "Pentecostal" denominations were founded, including the Church of God in Christ, the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, and the Assemblies of God, but just as often adherents remained within their own Holiness or Baptist denominations and sought baptism in the Holy Ghost at camp meetings and revivals. Today the various Pentecostal denominations and parachurch organizations have between 100 million and 400 million adherents world-

wide; they have seen considerable success in Europe, sub-Saharan Africa, and especially in Latin America, where Brazil may reach a Pentecostal majority within the next decade.

In beliefs and practices, Pentecostalism rarely strayed far from its Holiness roots and rarely attracted the attention of mainstream Christianity, but in 1967 faculty and students of Duquesne University established the Catholic Charismatic Movement, incorporating glossolalia, and its attendant signs and wonders, into traditional Roman Catholic devotions. Small groups of Lutherans, Presbyterians, and others followed, until today an estimated 55 million members of mainstream Protestant denominations belong to the Charismatic Revival.

The Religious Right

The Religious Right of the contemporary United States grew out of the fundamentalist movement in several denominational families, especially Holiness, Baptist, and Pentecostal, mobilized through televangelism and a number of parachurch groups of the 1980s, notably Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority, Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition, and James Dobson's Focus on the Family. It combined fundamentalist beliefs with a hitherto uncommon commitment to political activism, and it used state-of-the-art media saturation to mobilize Christians into an apocalyptic struggle between God and Satan. The goal of the Religious Right was to "take back America" through specific political action: defeating or repelling gay rights and prochoice legislation, forbidding the teaching of evolution and sex education, and legislating fundamentalist Christianity as the official religion of the United States. In the twenty-first century, the Religious Right continues to play a role in politics, lobbying for conservative candidates and legislation and fighting to overturn Supreme Court decisions that allow abortion and ban prayer in public schools.

The Traditional Catholic Movement

Although individual Catholics have become involved in many social movements, both religious and secular, few such movements have been associated with the Roman Catholic Church itself; even the pro-life movement mobilizes primarily through Protestant fundamentalists. A notable exception can be found in the various quasi-denominations, individual churches, and parachurch organizations that grew up to protest the modernization of the Church after Vatican I (1869), and especially after the modernization of the Mass in Vatican II (1962–1965). Objecting to the increased participation of the congregation, the new accessibility of the priesthood, the increased fellowship with Protestants and members of non-Christian religions, and especially the institutionalization of a vernacular Mass, "traditional Catholics" are small in numbers but extremely media-savvy, utilizing not only television and radio but the Internet, and they are highly influential, especially among their conservative brethren. They vary in their attitudes toward the Vatican, from sadly concluding that the current papacy is misguided to asserting that the last true Pope was Pius XII, and that the Antichrist is sitting on the throne. One group even has its own College of Cardinals, which has elected a Pius XIII.

Ecumenical Christian Movements

During the last half of the twentieth century, religious observation ceased to play its earlier role in fostering social relations in the community: one's social prestige or network of contacts did not increase as a result of attendance. Conservative Protestants attended anyway, as they had an apocalyptic enemy to fight, but mainstream Protestants, Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and some Baptists and Lutherans faced a staggering loss of numbers. They founded several ecumenical groups, including National Council of Churches and the World Council of Churches, to encourage fraternity among their remaining members and asserted that denominations were divided more by tradition than by beliefs and practices. Many such groups, such as Bread for the World, Habitat for Humanity, World Vision International, and Faith in Practice, replicate moderate Protestantism's commitment to social activism, fighting poverty, hunger, and homelessness with often the same degree of media savvy that characterizes fundamentalist televangelism. Only a few, such as the Taizé Community in France, are primarily concerned with spiritual development.

Eastern Religions

Hinduism and Hinduism-Based Movements

In 2000, there were 1.2 million practicing Hindus in the United States; before 1965, when strict immigration laws limited Asian immigration, there were perhaps 100,000. Nevertheless, social movements based on Hindu beliefs and practices have been mobilizing Americans for over a century, since Swami Vivekananda founded the Vedanta Society in 1894. In 1920, Paramahansa Yogananda founded the Self-Realization

Fellowship in Los Angeles. Perhaps the most successful of all the Hindu-based movements, the Self-Realization Fellowship combined traditional krija yoga with jazz-age mental science to reach middle-class drawing rooms across the United States and Europe. After the immigration quotas were eliminated in 1965, many South Asian *gurus,* or independent religious leaders, saddened by what they considered the deplorable spiritual health of the West, felt called by God to reach out to His children in the New World; among the most famous were Haidakhan Samaj, Sri Satchinanda, Yogi Amrit Desai, and Gurudeva Sivaija Subramaniyaswami. Soon many groups, based in Hinduism but also including elements from other religions, Western parapsychology and mind science, and the 1970s New Age, were founded, drawing followers from among not only white middle-class intellectuals but also the disenfranchised.

The most controversial of the Hindu-based movements, the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON), was founded in 1966 when Swami Srila Prabhupada came to America to win followers for the God Krishna. While thoroughly conventional in India, his practices of chanting, communal living, and aggressive begging were foreign to the West, and though its adherents, known as "Hare Krishnas," never numbered more than a few thousand, they became a primary target of the anti-cult movement of the 1970s. In 1988, when a scurrilous expose by John Hubner and Lindsey Gruson, *Monkey on a Stick: Murder, Madness, and the Hare Krishnas,* hit best-seller lists, parents hired cult deprogrammers to "rescue" young converts, and followers were accused of a variety of abuses, including brainwashing.

Buddhism and Buddhism-Based Movements

The many varieties of Buddhism have between 3 million and 6 million adherents in the United States, but again, a much larger number of persons have been influenced by social movements based on Buddhist teachings. In the 1950s, members of the influential Beat Generation began examining Zen and Tibetan Buddhist texts, either in translation or through the popularizations of Alan Watts and D.T. Suzuki, until a passing acquaintance with Buddhism became mandatory in artistic and literary circles. Since Buddhism has always been propagated through family and monastic devotion rather than a hierarchical ministry, it was amenable to those who wished to explore more deeply through individual reading or association with a local spiritual group. By the 1970s, Tibetan and Zen Buddhism were flourishing, and other Mahayana sects that were obscure in Asia, such as Reiyukai, enjoyed an enormous popularity.

As with Hinduism, some of the Buddhist-based movements have been subject to controversy, especially Nichiren Shoshu, which was originally practiced by Japanese immigrants. It became "Americanized" through missionary activity in 1966 and had as many as 200,000 followers by the 1970s.

Alternative Movements

African-American Religious Movements

Immediately after World War I and extending through the Depression, African Americans who had recently immigrated from the South to the urban centers of the North, especially New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, Chicago, and also to Los Angeles, often abandoned or decreased their affiliation with their home Baptist, Methodist, and Holiness to embrace a wide variety of alternative religious movements. Although some, such as the various Afro-Israelite and black Muslim groups, rejected Christian tenets altogether in favor of a nominal affiliation with Judaism or Islam, and others, such as vodoun, worked within and around elements of folk Catholicism, most maintained the belief system and practices of traditional African-American Protestantism, merely adducing that their idiosyncrasies were the fulfillment of Scripture

Perhaps we can explain the sudden availability of alternative religious movements, and their sudden popularity, through the disillusionment that set in after the migration northward failed to alleviate institutionalized racism or significantly increase economic prosperity. The alternative movements offered a Promised Land that was not some distant heaven, but literally, physically on earth. Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) found it in Africa and sought mass repatriation for all Africans exiled in the Americas. The Rastafarians specified Ethiopia and petitioned the Messiah, Emperor Haile Selasse, to admit them into Paradise. Similarly, alternative religious movements offered a God who was not distant, but immediate, accessible, flesh and blood: Father Hurley in Tennessee, Bishop St. John the Vine in Baltimore, John the Revelator in New York, and Sweet Daddy Grace in Oakland all assured believers that they were literally Jesus Christ, God the Father, or both. The most successful, Father Divine, "God visibilated," established the literal Heaven in Sayville, Long Island, as well as many subsidiary heavens in urban centers across the United States. By 1935, he had gathered perhaps a million literal, phys-

ical angels, both black and white, to practice celibacy and entrepreneurship, and to greet each other with what would become a catchphrase of the day, "Peace—it's wonderful."

The rage for alternative African-American religious movements did not survive the Depression; Father Divine's Peace Mission Movement endures, but barely, under the leadership of the aging Mother Divine. Several sects of Afro-Israelites and black Muslims remain, but in idiosyncratic, racist configurations unlikely to win many followers.

Cults and New Religions

New religious groups, based on the dominant Christianity, on some other religion, or on the vision of a single iconoclast, are constantly springing up in the Western world. A few, such as the Jehovah's Witnesses, the Church of Christ, Scientist, and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, have experienced a numerical success rivaling mainstream denominations. Most of them, however, never attract more than a few hundred members; at best they form fascinating but idiosyncratic byways in American religious history. During the early 1970s, some of these groups attracted the attention of the mainstream media, initiating a moral panic to rival the Satanic ritual abuse scare of the 1980s. Called "cults" not out of any definitional integrity but to underscore their aura of secrecy and threat, they were subject to a multitude of lurid tell-all books, endless discussion in the tabloids and on the talk-show circuit, police alerts and task forces, and eventually an army of professional anticult activists, including deprogrammers who abducted converts and attempted to restore them to "sanity." During the middle and late 1970s, the federal and local government often stepped in with lawsuits, punitive legislation, and even armed intervention.

Although the new religions were subject to abuses, like all religious groups, and emotionally damaged and unstable persons did form a percentage of the leadership, the tales of brainwashing, intimidation, physical and sexual abuse, and violence were vastly exaggerated. Among the most often excoriated groups were the Children of God; the Church of Scientology; the Unification Church of Reverend Sun Myung Moon; Nichiren Shoshu; and the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (1959). But guidebooks enumerated hundreds of "cults," including extremely obscure mental science organizations that had been plodding along with a few dozen members for over a century. Even mainstream Christian denominations got into the act, with Protestant fundamentalists and Roman Catholics defining each other as mind-control cults and attempting to deprogram each other's converts.

The reasons for the sudden mania are obscure, but one might suggest the strategic appearance of many new alternative religious movements on college campuses, which attempted to emulate the success of Campus Crusade for Christ and the Intervarsity Christian Fellowship (as well as Newman Centers and Hillel), in the early 1970s, just as the last of the baby boomers began college. Parents who had already experienced the disenfranchisement of the hippie generation might be aghast at tales of innocuous religious exploration and sensitive to any attempt to foster a communal identity.

The mass suicide of the People's Temple in 1978, a utopian commune founded by the Reverend Jim Jones, effectively ended the wide-scale proselytization efforts of the new religions, especially on college campuses. A few new religions, such as David Koresh's Branch Davidians and Heaven's Gate, would continue to make the news if they went terribly wrong, but the anti-cult mania was over.

The New Age

The New Age refers to a vast number of groups and individuals with syncretic interest in a wide range of religious experience, including Christian and Jewish mysticism, Buddhist and Hindu practices, Sufism, shamanism, and global mythology, as well as many interests that are not religious or necessarily even spiritual, such as vegetarianism, meditation, holistic healing, astrology, environmentalism, UFOs, New Age music, reincarnation, parapsychology, and political activism. Even the movement to "free Tibet"—that is, to restore Tibet as a politically autonomous entity distinct from China—is often labeled New Age. Practitioners often belong to mainstream Christian denominations, but they combine a wide and eclectic reading in various forms of mysticism, Eastern religions, books by New Age professionals, and the American mental science tradition. They may be concerned almost exclusively in increasing their individual spiritual awareness, or they may be thoroughly committed to the spiritual transformation of global society. Although there are a few organizations, such as the Aetherius Society and est, most New Age activity occurs through loose confederations of associates who

gather at New Age bookstores, concerts, or holistic healing centers.

Neopaganism

Though often labeled New Age, and complicit with its expansive and eclectic orientation, neopagans practice specific religious traditions. They may call themselves Wiccans, witches, or simply pagans. There are several distinctive branches, but most trace their lineage to Gerald Gardner, who in the 1930s claimed to have discovered and restored the pre-Christian earth-based religion of England. Although theoretically any neopagan religion is open to anyone, a great emphasis is placed on ancestral practices. Thus, Celtic, Norse, or Slavic traditions draw members primarily from individuals of those ethnic backgrounds, whereas persons of African ancestry are drawn primarily to the Afro-Caribbean syncretic religions of vodoun and Santeria.

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Social Gospel Movement

The Social Gospel movement, also known as Christian socialism until after 1907, was a moral reform movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that provided the moral underpinnings for the Progressive movement. Social Gospel represented the intersection of Christian activism and social reform with economic theory. The Social Gospel movement was initiated informally by several inner-city clergymen in the Gilded Age who were attempting to draw the working class into their middle-class congregations. The effort spread to secular reform leaders interested in securing social justice for the poor by applying the Gospel to their social and economic problems.

The Roots of the Movement

The roots of the Social Gospel movement are diverse. Similar efforts at aiding the working class had been underway for some time in Victorian England and in Germany. The Social Gospel movement drew heavily upon European ideas, most especially the British strain of Christian socialism and also the Fabian movement, which called for gradual rather than revolutionary and violent means for spreading Socialist principles. Europeans themselves delved into the past for ideas. The medieval principle that social, economic, and political theory comprised Christian ethics enlightened Christian socialism reform efforts.

From Germany the Americans borrowed nearly its entire biblical and theological foundation as well as the historical view of economic theory, especially from Marxism. The writings of Albrecht Ritschl and Adolph von Harnack gave the rising Social Christian movement and its advanced social legislation in Germany and Switzerland its intellectual heft. Ritschl provided the overarching idea for the movement with his Jesus-centered, anti-metaphysical theology of the Kingdom of God. His theology stressed ethics and the community of man. A leading student of Ritschl's ideas, von Harnack articulated many of these ideas more clearly by attacking esoteric intellectual exercises and other shortcomings of the church leaders.

Although its European roots were substantial and vital, its American ones were even more so. The Social Gospel movement was part of a larger religious reform movement in the United States that predated the Civil War. It had its foundation in American Puritanism and its powerful drive to shape and possibly remake society. The Second Great Awakening and the antislavery movements of the antebellum period present clear evidence of these tendencies. Abolitionism had harnessed the energy and resources of the church and asked its followers to subordinate other interests to address the great moral question of the day, slavery. The Social Gospel movement would ask the same of its adherents.

The Social Gospel movement sought to overcome the attitudes created by laissez-faire economics of the period and Social Darwinism. The Social Gospel movement emerged during the Gilded Age, when a handful of men like John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie amassed great sums of wealth from the labor of others. Many preachers praised the acquisition of wealth from the pulpit, or like Henry Ward Beecher, pointed out that it demonstrated their high moral standing, whereas poverty was equated with sin. This view of wealth and poverty gained "scientific" credence with the emergence of the theory of Social Darwinism. Herbert Spencer in Britain and William Graham Sumner in the United States applied Charles Darwin's scientific theories of evolution through struggle and natural selection of the fittest to human societies. Sumner, a Yale sociologist and former minister, developed arguments about evolutionary determinism used by politicians in their debate against social reform and governmental intervention on behalf of the poor. Instead, he argued that a work-

oriented moralism and the evolutionary process offered the only hope for society.

Henry Ward Beecher spoke favorably of the theory of evolution and Social Darwinism from his influential pulpit at Plymouth Church (Congregational) in Brooklyn, New York. Beecher, along with other preachers who shared his conservative values, defended the truth of the Gospel from attack by Darwinists by assimilating evolutionary views without harming or undermining Christian faith. Beecher and other conservatives linked creation as described in Genesis to Darwin's developmental theories, and sought to make the Bible more relevant to current conditions. Ironically, by doing so the conservatives helped to liberate organized religion from its constrictive past and paved the way for the liberal Social Gospel.

Socialism and New Theology

In the decades following the Civil War, some ministers and other Christian spokesmen around the country began to question whether the free enterprise system would automatically solve the nation's problems. Christianity and the church also came under some criticism for its failure to understand and defend the working class. Professor John Bascom of Williams College, who, like many contemporaries, held the poor in equal contempt, nonetheless criticized the conservatism of the Protestant pulpit and questioned the effect of the free competition on the workers. While at Williams, Bascom taught Washington Gladden, "the father of the American Social Gospel." Bascom's position evolved, and he later embraced the "Kingdom theology" of the Social Gospel movement first put forth by the Reverend Jesse Henry Jones, a Boston Congregationalist.

Jones blended Christianity with socialism. He founded the Christian Labor Union in 1872 and was editor of its journal, *Equality*, which advocated socialism until its dissolution a few years later in 1878. He attacked Beecher's positions and defended a labor theory of value. He also called for an eight-hour workday at a time when most laborers worked twelve to fourteen hours a day. In his book *The Kingdom of Heaven* (1871), Jones discussed a perfect Christian society on earth made up of independent socialistic communities. Other ministers like William Dwight Porter Bliss and George Herron went further still by leaving the pulpit and becoming Socialists.

In contrast to Christian socialism, another Congregationalist, Theodore Munger, developed the "New Theology" as the basis for a non-Socialist approach to the Social Gospel. Munger drew upon the writings of Horace Bushnell, who directly influenced several fellow American thinkers. Bushnell, who wrote and ministered in the North Congregational Church in Hartford, Connecticut, from the 1830s to the 1870s, bridged the gap from the old to the new theology and from the Second Great Awakening to the Social Gospel. He fashioned a theology based on Christian experience rather than on any doctrine. The Bible was a historical document, Bushnell said, that offered recorded experiences to be reproduced and emulated. Munger elaborated on these ideas, declaring that Christianity was not a theory but a life and a living process, one centered on Christ. He gave shape to his theory in *The Freedom of Faith* (1883), which acknowledged the rights of the individual but insisted that each person must accomplish his goals within a system that incorporates the good of the family and the nation.

Three American writers in politico-economic theory need to be mentioned along with Jones and Munger. Edward Bellamy, with his utopian novel, *Looking Backward, 2000–1887* (1888), a romance set in a Socialist United States in the year 2000, helped inspire the optimism of the Social Gospel. Henry George started a political movement for a single-tax system with *Progress and Poverty* (1879), his indictment of the American social system. George ran for mayor of New York City in 1886 as an independent candidate and finished second to Democrat Abram Hewitt, outpolling the young Republican candidate, Theodore Roosevelt. Lester Ward, though decidedly too secular in his writings to directly affect the Social Gospel, contributed to the movement by offering sociological arguments against Social Darwinism. He supported state intervention, charity, and other "artificial" devices to deal with the "natural" process that created poverty.

Social Gospel Movement Leaders

A major proponent of the New Theology, Washington Gladden served as pastor of the First Congregational Church of Columbus, Ohio, from 1882 to 1914. His seven years as minister in the industrial city of Springfield, Massachusetts, from 1875 to 1882, where he dealt extensively with the unemployed, had done much to shape his views, but not as much as the Hocking Valley coal strike of 1884 in Ohio. Gladden knew the lengths to which the mine operators were going to break the strike and the union because many of them were in his congregation. They ended the strike only to face another one year later. When the miners won, the manager of the company admitted

OBITUARIES OF WASHINGTON GLADDEN AND BENJAMIN TILLMAN 1918

The obituaries of white minister Dr. Washington Gladden and South Carolina senator Benjamin Tillman were published jointly in the Cleveland Advocate *on July 13, 1918. The newspaper praised Gladden for his belief in racial equality and assailed Tillman for his relentless racism, silenced only by his death.*

There died last week, within twenty-four hours of each other, two men both of whom were known, at least by name, throughout the country. The first to die was Dr. Washington Gladden, the great Congregational minister, author and philosopher, who died at Columbus, Ohio. The second to die was Benjamin R. Tillman, United States Senator from South Carolina. Each had passed the allotted three score and ten.

At one time, when a group of Colored people in Columbus, Ohio, desired to establish a Colored Congregational church they sought Dr. Gladden, pastor of the largest and most notable white Congregational church in Ohio, for encouragement. His reply was this terse sentence: "So long as there are vacant pews in my church I will not favor a separate church for Colored."

Dr. Gladden was never one of those super-enthusiastic agitators for equal rights and privileges for the race, but he was a staunch believer in the Constitution, and regarded that instrument as one which conferred EQUAL RIGHTS upon ALL American citizens, without reference to color or race, and he never, during his eighty-two years of living gave utterance to a single sentence designed to be hurtful to our race. To him the color of a man's skin was simply the design of the same God who gave to him his white skin, and it neither gave to the man special privileges or denied to him equal privileges.

Senator Tillman never lost an opportunity to assail the race; to discredit it in the eyes of the world, until God, in His "mysterious way his wonders to perform," paralyzed the tongue that had denounced a struggling race. For we had done naught to Senator Tillman save to till his soil, and make it possible for him to represent his state in the United States Senate by denial of suffrage. From the far South to the far North, he bitterly traduced us—and for pay. When that vile tongue was touched with paralysis, it was stilled for a while. But when he had partially recovered from his first paralytic stroke, he again resorted to bitter denunciation of a patient, long-suffering, loyal people.

Dr. Washington Gladden, perhaps the most famous and most widely known of ministers, always spoke encouragingly of, and for our race. Although a cold, calculating, analytical student, he never designedly erected a single bar to race advancement; he rather pulled down bars which hedged it in.

Benjamin R. Tillman, perhaps as superficial a man as ever represented a sovereign state in the United States Senate, always spoke discouragingly of, and for the race—never opened his mouth to discuss the race but he denounced it in bitterest terms, merely for cheap notoriety, and to satisfy and promote his political ambitions. He piled high the very bars which Dr. Gladden would have leveled down.

When Death paused at the bedside of Dr. Gladden to seal lips which had never uttered a single hurtful word against our race, the smile which covered his visage told how sweet to him had been the satisfaction of living a life of helpfulness to ALL mankind, and when life had left that body—weighed down with eighty-two years—a voice must have murmured: "Well done, My good and faithful servant"—and a suffering race wept o'er his parting.

When Death paused at the bedside of Benjamin R. Tillman to forever silence the tongue which had for years, without reason—without cause—assailed our race from the lakes to the gulf; which had espoused legislation designed to turn back the hands on the clock for us, there was NOT A SINGLE moist eye in any of the three million Colored homes in this broad land. On the contrary, every Colored person—when Senator Tillman's death was announced—believed, more than ever, that God does answer prayers.

Because of his goodness of heart; his calm, long, helpful life; recognizing men for their worth and merit, despite the color of their skin, and believing justice had been designed as a legacy for ALL MEN, the late Dr. Washington Gladden was the antithesis of Benjamin R. Tillman.

Because in his heart there was no place—no sympathy for such as whom God had created with darker skin; because he used his position and prestige to dethrone justice for a race which had earned it, by faithful allegiance to country and state; by fighting for it on an hundred battle fields, Benjamin R. Tillman, was the antithesis of Dr. Washington Gladden.

For the one for whom we have tears, and for the one for whom we HAVE NO TEARS to shed, we can, at least say Rest in Peace—God's will be done.

Source: Cleveland Advocate 5:10 (July 13, 1918). Available at dbs.ohiohistory.org/africanam/page1.cfm?ItemID=7366&Current=08_03A.

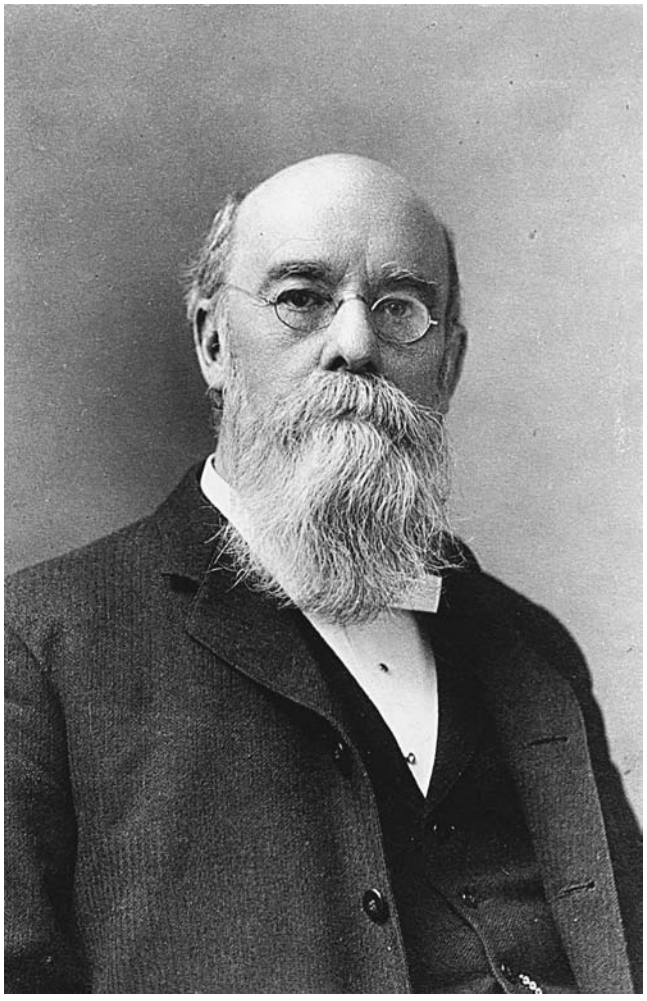
to Gladden that it was easier to bargain with the union at the table than with a mob at the picket lines.

Gladden first made a name for himself with his controversial book, *Being a Christian: What It Means and How to Begin* (1876), and eventually published over three dozen books that helped awaken the American Protestant social conscience. His widely read books dealt with New Theology, but it was his theology of social action that brought him the title of "the father of the American Social Gospel." His was a pragmatic, activist approach to Christianity. He demanded that the churches concern themselves with social injustice and that they help bring the economic features of American life under the laws of God's kingdom by example and by advocacy.

Gladden declared that it was the duty of a Christian to love his neighbor as himself, that society must be reformed along Christian lines, and that this was as important as saving individual souls. He even sought equality for blacks. He took the workingmen's view and argued on their behalf while he urged them to seek unity in Christianity. He rejected socialism as well as laissez-faire economics and declared that workers had the right to collective bargaining and to organize and strike. Gladden's criticism of the free enterprise system sharpened over the years. Although he never became a Socialist, he advocated municipal ownership of public utilities and cooperative management of many industries along with other economic reforms.

Josiah Strong, another follower of Bushnell, provided much of the revivalist and organizing spirit of the movement. Strong regarded the new industrial city as the major crisis for the nation and the church. He spelled out his concerns in the most influential book of the movement, *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis* (1885). It made him a national figure along with his work with the Interdenominational Congress and as general secretary of the Evangelical Alliance. Both organizations gave him an opportunity to push his agenda of interchurch action as a response to economic conditions and to take the Social Gospel movement national in its scope. His use of social research and public education on social issues served the movement well. However, his anti-Catholic stance and his espousal of American imperialism, both of which had wide support, also influenced the movement. Both of these issues—the establishment of national organizations and a firm belief in Anglo-Saxon superiority—paralleled those of the political Progressives.

Walter Rauschenbusch, a Baptist minister who served in New York City's infamous neighborhood known as Hell's Kitchen for eleven years until 1897 before becoming a faculty member of the Rochester Theological Seminary, embraced the Social Gospel immediately and became its most articulate and popular spokesman in America. He supported Henry George's mayoral campaign in 1886, and worked with Jacob Riis for playgrounds and better housing for immigrants. He emerged as a leading spokesman with the publication of *Christianity and the Social Crisis* in 1907. It laid out the entire Social Gospel in seven short chapters. He dealt with pragmatic solutions and reforms for the capitalist system and discussed his long-held vision for the Kingdom of God on earth. His



Father of the American Social Gospel movement, Washington Gladden preached a pragmatic, activist, and socially conscious approach to Christianity. He supported workers' right to form unions, and he urged fellow ministers to fight for social justice, racial equality, and economic reform. *(Brown Brothers)*

beliefs survived the tumult and chaos caused by World War I in part because it did not dwell on utopian outcomes. Instead, he shifted his focus from the Kingdom of God to the "Kingdom of Evil" to help explain the cataclysmic war then raging in Europe. In *A Theology for the Social Gospel* (1917), written during World War I, he blamed the war not on Germany exclusively but on the lust for power and money by all colonial powers. He called for a democratic cooperative society to be achieved by nonviolent means.

Besides seminaries and pulpits, the social sciences produced its share of Social Gospel supporters and writers as well as activists. Richard Ely, an economist, and Albion W. Small, a sociologist, were the social science counterparts to Rauschenbusch and Gladden. Both men had a comprehensive understanding of social science and exhibited an intense concern for its philosophical background and its ethical implications. They and other social scientists asked the empirical questions necessary to challenge the status quo and support reform legislation. Each infused his work and teachings with the notion that Christian ethics should be applied to answering social questions. Other social scientists and middle-class reformers shared this approach and applied it in various ways and places, like in the settlement house movement, for example.

What the Social Gospel Accomplished

The academic lectern and the ecclesiastic pulpit focused all of this energy and thought on overcoming an assumed alienation of the working class from Protestant churches. Washington Gladden noted that only one-tenth of his congregation was from the working class, but the census reported that nearly one-fourth of the population were wage earners. He and others assumed that meant the churches had failed to reach them and that an active interest in their plight might bring them into the fold. But middle-class Protestants overlooked one basic truth: the working class simply did not belong to middle-class churches. They ignored the existence of a parallel working-class social Christianity movement underway at the same time as the more widely known Social Gospel movement. In fact, labor periodicals used much of the same imagery, rhetoric, and motivation for supporting union causes and labor's discontent. The effort to lure workers into middle-class churches by showing concern and sympathy largely failed because it usually did not have a direct impact on their lives. It also failed to win over many urban immigrants because they were predominantly Catholic and it proposed few lasting solutions to urban problems.

The movement also did little to alleviate the dire situation faced by minorities, including Native Americans, Asians, and African Americans. Many believed minorities to be inferior and incapable of self-government. Women's suffrage faced the same condescending attitude. The typical Victorian family served as the model for the organization of society, even though this denied women many opportunities. Most of the movement's leaders did not involve themselves in the suffrage movement, and some, including Rauschenbusch, opposed suffrage completely.

What the Social Gospel movement did succeed in doing is to provide the political Progressive movement and the Progressive Party itself with ideas for reform, organizational models, national focus, and missionary zeal. The Progressives adopted ideas first embraced by ministers like Washington Gladden, including demands by unions for an eight-hour workday and Socialist ideas such as municipal ownership of public utilities. Without the exposure to Socialist ideas and the problems faced by wage earners, immigrants, and urban dwellers, the Progressive movement would not have been much of a national movement at all.

In the end, the Social Gospel movement had mixed results. It attracted a number of followers and helped liberalize organized religion from its doctrinaire past. It also linked Christianity with progressivism. But it largely failed those it intended to help—those in the inner city and the working class.

James G. Lewis

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Missionary Movements

The American mission movement from the early 1800s through World War II, carried out by the mainline evangelistic Protestant churches, had its roots in colonial New England and preached a mission of Christ and culture: to spread the word of God according to Protestant Christian theology as well as an Anglo-American culture of democracy, efficiency, and technology to the far corners of the earth. Indeed, American national identity has historically been grounded in a faith in America's manifest destiny to establish a civil and moral society so exceptionally favored by God that it would serve as an archetype for all other nations of the world to emulate.

In 1630, Puritan founding father John Winthrop inspired the Massachusetts Bay colonists with the vision that they were creating "a city upon the hill" without precedent on earth, but that nevertheless would become a beacon guiding all humanity. His fellow Anglo-American Puritan missionaries, most notably John Eliot, active from the 1640s to the 1680s, first spread their religious beliefs as well as their model for "civilized society," among the Native American populations they encountered on the North Atlantic coastline, establishing praying towns to convert the natives to a way of life, as well as a way of worship. Thus, they set the pattern for Anglo-American Protestant Christian missionizing, adapted from the Spanish, Portuguese, and French Catholic missionaries and colonizers who preceded them into the "new" worlds outside Europe. The Anglo-American tendency to denigrate the "heathen," "barbaric," "child-like," and "savage" non-European Protestant cultures they encountered, however, was greater in degree than their European Catholic counterparts and increased as Anglo-American settlers pushed westward into the North American continent and, by the early 1800s, beyond the continental borders.

Although mission theorists and missionaries in the field may have debated whether "civilization" (i.e., the American social, political, and economic model) should accompany evangelization (proclaiming forgiveness of universal sin and salvation through Christ to all confessed believers), in practice American missionaries found them linked in intricate and seemingly unavoidable ways. "Christian obligation and American obligation," William R. Hutchinson in *Errand to the World: Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (1987) has explained, "were fundamentally harmonious."

Links to American Global Expansion

Outside America's borders, this potent blend of national and Christian identity has led to stereotyping of all Americans as missionaries, crusaders, and cultural imperialists, who assume that progressive culture flows outward only from western Christian civilizations. With American continental expansion complete and industrialization of the economy achieved through technological advances borrowed from England and improved upon with American ingenuity, a more energetic global expansion agenda dominated national policy by the late 1800s and the United States staked its claim to world power status. Territorial acquisitions achieved through purchase, treaty, or war transformed America's self-image as well as how Americans thought about other cultures and peoples.

The idea that America's nineteenth-century experience could serve as a "template" for other less developed, less fortunate peoples, Michael Adas has elucidated in "From Settler Colony to Global Hegemon," led, at the turn of the century to even greater intervention in the outside world, further denigration of other cultures, and a firm conviction that other cultures would welcome American values and institutions. Misapplications of Charles Darwin's biological evolutionary theory to the social realm led Anglo-Americans to believe that people who failed to progress technologically and politically as Western

European and American societies had progressed (and who failed to believe in the Christian God) were destined to disappear or be absorbed into the western world order.

Yet among the many varieties of nineteenth- and twentieth-century American expansionists, those relative few who formally adopted the American Protestant missionary mantle felt most keenly and urgently their Christian and American obligations to create God's Kingdom on earth. Of these few, numbering at the zenith of the mainline Protestant Mission movement in the early 1920s, only some 13,000, embraced in the most literal sense Christ's biblical instruction to "go and make disciples of all nations" (Matthew 28: 18–20). And while the American missionary movement can certainly be viewed as the religious arm of a global movement of western, Anglo-American expansion, the missionaries' motives and influence on the cultures they encountered were complex and ambiguous. To a greater degree than most Anglo-American military, diplomats, or businessmen, missionaries interacted with native cultures in intimate ways. Missionaries became "cultural brokers [mediating] between their home societies and the peoples among whom they worked," according to Charles R. Taber in *The World Is Too Much with Us: "Culture" in Modern Protestant Missions* (1991). In some instances, noted Dana L. Robert in *American Women in Mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice* (1996), true cultural collaborations between American missionaries and native peoples "fundamentally changed Christian identity," making Christian identity among the newly converted at the same time less American or western, more culturally specific, and more universally relevant.

Gendered Aspects of the Mission Enterprise

Men in American Mission

The American missionary movement involved men and women in distinctly gendered ways. Male missionaries served first and foremost as evangelical ordained Protestant ministers or lay preachers and secondarily as medical doctors, teachers, and social and industrial reformers. Male clergy and laymen ran the interdenominational American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions as well as the denominational Protestant mission boards and determined which fields would be open to the American mission enterprise and who would be sent forth as Christian agents. Male missionaries brought the rhetoric of global conquest to their evangelistic endeavors, proclaiming their goal: "evangelization of the world in this generation" by the 1880s.

John R. Mott, at the forefront of the American missionary movement in its heyday, met regularly with western diplomats and heads of state. And it was Baptist layman John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who, in 1930, launched an interdenominational inquiry into the historic record of the mainline Protestant missions to India, Burma, China, and Japan, and proposed new directions in mission policy based on the nearly two-year-long field investigation. Advancing a decidedly liberal Protestant view, the "Laymen's Inquiry," published as *Re-Thinking Missions* in 1932, proposed that the (male) missionaries' role was to act as ambassadors for Christianity rather than soldiers or salesmen, expert at addressing the social needs of the native populations. Throughout the duration of the American mission movement, men held the visible leadership and policymaking positions in spite of the fact that, by 1910, women accounted for 55 percent of the mission force.

Women in American Missions

Female missionaries served first as mission wives and models of pious Christian homemakers. Later, after the first generation of mostly married women in the mission field, single women missionaries served foremost as teachers, social reformers, doctors, and nurses. All missionaries felt called to the mission field to "save" heathen souls for Christ. But female and male missionaries alike believed that female missionaries had a special call to uplift the lives of their "degraded" nonwestern "sisters" living in non-Christian societies where women's oppression was judged to be more cruel and intense that that of men. Perhaps because their own Protestant churches denied them a formal ministerial role and relegated them to a separate, auxiliary role on church mission boards, female missionaries devised a mission theology that was active, practical, and holistic, with set goals to meet the native societies' material, intellectual, and spiritual needs. First promoted energetically by Mary Lyon at her Mount Holyoke Female Seminary in the mid-1800s, what became known as the "Woman's Work for Woman" missiology after the American Civil War was grounded in the belief that higher education was necessary for American women to become fully useful, well-trained teachers and thereby play a larger role in the public realm of society—even if that public realm was overseas. The profession of missionary became

particularly attractive to many American women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries because it provided one of the few socially accepted professional avenues for the increasing number of college-educated, single women.

American women missionaries, while undeniably colonial women who shared a crusading sense of cultural superiority with their male counterparts, nonetheless brought education and awareness of national and global, social, and political issues to the lives of colonized women and children that fostered distinctly subversive, anti-imperialist consequences. Dana L. Roberts has asserted that the American women's mission movement, intentionally or not, "with its goals of evangelizing and emancipating non-Christian peoples through education . . . gave non-western women the tools with which to shape their own destinies." After World War I, shaken as male missionaries were by the disillusioning specter of Christian nations at war, the Anglo-American women's mission movement adopted a new foundational watchword, "World Friendship," which displayed more cultural sensitivity and a conviction that nonwestern peoples would forge their own paths to Christianity. Within the women's realm of mission work, native women assumed leadership positions in schools, churches, and other religious organizations. Anglo-American women retreated to advisory roles in the mission fields, continuing to serve only at the specific request of native women and devoting their energies to promoting peace and internationalism in an increasingly violent and nationalistic era. Failing to avert World War II, the American women's mission movement as it had developed within the mainline Protestant churches, declined in number, and ceded its predominant position to faith-based evangelicals and Roman Catholic missions in traditional nonwestern mission fields as well as in European nations, and, in the 1990s, in states that had been part of the Soviet Union.

Overseas Mission 1870–1930

By the late nineteenth century, the emergence of the Social Gospel within American Protestant churches demanded Christian ministry to all human needs, physical and intellectual as well as spiritual, in order to perfect human society on earth. The rise of an expansionist ethos in mainstream American politics accompanied this growing adherence to the tenets of the Social Gospel among the middle class. These two concurrent developments fueled an outward-looking reforming zeal within mainline Protestant church congregations, and the American mission movement flourished between 1870 and 1930. During these years, mainline Protestant theology shifted from a premillennial focus whereby American Protestant Christians sought to prepare the world for the imminent return of Christ to a postmillennial vision, in which American Protestants believed they were extending the Kingdom of God on earth by spreading Christian values through American cultural and political institutions. Firm belief in America's special covenant with God inspired a new wave of missionaries to go forth to nonwestern nations in order to advance Christian (and American) civilization. From 1860 to 1890, the number of Protestant missionary societies sending Christian emissaries into the foreign fields increased from sixteen to ninety.

The Youthful Character of the New Mission Era

This more confident, energetic, and self-conscious national pride that permeated the American mission movement in these decades attracted young college students in increasingly larger numbers to the foreign fields. The movement was inspired by mission promoters like the Reverend Arthur T. Pierson who edited the *Missionary Review of the World* journal in 1886 and who insisted that new technological and political advances in American civilization had created the most opportune moment for expansion in Christian history. Fired by Pierson's charge that "all should go, and go to all," these young missionaries believed they could bring about "the evangelization of the world in this generation."

A newly organized interdenominational Student Volunteer Movement (1886–1946)—initially an outgrowth of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA)—took up the world evangelization "watchword" and defined the zealous, optimistic faith of this new mission era. YMCA activists like Dwight L. Moody, John R. Mott, and Luther Wishard inspired nearly 10,000 college students to volunteer for mission service by the turn of the century. Among them was a growing contingent of American women, who joined the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) and made up 55 percent of the mission force by 1910. During the American Woman's Missionary Jubilee celebrations held in forty-eight cities across the nation during 1910 and 1911, thousands of women regaled the accomplishments of fifty years of the Woman's Work for Woman global ministry and

looked forward to a bright future for an ecumenical church women's movement in the overseas missions.

Confronting Nationalism in Foreign Mission Fields

The mission experience challenged some American missionaries in ways they had not anticipated. American missionaries worked closely with native Christians in the foreign fields in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and they were forced to respond to nationalist aspirations among the populations they sought to convert and westernize. As American missionaries opened new mission fields in Latin America after 1870, some Latin American progressives welcomed their presence. Ministering to the masses of indigenous poor rather than to the landed rich and those of European origins, American Protestant missionaries distinguished themselves from the long established Roman Catholic missions and churches in the region. American Protestants brought their late-nineteenth-century progressive and democratic values with them to Latin American mission fields, and these ideas were well-received by some segments of the Latin American populations.

Yet they also brought their expansionist faith in America's manifest destiny and sometimes shared their government's political goals, which undercut their legitimacy with the Latin American nationalists they sought to convert. At the same time, some American missionaries struggled to define a "Christian imperialism" motivated by altruism and a desire to improve the lives of native populations less fortunate than their own and tried to distance their civilizing mission from the self-serving and acquisitive imperialism of their nation's businessmen and politicians who aimed to build an overseas empire.

In established mission fields in Asia and Africa, the new generation of American Protestant missionaries discovered changes among native populations, too. Although native populations in these fields were still reluctant to convert to a "foreign" religion, they were far more eager to acquire a western education from the missionaries than earlier generations had been. From the perspective of native nationalists in China, or Japan, or India, discovering the secrets of western wealth and power through a western education might reveal the keys to resisting western imperialism and "liberation" from western colonial control might be more meaningful than Christian "salvation" from original sin. Asian natives who did convert to Christianity were often motivated by certain aspects of Christian teachings that spoke to what they perceived to be the weaknesses or needs of their own societies.

Many Japanese Christians, for example, were inspired by the Christian ethic of social service in a time of transition among their national leadership. As a new constitutionally based Japanese government led by the Meiji emperor stripped the samurai warrior class of its hereditary role to serve the feudal shogunate, many former samurai families converted to Christianity and acquired western educations. They found a new moral foundation for their lives and new avenues to serve the Japanese nation in its modernizing project.

Evaluating the American Mission Movement

Young Men's Christian Association leader and mission enthusiast Robert Speer estimated that by 1950, western missionaries had converted 1.5 million non-western natives to Protestant Christianity, and in 1910, estimated that nearly 800,000 new converts had been added to the Christian fold. These numbers seemed impressive but represented only a fraction of the non-western populations in the mission fields. Far more successful were the number of schools and medical facilities that resulted from the missionaries' civilizing activities. These endeavors improved health conditions and spread literacy among native populations. In part, these results were the consequence of an increasing proportional number of laypersons among the missionaries' ranks. By 1910, nearly 70 percent of the American mission force was made up of laypersons, up from 52 percent in 1868.

Laypersons in the field tended to hold liberal Protestant beliefs. They deemphasized denominationalism and doctrinal differences among Protestant churches. The holistic Social Gospel, rather than engaging in pure evangelism, guided their mission activities. Nonetheless, many continued to adhere to the ultimate goal of the American mission movement, world evangelization. When in 1932 the ultraliberal "Laymen's Inquiry" financed by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and compiled by William Ernest Hocking evaluated the historic record of over 100 years of the American Protestant mission enterprise and recommended new mission policies, many liberal missionaries in the field disavowed its conclusions. Hocking's report on the Laymen's Inquiry, or *Re-Thinking Missions*, advised Protestant missionaries to promote the expansion of world spirituality and to collaborate with

other world religions rather than seek to convert all to Protestant Christianity.

The mainline Protestant American mission movement declined after 1930. Its strength and confidence were undercut by widening rifts between fundamentalists and liberal Protestants who disagreed about the nature and purpose of the foreign missions. Moreover, mainline Protestant churches struggled to meet the needs of congregations in the United States during the Great Depression, and deep cuts in church and mission board budgets reduced funding to send missionaries abroad. Separate auxiliary women's mission boards were merged into Protestant denominational boards, and the distinctiveness enjoyed by the American women's mission movement disappeared as its already limited institutional autonomy disappeared. In addition, as more professional opportunities opened to women in the United States, the number of women who pursued a mission career through traditional Protestant church mission channels decreased. After 1930, faith-based missionaries, who operated outside the bounds of institutional churches and raised their own funds for evangelical ministries to the "unsaved" populations, supplanted the mainline Protestant church missionaries in the field.

Karen Garner

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YMCA-YWCA

The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) were Protestant Christian social service organizations founded by middle-class professionals in England in the 1840s (YMCA) and 1850s (YWCA). Initially, these gender-based organizations provided Bible study, and soon afterward recreational programs, for men and women working in industrial factories. Seeking to fill a perceived void in spirituality and to instill Christian values among the working classes, Christian laypersons in evangelical Protestant denominations formed the YMCA and YWCA to provide a "useful" and holistic ministry to needy populations. YMCAs and YWCAs were led by boards of directors; male businessmen served on YMCA boards and women of the leisured middle class served on YWCA boards. They employed professional teachers and social workers, or "secretaries," to carry out programs and services. This YMCA-YWCA organizational model soon spread to other countries in Western Europe and to North America.

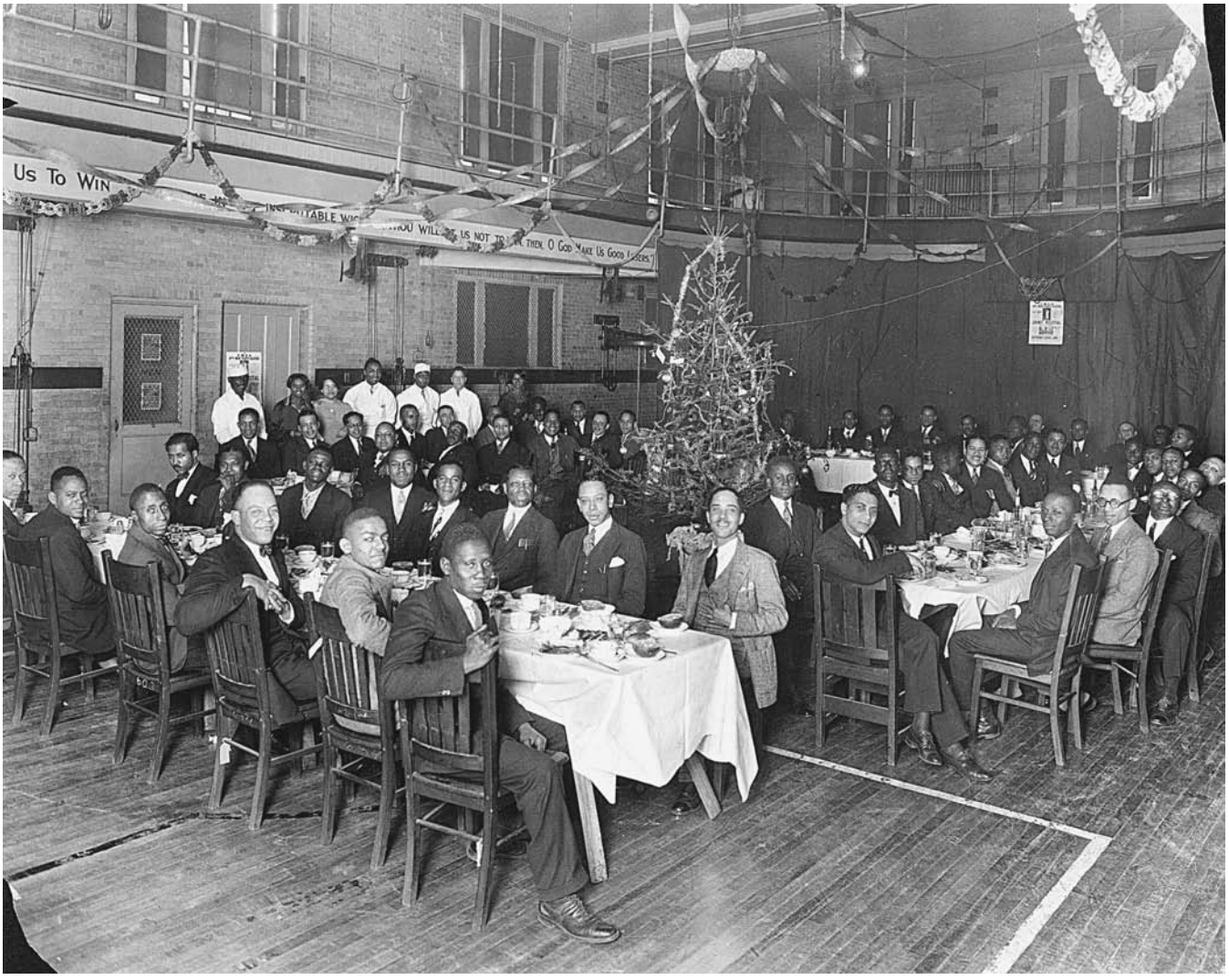
The American Associations

Zealous American middle-class reformers embraced the YMCA-YWCA activist "fourfold" philosophy to minister to the spiritual, intellectual, social, and physical needs of young American workers in New England's industrial towns, and Southern and Eastern European immigrants who settled in cities on the East Coast and in the Midwest. Evangelical preacher Dwight L. Moody preached the message that God's salvation was available to all who sought it sincerely, and began to campaign for YMCA recruits to help spread the "good news" on college campuses in the 1860s. By the 1880s, YMCA and YWCA chapters were thriving institutions on many college campuses, involving students in community service projects, recruiting them for professional social service careers when they graduated. Inspired by Moody and by ambitions to become a foreign missionary, Luther Wishard, a YMCA secretary at Princeton, decided to take the American YMCA idea to the foreign mission fields.

The YMCA (and soon, the YWCA) foreign mission message was salvation and social service; the medium was American college students. In summer 1886, Wishard and Moody hosted a student conference on Moody's Northfield, Massachusetts, Seminary campus. Reverend Arthur T. Pierson preached a rousing call to mission to the assembled students and, by the conclusion of the conference, one hundred college men had pledged themselves to mission service and the Student Volunteer Movement was born. Through Wishard's fierce campaigning and the support of YMCA leader John R. Mott who shared his vision of the YMCA's foreign mission potential, the American YMCA national board was persuaded to begin, in 1891, to support a few "foreign secretaries," who would develop YMCA organizations in India, China, and Japan along American organizational lines. American missionaries in foreign fields supported the expansion of the YMCAs and requested more secretaries, male and female, to serve the needs of youths in their mission districts. By 1895, the American YWCA, too, joined in the mission movement.

Characteristics of American YMCA and YWCA Foreign Work

From the inception of their overseas mission work, American YMCA and YWCA foreign secretaries tried to follow the guiding precept to plant the "association idea," organizing young native mission school students or college men and women in Bible study, community service projects, and recreational programming to discipline their spirits, minds, and bodies in conjunction with Christian teachings and American pluralistic principles. American foreign sec-



Members of the Young Men's Christian Association, or YMCA, attend a Christmas party in Harlem, New York, in the early 1920s. The YMCA—along with the Young Women's Christian Association, or YWCA—began in the mid-nineteenth century as a religious institution to promote Bible study and spiritual growth. The organizations gradually evolved into community-based institutions that offered a wide range of social, recreational, and intellectual activities. *(Brown Brothers)*

retaries cultivated native youths to become leaders within their own national YMCA and YWCA organizations. But both American YMCA and YWCA secretaries encountered obstacles in the foreign fields. American foreign secretaries professed to find it difficult to train YMCA and YWCA members who displayed the leadership qualities that the Americans could recognize and appreciate. YMCA or YWCA leaders took programming in nationalist directions that alarmed some American foreign secretaries who considered foreign nationalism divisive, failing to recognize that their own American value-laden Christian message was far from the "universal" message they claimed it to be.

Some American YMCA and YWCA secretaries, however, developed a deep understanding and sympathy for the nationalist views of their co-workers and constituents in the foreign fields. Beginning in the 1910s, the YWCA, and, in the 1920s, the YMCA, adopted the Social Gospel creed, and their interactions with the poorest and most exploited workers and peasants in foreign societies forced them to confront the legacies of Western European and American colonialism, and to recognize their own complicity in

the Western imperialist enterprise. Beginning with the Spanish-American War in 1898, YMCA secretaries had accompanied American soldiers to fields of war in Cuba and the Philippines. During World War I, YMCA and YWCA secretaries served the Allied Western forces in Europe; in World War II, they served in Europe and Asia. Some American foreign secretaries realized that their social service had political ramifications.

The Transformation of American YMCA and YWCA Foreign Work

As with the mainline Protestant missions, the American YMCA and YWCA foreign secretary presence reached its peak in foreign mission fields in the 1920s. The Great Depression forced the American YMCA and YWCA to reduce the number of secretaries they sent abroad, and to limit funding for foreign building projects. After the 1930s, men and women assumed leadership of their own national YMCAs and YWCAs, and a few American foreign secretaries served in advisory roles when invited by national associations.

For both the YMCA and YWCA, international relationships were transformed in the post–World War II period. The Cold War divided the Communist and non-Communist world, and led to the restriction of the American YMCA and YWCA to non-Communist nations allied to the West. The YMCA and YWCA supported demands for decolonization and independence within the non-Western world with increasingly culturally sensitive policies and services. The American YMCA "Foreign Service" Division changed its name to "World Service." It has continued to promote mutual understanding of cultural differences among YMCAs globally and to offer funding, personnel, and other resources to independent YMCAs in other nations to meet self-defined local needs. The U.S. government's Peace Corps program, established in 1961, followed the YMCA "World Service" Division model. The American YWCA also changed the name of its "Foreign Division" to the "International Division" in 1961 and since the end of World War II has gradually deferred control over funds and personnel devoted to international initiatives. The World YWCA, based in Geneva, participates in a global women's movement as a leading women's international Non-Government Organization (NGO) that interacts with the United Nations and other global agencies and supports feminist, antiracist, human rights and social justice campaigns worldwide.

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Rural Utopian Movements
1820s–1850s

Since European settlement began, North America has proved a rich breeding ground for communal, cooperative, and collaborative settlements and communities. One recent study has enumerated over 900 such settlements founded up to 1965 in the territory of the United States alone, not counting monastic communities of the Catholic and other mainstream churches. Of this total, almost 250 were formed before 1860, and of those in turn the majority existed during the forty years or so leading up to the American Civil War. Their formation and respective fates were emblematic of major themes in this period's social history: the intersection of religious and secular impulses; the influence of European ideas on American movements; and a deep interest in experimentation in pursuit of social reform. The antebellum period was not unique in producing communal and cooperative utopias: there were comparable episodes in the 1890s and again in the 1960s. But some historians have suggested that at no other time in American history were such movements so closely linked to mainstream political and cultural developments, or so close to influencing patterns of change in society at large.

German Pietism

Communal ventures of various kinds had accompanied early English settlements in North America, but few had lasted long. During the eighteenth century, however, German pietist groups had established settlements that operated temporarily or permanently on communal lines. Moravian missionaries had for a time conducted communal arrangements in their settlements at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and elsewhere. Significant numbers of Anabaptists, including Swiss Mennonites and Alsatian Amish, whose core American settlements also lay in Pennsylvania, maintained close-knit communities of mutual support even while retaining private property and individual family households. Amish settlements in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, founded in the 1730s, remained small until the later nineteenth century, but were expanding and adding congregations during the antebellum period. But some early nineteenth-century pietist groups adopted communal arrangements. The Harmonists, led by George Rapp, lived at a sequence of successful communal settlements in Pennsylvania and Indiana from 1805 to 1905; the similar Society of Separatists of Zoar, founded in Ohio in 1817, retained its communal organization until 1898. The Rappites' and Zoarists' success pointed the way for pietist settlements at Ebenezer, New York, in the 1840s and Amana, Iowa, in 1854, as well as for the large post–Civil War colonies of Hutterites in the Great Plains region that would become the most extensive and stable of all communal settlements in North America.

Significant as all these groups were, however, their religious and ethnic characteristics limited their wider impact on American society. They were divisions of or reactions to German Lutheranism and its European offshoots. They recruited almost exclusively from among German populations and retained German-language and religious practices. Although some originated in missionary efforts, the communities remained largely self-contained. North America provided a shelter for religious practices that was difficult to sustain elsewhere, and their emphasis lay in withdrawal from society and the preservation of pure religious observance. Zoar, for instance, was named for the place to which, in the book of Genesis, Lot fled to escape the evils of Sodom.

Millennialism and Reform

The communal dimensions of English-speaking religious movements, however, did have wider links with the American social reform movements of the antebellum period. A common characteristic of Anglo-American Protestantism in this period was its millennialism, the confidence that at some point

Christ would return to rule on earth. This belief had two kinds of influence on communalism. Some groups, holding that the millennium had already occurred, sought to build perfect societies that would express the rule of heaven on earth. Others, religious and secular, were profoundly influenced by the concept of "postmillennialism," the idea that Christ would only return to a world made ready for him—a spur to social action and to campaigns for social reform.

Prominent among groups of the first kind were the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing, popularly known as the Shakers for their dance-like form of worship. Originating in a small group of English believers who migrated to America in the 1770s with their leader Ann Lee, Shakerism crystallized in the 1790s into a significant communal movement which in due course built twenty-two village settlements from southern Maine to central Kentucky and had, at its peak around 1850, almost 4,000 adherents. Lee had died in 1784, but her successors, particularly Joseph Meacham and Lucy Wright, forged a set of communal arrangements based on the surrender of private property, the abolition of marriage, and strict celibacy. Shakers believe that God has both male and female components, and that Ann Lee had been Christ's female counterpart. Because they were living in the millennium, Shaker communities were therefore miniature heavens on earth, led by a hierarchy of male and female ministers and deacons. Centers of agricultural and craft production, most Shaker villages achieved considerable economic efficiency and prosperity in the first half of the nineteenth century.

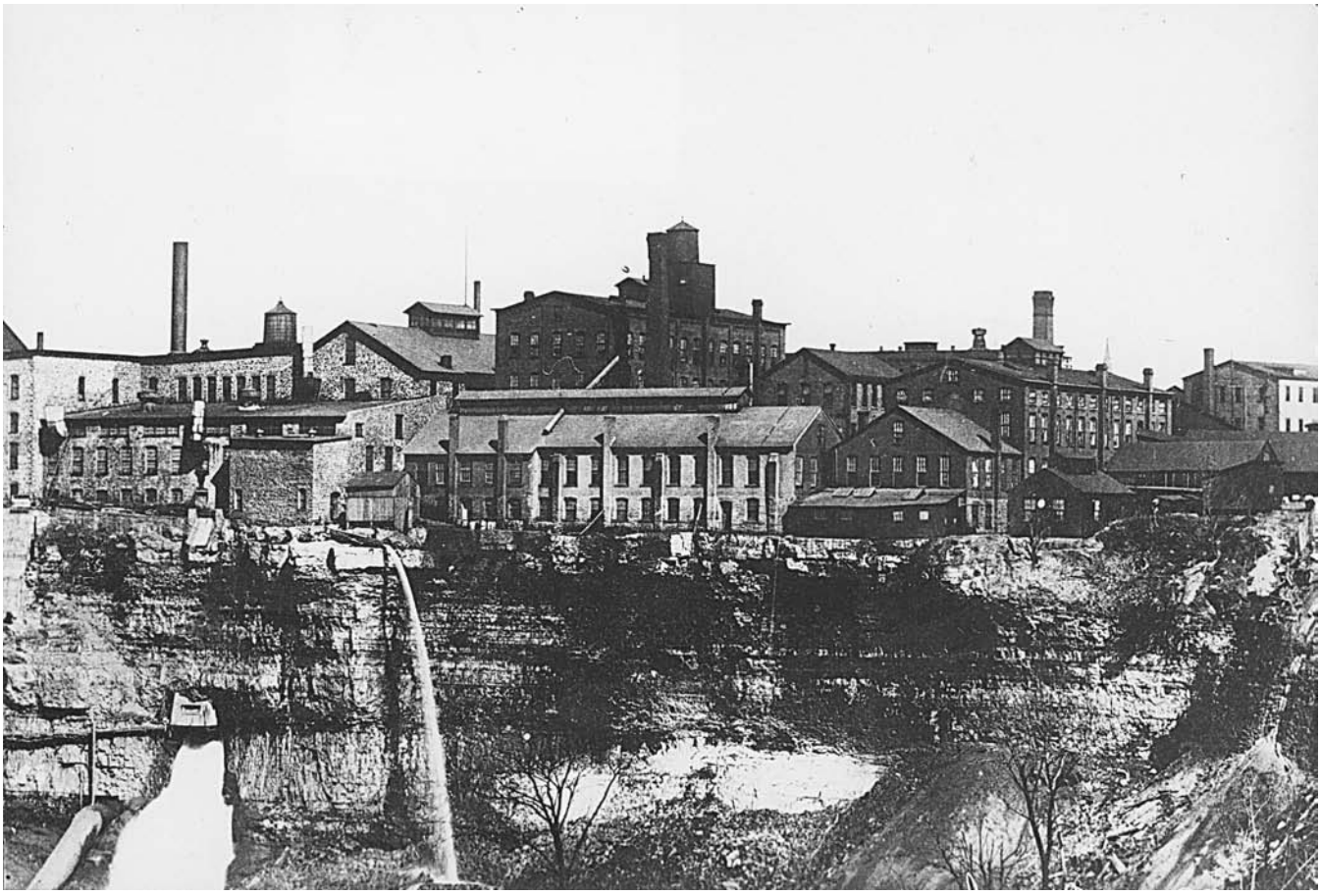
Though enjoying brief revivals, however, Shakerism entered a long period of decline in the 1850s as its social and religious arrangements marked it out clearly from mainstream society and it lost most of its impulse for missionary work. It has never died out (one community still operates today), but most of its villages were abandoned or sold between 1875 and the 1920s. Shaker communities and economic arrangements, rather than their beliefs or celibate practices, nevertheless influenced other reformers. Members of subsequent communities sometimes studied Shakerism for the lessons it might provide. Friedrich Engels later proclaimed it to be a successful model for a Communist society.

In the 1820s and 1840s, events in Europe and the United States combined to produce further efforts at creating communal settlements in America. The Welsh-born reformer Robert Owen, having developed a model factory community in Scotland, and frustrated at Parliament's obstruction of necessary social reforms, inspired several communal settlements, including that at New Harmony, Indiana, which Owen himself founded in 1825 on a site purchased from the Rappites. Optimistic to a fault, Owen at first proclaimed rapid progress at New Harmony toward his goal of achieving a community without private property, but by 1827 disputes and divisions had so disheartened him that he backed away from this intention and the community dissolved. Owen held that social ills derived from circumstances and that reform would follow from the creation of an ideal form of society. This inspired the recruitment of a wide range of members, from intellectuals to prairie farmers, but many failed to meet Owen's expectation that they would see the reason of his prescriptions and fall into a new way of life. Owen covered his retreat from New Harmony with the accusation that his followers had not been worthy of the experiment. Meanwhile, his public pronouncements on marriage, property, and religion had incurred the wrath of the conventional churches. Owen also inspired the effort of the English radical Frances Wright to establish a community for freed slaves at Nashoba in Tennessee in 1826, but this also failed on Wright's patronizing assumptions and poor organizing ability. Publications on birth control by Owen's son, Robert Dale Owen, and Wright's self-description as a "free enquirer" added to the furor over Robert Owen's own radicalism and helped shape the ideological climate into which subsequent communal movements emerged.

Although Owen is best understood as a pioneer Socialist, cooperator, and secular reformer, the confident, almost messianic tone of his pronouncements gave his movement many parallels with contemporary millennial thought. And it was the climate of postmillennialist reform movements, coupled with economic distress, which gave rise to the next and greatest antebellum surge in community founding. During the early-to-mid-1840s, over sixty communities were established in the United States. Although they had varied roots, they shared a set of overlapping contacts with the broader stream of social reform movements that had been gathering weight over several years.

Communities of the 1840s

A financial panic in 1837 led to a severe economic downturn that particularly affected the Northeast, the region most touched by the growth of capitalist industry and commerce. Coincidentally, movements in the same region to campaign for the abolition of



One of the most successful and long-lasting of the nineteenth-century utopian societies, the Oneida Community in upstate New York manufactured silverware, steel traps, and embroidered silks. The group was best known for its practice of "complex marriage," by which members had multiple sexual partners and children were raised communally. *(Brown Brothers)*

Southern slavery and other reforms also ran into difficulties. Economic depression fostered discussions in urban, intellectual circles about the ideals of rural life, and a "back to the land" movement began to ripen. Discussions among reformers about the problems they faced reinforced this trend with interest in communities as an ideal form of social organization. Publicity for these discussions was provided not only in specialist reform periodicals and newspapers, but also in the wider press, particularly the newly founded New York *Tribune*, edited by Horace Greeley.

In Massachusetts, debates among Unitarians about the church's role in social reform, and among the Boston transcendentalists, led to the establishment of a community at Brook Farm, a rural site just outside Boston, in 1841, led by the former Unitarian minister George Ripley. The same year, a group of "Practical Christians" under the Universalist minister Adin Ballou, set up what they called Fraternal Community Number One not far away, at Hopedale, Massachusetts, in what they expected to be a model for the establishment of ideal Christian societies across the land. The following year a group of radical abolitionists founded a cooperative community at Northampton, in western Massachusetts, in the hope of establishing a model of industrial, agrarian, and educational work in a rural environment, free from the strictures and practices of conventional churches. Abolitionists were also instrumental in founding, subsequently, a number of communities in Ohio and Indiana. In all of these cases, secular and religious ideals were closely intermixed.

Also growing out of this reform environment, though with a strong and distinctive religious dimension, was a community first founded in the early 1840s at Putney, Vermont, that moved to Oneida, New

Reacting to the growing materialism, acquisitiveness, and competitiveness of industrial capitalism, French social theorist Charles Fourier advocated small cooperative communities called "phalanxes," based on handicrafts and agriculture. Americans organized phalanxes in the mid-1840s from Massachusetts to Wisconsin. *(Brown Brothers)*

York, in 1848. Led by its religious head, John Humphrey Noyes, Oneida was truly communal in the sense that private property was abolished, members participated in a regulated system of group marriage tempered for two decades by what Noyes called "male continence," or self-restraint to prevent ejaculation during intercourse. After the Civil War, Noyes modified this "complex marriage" regime into an early eugenic experiment, in which couples selected by him for their superior spiritual attributes were permitted to conceive children, to be raised by the community. Oneida continued as a communal group until 1881.

But these religious-based communities formed part of a wider movement that had, once again, secular and European origins. Owenism revived briefly in the 1840s and some new settlements were founded, but the greatest impetus came from American followers of the French social theorist Charles Fourier (1772–1837). Inspired by the writings of the chief American Fourierist, Albert Brisbane, and supported by Horace Greeley and others, several thousand American artisans, workers, and professionals acted to form new communities in the mid-1840s. Only about one in ten of the members of Fourierist groups were farmers, but most communities were founded in rural locations accessible to urban markets.

Fourier's own writings centered on the perception that social harmony could be secured by building societies capable of permitting humans' built-in predispositions, which Fourier called "passions," to function. His calculations indicated that ideal communities, which he called "phalanxes," would consist of 1,600 to 1,800 men and women who would share the full range of available attributes in combination. Brisbane and other American interpreters stepped around the more fanciful of Fourier's visions and focused on his prescriptions for the organization of property and work, a combination of private ownership and cooperation that they called "Associationism." They offered life in communities as a preferable alternative to the drudgery, competitiveness, and waste of capitalism. Cooperation would, above all, permit men and women to exploit their talents and desires by applying Fourier's doctrine of "attractive industry," in which work was organized and individuals' tasks varied frequently so as best to match their natural inclinations. Associationists took pains to distance themselves from Owen's critiques of existing society. Fourier's theories, they insisted, would not abolish property, but would merely pool its uses for mutual advantage. Fourierist phalanxes would promote religious freedom and uphold the principles of monogamous marriage and family life.

Greeley, Brisbane, and other leaders had advocated a concerted effort to raise funds to build a full-scale version of a Fourierist phalanx, but in practice some thirty smaller communities were established in the mid-1840s, at sites from New Jersey to Wisconsin. Most were short-lived; twelve lasted a year or less. Still, a handful, like the Wisconsin Phalanx at Ceresco (later Ripon) showed signs of prosperity, and one, the North American Phalanx at Red Bank, New Jersey, lasted twelve years. The Associationists' greatest triumph was to convert George Ripley and his followers at Brook Farm to the virtues of Fourierism early in 1844. Brook Farm not only became the intellectual heart of the movement, publishing its chief periodical, the *Harbinger*, but it adopted organizational changes to accommodate Fourier's theories of attractive labor.

Associationism faced a serious dilemma. On one hand, the failure to concentrate efforts prevented the investment of sufficient capital on a single site and made most communities prey to financial weakness and failure. On the other hand, dispersed communities offered opportunities for participation to supporters across the Northeast and Midwest, and, by avoiding the rigidity of following a single prescribed community pattern, may well have fostered the movement's survival into the 1850s. Nevertheless, most of the communities did not survive the 1840s; two founded in the 1850s, at Raritan Bay, New Jersey, and La Reunion (near Dallas), Texas, were short-lived.

Comparison of Fourierism in America with another French-inspired communal movement of the period illustrates some of the complexities entailed in introducing communalism to an existing American population. The French theorist Etienne Cabet, having published in 1839 a novel, *Voyage en Icarie* (Journey to Icaria), describing an imaginary community, found himself heading a movement to enact this in reality. Thus, in 1849 he set out in advance of several hundred followers to establish a settlement, first in Texas, then in Illinois. By the time of Cabet's death in 1856, the movement had split, but small Icarian communities continued near St. Louis, Missouri, in Iowa, and in California until the 1890s. Unlike the Fourierist phalanxes, these had adopted communal property; unlike them, too, they had remained almost entirely French, and French-speaking, in their membership. Though secular in character, the Icarian communities shared the communalism and cultural uniformity of some of the German pietist groups, and this may have contributed to their relative longevity.

Evaluating Antebellum Communities

Communities founded during the 1840s lasted, on average, less than two-and-a-half years. By the end of the antebellum period, with the exception of Oneida and the Icarian communities, few new communal groups survived, while the preexisting Shakers and various German groups continued. Scholars have debated the significance and implications of this pattern. Conventionally, historians dismissed antebellum communalism as marginal, ephemeral, or irrelevant to major issues. Recent studies have taken a different perspective, indicating the role of community-founding in the wider context of social reform movements, and tracing the influence of movements like Fourierism on other activities, such as land reform, the labor movement, and health reform, that long survived them. Paradoxically, community efforts also fostered ideas about individualism. The strong individualist current that emerged in Transcendentalist writing, especially that of Ralph Waldo Emerson, was in part a response to the formation of Brook Farm. Among Robert Owen's members at New Harmony in the 1820s were Josiah Warren, who later emerged as the pioneer American Anarchist, who formed two communities in Ohio in the 1830s and 1840s before establishing, with Stephen Pearl Andrews, the Modern Times community on Long Island (1851–1863) dedicated to the principle of "individual sovereignty."

Scholars have also considered the factors that can help explain why some communities lasted longer than others. Rosabeth Moss Kanter, in an influential study in the 1970s, suggested that engagement of members in a series of "commitment mechanisms" that bound them to one another and separated them from wider society, was a key feature of groups that lasted significant periods of time. Shakers, German pietists, the Oneidans, and Icarians all adopted communal property and sets of religious and social practices (such as celibacy and "complex marriage") that demanded personal sacrifice or set members off from the rest of society. Fourierists and others who attempted to gain the benefits of communal living without entirely altering their social or economic arrangements often found it harder to sustain their communities. Financial problems, common to small groups in their early years, were more likely to drive members away than they were in religious communes. Above all, perhaps, the lure of communal living and the advantages that it could manifestly offer were only competitive with conditions in the surrounding society when general economic circumstances were hard. As opportunities for employment or profit improved with the economic revival of the late 1840s, inducements to stay in communities that did not entail "commitment mechanisms" were relatively weak. And to the extent that Fourierists and others had conjured up visions of prosperous abundance in their communities, they were exposed to the harsh competition of a thriving and expanding national economy with the limited resources and short-term prospects of dozens of struggling nascent communes.

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New Harmony Movement

The early 1800s in Great Britain, with the onset of the industrial revolution, was a time of social upheaval. The poor and underprivileged flocked to employment in the manufacturing industry, which gave rise to the factory town. A cruel and unyielding environment often faced these families, who lived in crowded slums with poor sanitation and bad food, and who suffered long, harsh working conditions. It was not uncommon for children as young as five or six to work ten-hour shifts. High unemployment made families desperate, while investors and other capitalists reaped unheard of and often obscene profits from the labors of the lower class. Into this maelstrom of change stepped philanthropist, manufacturer, and social reformer Robert Owen.

Like his competitors, Owen reaped the benefits from the system, but unlike them, he did not seek to squeeze more profit from the laborers who produced the wealth. After purchasing the textile mill and its factory town of New Lanark, Scotland, Owen began experimenting with ways to improve the working and living conditions of his employees, and he began to observe that his changes resulted in increased productivity and happiness. Through these observations, Robert Owen developed his theory of character formation and education—that man's character is formed for him, not by him—which ultimately led him to establish the first secular utopian community in the Americas.

Utopian Dream

On October 2, 1824, Owen set sail from Liverpool with his youngest son William and Owenite disciple Captain Donald MacDonald to visit the Rappite settlement at Harmonie, Indiana, which was up for sale. Owen and his party arrived at Harmonie on December 16, accompanied by Frederich Rapp, the adopted son of "Father" George Rapp, a German religious leader who believed in the Second Coming of Christ. On January 1, 1825, Robert Owen purchased the village of Harmonie from Father Rapp for $125,000 of his own money. He renamed the village New Harmony and took ownership of 20,000 acres that contained 180 log, frame, and brick structures, public buildings, manufacturing establishments, shops, and housing for 700. Owen left his son William and Captain MacDonald at New Harmony and set off to return to New Lanark.

Before embarking for Scotland, Owen, who had achieved some celebrity, as well as some notoriety about his social theories, spoke twice at the U.S. House of Representatives, met with incoming president John Quincy Adams and current president James Monroe, and stayed overnight with former president Thomas Jefferson. Perhaps Owen was swept away by his reception on the continent, or perhaps he was just anxious to start on his dream, but for some unknown reason, he did not formulate any plans to administer his new community. In spite of his reputation as an effective manager, Owen ignored his son William's advice to exercise caution in admitting persons to the Indiana community. While in the East, Owen "issued a manifesto inviting all who were in sympathy with his aims to proceed to New Harmony to join the New Community." Hundreds responded to the invitation and quickly descended upon New Harmony, overwhelming young William Owen in the absence of his father. William later confided in his journal, "The enjoyment of a reformer is much more in the contemplation than in the reality."

The Preliminary Society

Robert Owen returned to New Harmony on April 13, 1825, to find the village in chaos. A collection of 700 to 800 individuals, a mix of freethinkers and freeloaders, had already moved to the community, and more people arrived every day. On April 27, 1825, just two weeks after his arrival, Owen addressed the commu-

nity membership in the old Rappite church: "I am come to this country to introduce an entire new state of society." On May 1, 1825, the Preliminary Society of New Harmony was formed. Members adopted for their community the constitution that Owen had proposed. It was preceded by this statement:

> The Society is instituted generally to promote the happiness of the world. This Preliminary Society is particularly formed to improve the character and conditions of its own members, and to prepare them to become associates in independent communities, having common property.

The constitution called for what Owen described as a "halfway house" that would help members make the transition from the old system to the new.

Seven Month Absence

After the Preliminary Society's adoption of the constitution, Owen remained in New Harmony for a little more than one month before returning to New Lanark in June 1825. The purpose of this trip was to settle his affairs, which included providing for his wife and two of their daughters, Ann and Mary, who had decided to remain in Europe. Their third daughter, Jane Dale, along with her four brothers Robert Dale, William, David Dale, and Richard, all chose to settle in New Harmony. (By 1832, Mrs. Owen, Ann, and Mary had all died.) The senior Owen did not return to New Harmony until January 12, 1826. During his seven-month absence, the chaos in the New Harmony community had progressed, and the Harmonists looked forward to Owen's return to solve the problems. They expected that under Robert Owen's practiced hand, the community's idle factories would soon be in full operation and all the founder's projected plans, including building a new village of unity and cooperation, would be undertaken.

The Boatload of Knowledge

To help fulfill the promise of New Harmony, Owen had vowed to bring to the community a boatful of the finest minds of the time. The keelboat, *The Philanthropist*, subsequently dubbed the "Boatload of Knowledge," arrived in New Harmony on January 18, 1826. Its passengers helped cement New Harmony's place in history. Included in the impressive collection of teachers, thinkers, and scientists were Thomas Say and William Maclure. Naturalist, entomologist, and esteemed conchologist, Thomas Say later became known as "The Father of American Zoology." Say was also curator of the American Philosophical Society after 1821, and he served as professor of natural history at the University of Pennsylvania.

Robert Owen's partner, William Maclure, was a scientist and social/educational reformer with two passions, which ultimately outshone and outlasted those of Robert Owen. Born in Ayr, Scotland, in 1763, Maclure's life paralleled Owen's in several respects. Both were self-made men interested in social reform and the improvement of society, and both were willing to risk their own fortunes and reputations to prove their theories. Maclure's passion for geology led to his founding the American Geological Society, as well as to his being named "The Father of American Geology." His passion for learning changed the face of American education. Maclure had become an ardent advocate of the teaching methods of Swiss educator Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, and he had sponsored schools in France and in Spain based on the Pestalozzian method.

Maclure had visited Owen's model factory town at New Lanark in 1824, after which, Owen invited Maclure to become a partner in the New Harmony venture. He asked Maclure to set up the Center for Education and Scientific Study in New Harmony. Maclure recruited all the passengers who ultimately embarked on the Boatload of Knowledge, and he instituted the Pestalozzian teaching method at New Harmony, which became the model for America's public school system. Maclure opened the first School of Industry in the United States at New Harmony, and he pioneered the trade school concept.

Community of Equality

Shortly after returning to New Harmony in 1826, Owen was excited by what he perceived to have been accomplished in his absence, despite all the evidence to the contrary. The Preliminary Society had been created to allow members to convert to the Owenite system and to allow enough time to pass so they might learn to trust each other. Many felt nothing had been accomplished and based all hope of success on Owen's return. Owen however, was so carried away by his own optimistic perceptions that he decided to end the transitional Preliminary Society two years before it was due to expire. Perhaps Owen moved too quickly to form its successor, the Community of Equality. A committee of seven was chosen to draft a constitution, which was adopted on February 5, 1826. Equality's constitution began with this declaration:

> When a number of the human family associate in principles which do not influence the rest of the world, a due record to the opinions of others requires a public declaration of the object of their association, of their principles and their intentions. Our object is that of all sentient beings, happiness.

It was followed by these Owenite Principles:

> Equality of rights, uninfluenced by sex or condition, in all adults.
> Equality of duties, modified by physical and mental conformation.
> Cooperative union, in the business and amusements of life.
> Community of property.
> Freedom of speech and action.
> Sincerity in all our proceedings.
> Kindness in all our actions.
> Courtesy in all our intercourse.
> Order in all our arrangements.
> Preservation of health.
> Acquisition of knowledge.
> The practice of economy, or of producing and using the best of everything in the most beneficial manner.
> Obedience to the laws of the country in which we live.

The constitution outlining Robert Owen's philosophy included the following:

> We hold it to be self evident:
> That man is uniformly actuated by the desire of happiness.
> That no member of the human family is born with rights either of possession or exemption superior to those of his fellows.
> That freedom is the sincere expression of every sentiment and opinion, and in the direction of every action, is the inalienable right of each human being, and can not be limited except by his own consent.
> That the preservation of life, in its most perfect state, is the first of all practical considerations.
> And that, as we live in the state of Indiana, submission to its laws and to those of the general government is necessary.
> Experience has taught us:
> That man's character, mental, moral and physical, is the result of his formation, his location, and of the circumstances within which he exists.
> And that man, at birth, is formed unconsciously to himself, is located without his consent, and circumstanced without his control.
> Therefore, man's character is not of his own formation, and reason teaches us to a being of such nature, artificial rewards and punishments are equally inapplicable; kindness is the only consistent mode of treatment, and courtesy the only rational species of deportment.
> We have observed, in the affairs of the world, that man is powerful in action, efficient in production, and happy in social life, only as he acts cooperatively and unitedly.
> Cooperative union, therefore, we consider indispensable to the obtainment of our object.

According to Owen, the hasty transformation from the Preliminary Society to the Community of Equality was a contributing factor in the experiment's failure. The services of members were no longer paid in proportion to their value to the community, but equal payment was made to all members based solely on age, rather than by contribution. In *Threading My Way; An Autobiography* (1874), Robert Owen's son, Robert Dale Owen, indicated that he regretted letting this event transpire. "I had too much of my father's all-believing disposition to anticipate results which any shrewd, cool-headed business man might have predicted. How rapidly they came upon us!"

Dissension

A group of dissidents who disagreed with the new Community of Equality on religious grounds soon branched off to form a separate community, which they named Macluria (although William Maclure had nothing to do with this community). Macluria's members were mainly English farmers who were not happy with what they perceived as Owen's atheistic views. They kept most of the ideals and structure of the parent community (Equality), except they withdrew the right of women to vote in the assembly.

In mid-February 1826, superintendents were elected to oversee the various elements of the Harmonists' activities in the Community of Equality; these activities included agriculture; manufactures and mechanics; literature, science, and education; general economy; and commerce. The voices of dissension grew louder. Many people were unhappy with how the elected council was running community affairs, and Robert Owen was asked to take stewardship of the community while leaving the new constitution in force. In early March, yet another offshoot com-

munity formed. This one took its name, Feiba Peveli, from a grid system based on latitude, longitude, and the alphabet, which had been invented by resident social reformer Stedman Whitwell. Feiba Peveli aligned itself philosophically with its parent Equality community, but its plan of government was based more closely on that of Macluria, with its power in the male members over the age of twenty-one. Both Feiba Peveli and Macluria were given property and the right to purchase said property under these specific conditions:

> That they should always remain communities of equality and cooperation in rights and property, and should not be divided into individual shares or separate interests. That any surplus property their industry might acquire must not be divided but used to found similar communities. And, that there should be no whiskey, or other distilled liquors made in the communities.

New Harmony's official organ, the *New Harmony Gazette,* reported on Robert Owen's reaction to the splinter communities: "The formation of communities is now pretty generally understood among us, and is entered upon like a matter of ordinary business. The same thing will probably occur throughout the country."

New Harmony in general and Robert Owen in particular—with his purported atheistic views—had become a favorite target of the clergy on both sides of the Atlantic. From every pulpit, the clergy continuously assaulted New Harmony's social system, inspiring one Duke of Weimar to visit New Harmony in April of 1826. The Duke was curious about the increasing unpopularity of Owen's ideas in the eastern United States. He spent enough time in New Harmony to realize that Owen's perceptions differed considerably from the perceptions of the community's rank-and-file members.

Robert Owen was convinced that all was proceeding according to plan and that his experiment would reform the whole world. In contrast, almost every community member with whom the Duke talked felt he had been deceived in his expectations. The Duke found that social classes were not mingling but, contrary to the egalitarian rhetoric, were remaining distinct. The Duke observed that those who considered themselves well-born resented the common labor they were required to do, and that the better-educated men fraternized together but did not mingle with those less educated.

Inside the community, the more vocal critics came from the working classes, while the upper classes enjoyed the novelty of association with others free from the conventions of society. For the young men of gentry, the informal access to the ladies of the community had its appeal. Robert Dale Owen commented,

> On the whole, my life in Harmony, for many months, was happy and satisfying. To this the free and simple relation there existing between youth and maiden much contributed. We called each other by our Christian names only, spoke and acted as brothers and sisters might; often strolled out by moonlight in groups, sometimes in single pairs; yet, withal, no scandal or other harm came from it. . . . I met almost daily, handsome, interesting warm-hearted girls; bright, merry, and unsophisticated; charming partners at ball or picnic.

Mental Independence

In spite of all the evidence to the contrary, Robert Owen continued to view the community with the rosiest perspective. July 4, 1826, marked the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the *Declaration of Independence*, and on this date, Robert Owen delivered what he called the Declaration of Mental Independence in which he stated that man had been the slave to a trinity of evils: individual property, irrational systems of religion, and marriage founded on individual property. He followed this with a reiteration of the Principles set forth in his treatise, the *New Moral World*.

Members continued to become disenchanted, and other splinter groups continued to form. On July 30, 1826, a group by the name of the New Harmony Agricultural and Pastoral Society adopted a constitution modeled after those of previous splinter communities. Although Owen remained optimistic and willing to work with any and all groups that would form under his Principles, the New Harmony community continued to slide further into discord. After losing members to Macluria, to Feiba Peveli, and to the Pastoral Society, the Community of Equality had decreased to only about 800 members. Squabbles broke out between the different communities, who spent much time and energy wrangling with each other over boundaries and crop ownerships.

In May, William Maclure suggested that New Harmony be divided "into separate autonomous units

according to the occupation of its members." Owen agreed, and the society voted itself into three separate groups—the Mechanic and Manufacture Society, the Agricultural and Pastoral Society, and the Education Society. A lease was drawn that granted to William Maclure about 900 acres of land for the Education Society, which included the Hall of New Harmony, the steeple house, Community House No. 2, the Granary, and the Rapp mansion. Maclure had been the driving force in the educational movement in New Harmony, but differences were beginning to emerge between his vision and Owen's.

Maclure vs. Owen

Robert Owen believed that he and Maclure were partners, a position Maclure did not share. Maclure believed himself to be obligated only to the society's lease and an additional $10,000. During travels away from New Harmony for his health, Maclure wrote letters to New Harmony's teacher, Madame Fretageot, which indicated he was losing confidence in the Owen enterprise: "My experience at New Harmony has given me such horror for the reformation of grown persons that I shudder when I reflect having so many of my friends near such a desperate undertaking."

When Maclure returned to New Harmony in April 1827, Frederick Rapp was there to collect a $20,000 installment due on the property and to request the entire remaining balance of an additional $20,000, though it was not due for another year. Owen agreed, and he asked Maclure to pay his partnership share of $128,000, telling him that the balance of his [Maclure's] share of the indebtedness amounted to an additional $90,000. Maclure vehemently disputed this claim, but in the end, he agreed to pay Rapp the $40,000 in return for the bonds Rapp held against Owen, which made Maclure Owen's creditor.

Maclure posted signs around the area declaring he was not responsible for Owen's debts, and he filed suit in the circuit court to collect the money he had paid to Rapp. Caught by surprise, Owen posted his own notices declaring the partnership to be in full force, and then he, too, filed suit in the amount of $90,000. Arbitration led to a compromise wherein Maclure paid Owen $5,000, and Owen gave Maclure an unrestricted deed to the 490 acres operated by the Education Society for an additional $44,000.

Robert Owen had said he would sell land to anyone willing to live by his Principles, and more of the property began to fall into private hands as he sold parcels of land to those who promised to continue the experiment. According to Paul Brown, the resident dissident who exposed the shortcomings of Owen and his views in his pamphlet, "Twelve Months in New Harmony," the community was in a state of disarray with fences torn down, animals roaming loose, and tempers flaring everywhere, including a fist fight among the women. Owen fell victim to a swindle by a member, William Taylor, who pretended to be a disciple. As such, he was entitled by contract to 1,500 acres "with all thereon." The night before the contract went into effect, Taylor moved all the livestock and equipment he could find onto the property he was about to acquire. Against Owen's wishes, Taylor then set up a distillery. He also established a tannery to compete directly with the one in New Harmony.

On February 1, a day that Paul Brown called "Doomsday," a vote of the assembly expelled many members of the Community of Equality. On March 28, 1827, a *Gazette* editorial written by Robert Dale Owen and William Owen acknowledged the defeat of the experiment, while still affirming the principles of the general plan: "Our opinion is that Robert Owen ascribed too little influence to the early anti-social circumstances that surrounded many of the quickly collected inhabitants. . . . New Harmony therefore is not now a community." Writing in his autobiography, Robert Dale Owen closed the chapter on New Harmony.

> Thenceforth, of course, the inhabitants had to either support themselves or leave town. But my father offered land on the Harmony estate to those who desired to try smaller community experiments, on an agricultural basis. Several were formed, some by honest, industrious workers, to whom land was leased at very low rates; while other leases were obtained by unprincipled speculators who cared not a whit for cooperative principles, but sought private gain by the operation. All finally failed as social experiments.

Conclusion

Prolonged study of Robert Owen, the "Father of Cooperationism" and the New Harmony community leads us to the conclusion that Owen's failure at New Harmony perhaps lay in the very thing that brought him to America in the first place. Owen had hoped his ideas would flourish in America's environment of free thinkers and independent-minded people. However, the people on the American frontier in the 1820s did not take to the yoke so easily. They did not resem-

ble the working poor of the British slums who were already laboring sixteen hours a day for subsistence pay when Owen found them. Those workers developed gratitude and a loyalty for the changes he made to improve their lives.

On the American frontier, however, the true believers moved with the ne'er-do-wells, the misanthropes, the intellectual idealists, and the merely curious. It may have been that very independent, rugged individualism, so eloquently described by Alexis de Tocqueville, which contributed to Owen's failure. That, combined with Owen's apparent lack of interest in hands-on involvement in the community, leads one to wonder how it could not have failed.

Looking back more than 175 years, we can see that, in spite of the apparent failure of New Harmony, Owen's desire to create a new society was partially realized, as free, universal, and equal education was gradually institutionalized. Though change did not occur in the manner Owen intended, he might view these as partial successes and take pride in them.

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Pentecostal Movement

One of the most dynamic and explosive religious movements in the twentieth century, Pentecostalism has revolutionized American religion. Pentecostalism, a form of Christianity, is typified by an excited worship style and experience, including speaking in tongues. The "baptism in the Holy Spirit"—an emotional experience that occurs after conversion often associated with speaking in tongues—distinguishes the faith of Pentecostals from that of other Christians. The movement has attracted followers from all races and classes, and appeals primarily to the middle and lower middle classes. From its beginnings with a few disillusioned evangelicals, Pentecostalism has spread into all branches of Christendom—only the Roman Catholic Church has more worldwide adherents.

The Pentecostal movement began during the late 1800s, a time of dramatic change in American religion. Traditional mainline churches were declining in number and influence while evangelical groups were on the rise. The radical evangelicals who would eventually launch Pentecostalism had four primary traits: they emphasized personal salvation experiences, they believed in the imminent second coming of Christ, they often sought and practiced divine healing, and they expected to have an emotionally charged, post-conversion experience called the baptism of the Holy Spirit. In Topeka, Kansas, one group of these evangelicals led by Charles Fox Parham believed that speaking in tongues, a gift that had appeared minimally throughout Christian history, was evidence of Spirit baptism. Accordingly, the group began to seek it. Parham claimed that on January 1, 1901, a woman began speaking in an unknown language after he had laid hands on her, an event that began the modern tongues movement and marks the origins of Pentecostalism.

A few years later, African-American preacher William J. Seymour, a convert to Pentecostalism and disciple of Parham, helped initiate the Azusa Street revivals in Los Angeles. These meetings, led and supported by an interracial group of blacks, whites, Asians, European immigrants, and Latinos, lasted almost three years and attracted Christians and curiosity seekers from around the country, many of whom experienced their own baptism in the Holy Spirit. Meetings were held in a decrepit old building that lacked the pretension of established churches while news of the revival was printed in the *Los Angeles Times* and in numerous small religious periodicals, including Seymour's *The Apostolic Faith*. Services were chaotic. Pentecostals believed that the Holy Spirit should control the direction of the meetings; therefore, they had no formal, organized service order or explicit leadership. Men and women prayed, preached, exhorted, spoke in tongues, wept, trembled, and convulsed as they believed that the Spirit dictated. Azusa Street converts returned to churches located around the country to initiate new Pentecostal meetings.

Powerful charismatic leaders, who often had little formal education, popularized the movement. Following his return from the Azusa Revival, African-American Holiness preacher Charles H. Mason gave the newly established Church of God in Christ (COGIC) a Pentecostal emphasis. A popular leader among whites and blacks, he built COGIC into the nation's largest Pentecostal denomination. COGIC's emphasis on gospel music, and its many talented artists, helped Pentecostalism engage with the broader American culture and contributed to its growth. The most famous Latino Pentecostal preacher and faith healer, Francisco Olazabál, worked within a number of established denominations and also contributed to the birth of at least ten Pentecostal denominations. In Texas, California, Puerto Rico, and around North America, he converted tens of thousands of Latinos to the Pentecostal faith, helping spark the tremendous expansion of Latino Pentecostalism. But no individual leader had as significant an influence as Aimee Sem-

ple McPherson. Joining the movement in 1907, by the late 1910s McPherson was traveling the country spreading the message of Pentecostalism. Young, intelligent, and a gifted speaker, McPherson became a popular figure both in small towns and in the nation's burgeoning metropolises among all races, ethnicities, and classes. Her theatrical panache and dramatic sermons drew tremendous crowds. She encouraged her many converts to share their Pentecostal experiences with their local churches, regardless of denomination. When she decided to settle down in Los Angeles in the 1920s, McPherson did not build a traditional church but instead erected a theater-like building, the Angelus Temple, in which she staged elaborate productions, with ornate sets, live animals, and full orchestration to illustrate her sermons. She also built her own radio station, which became one of the most popular in the city. Despite these accomplishments, McPherson is probably best known as the founder of the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel. Following McPherson's lead, Pentecostals have often appropriated new technologies, such as television stations and broadcasting satellites, to proselytize.

In 1914, Pentecostal leaders from all over the nation gathered in Hot Springs, Arkansas. They did not intend to start a denomination, but hoped to develop Pentecostal schools and to solidify their evangelistic programs in order to keep the movement growing. This meeting resulted in the creation of the Assemblies of God, the denomination currently with the largest worldwide membership. One of the keys to their growth, as was the case in many other Pentecostal sects, was the institution of a successful publishing house that advertised meetings, publicized the movement's success, and inculcated followers with Pentecostal theology. The Assemblies' missionary work has also been crucial to their growth. Churches sponsor representatives who travel overseas to share the Pentecostal faith in new cultures, while preachers strongly encourage their parishioners to engage in personal evangelism with their acquaintances.

Pentecostalism did not grow as rapidly between the 1920s and 1950s as it did in previous decades. The movement experienced a rebirth and dramatic expansion in the 1960s, called the "Charismatic Renewal." Although Pentecostals always sought inroads into established denominations, in 1960 Dennis Bennett of St. Mark's Episcopal Parish, in Van Nuys, California, informed his "respectable" congregation that he had spoken in tongues and believed that other Christians should seek a similar experience. Bennett eventually resigned, but his confession symbolized the start of a wave of Pentecostal activity in older, more traditional Protestant churches as well as in Catholic circles around the country. Pentecostal practices and beliefs were no longer a monopoly held by radical evangelicals, but penetrated Christian institutions everywhere.

Pentecostalism is a social movement organized around intense religious commitment. Adherents have relatively unique spiritual practices and a dedication to a particular, somewhat narrow, creedal ideology. Charismatic leaders, strong institutions, the appropriation of modern technologies, and fervent proselytization has made the Pentecostal movement one of the most important of the twentieth century.

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Colorado Cooperative Colony Movement

Following the Civil War, a combination of social, economic, and legislative forces gave renewed impetus to the colonization movement in the United States. The industrial revolution and the unregulated capitalism that accompanied it produced cities that many pronounced increasingly unfit for human life, but in the steel tracks and the steam locomotion of the railroad, industry also produced the means for escape. Wars, treaties, and a subsequent series of legislative acts made Western lands more accessible and able to be irrigated. Digging an irrigation canal was not a task a person could accomplish individually, so many of these post–Civil War colonies were founded on cooperative or socialistic principles. Not only practical, cooperative/socialistic colonies also offered alternatives to greed, poverty, and other social problems believed to have been created by industrial capitalism. To fund their ventures, the founders of these colonies often organized as joint-stock companies. Several such colonies appeared throughout the West, in Utah, California, Washington State, and Colorado.

Similar to many of the colonies established during the latter half of the nineteenth century, one in Colorado began as the idealistic dream of a few people. These people desired to create a community where, according to their Declaration of Principles, "Man's first and greatest duty, care and thought should be to advance the common interests of the community." This colony organized, as did others of the period, as a joint stock venture. Its name was the Colorado Cooperative Company, and its primary task was to construct an irrigation ditch. Nearly every day for ten years, the courageous colonists of the Colorado Cooperative Company labored to build their thirteen-mile ditch, erecting an 840-foot-high trestle (the world's highest at the time) in the process, while struggling to hold their socialistic community together in the Colorado Rockies.

Formation

Neither wealthy nor destitute, members of the Colorado Cooperative Colony described themselves as eclectic and intelligent. Without a doubt, they were reflective thinkers who sympathized with social reformers and were not afraid to criticize the status quo. Early in their community life, they established a library, and, after ten hours of heavy labor on the ditch, their favorite evening activity was to perch on hard benches and read by flickering oil lamp. They formed a literary club and a drama club, and no community celebration was complete without readings, performances, music, and dancing. Above all else, they shared a passion in the belief that cooperative living would solve the ills of society, a belief to which they were so committed that they were willing to uproot their families and sacrifice comfort and even food to pursue it in an isolated spot in the mountains of Colorado.

On February 16, 1894, the Colorado Cooperative Company (CCC) incorporated with a capital stock of $100,000—1,000 shares with a par value of $100 each. Five of the seven members/stockholders who signed the Articles of Incorporation on that day were Colorado State Senator B. (Benjamin) L. Smith; Colorado State Farmers' Alliance organizer and former president of that group, J. (Jake) H. Brammeier; soon-to-be elected Colorado State Senator F. (Frank) E. Moody; Colorado State Fish Commissioner W. (William) R. Callicotte; and Judge P.A. Simmons.

Article V of the Articles of Incorporation designated the first board of directors of the CCC as the seven people who signed the articles, plus two others—J.S. (Joe) Bartow of Denver and Colorado State Engineer C.B. Cramer. The articles charged these nine people with responsibility for managing company affairs for the first year of its existence. Although they did not sign the Articles of Incorporation, nor were they listed among the first board of directors, four other names should be included among those of the

founding members: T. (Truman) O. Smith, C. (Charles) E. Smith, F.H. Nye, and Ezra Simmons.

Born in Canada, B.L. Smith attended public schools in Michigan. He worked in the mining business in Idaho before being elected a senator of Colorado in 1890 on the Independent-Populist ticket. Smith's term as senator expired in 1894, about the same time he became the first CCC member to move with his family to Naturita, Colorado. His brother, T.O. Smith, was the second resident of the colony. They were soon joined by colonists arriving from Denver, Iowa, Kansas, New York, Minnesota, and a colony in Topolobambo, Mexico. By March 1895, forty-one people lived "on the ground," as colonists termed it, at the colony site in or near Pinon, Colorado; by November 1896, that number had more than doubled to eighty-six.

Principles of the Colony

The Articles of Incorporation stated the purposes of the company, which, along with constructing ditches, included sanitation, education, and entertainment. They determined the number of shares and the value of each, and, in accordance with the founding members' belief in cooperation, they dictated that every member, regardless of the number of shares of stock owned, was entitled to one and only one vote.

It is clear from the Articles of Incorporation that the founders knew what they wanted. They also knew what they did not want. Shortly before they incorporated, a lengthy and detailed article about Colorado appeared in the *Harper's New Monthly Magazine.* The author, Julian Ralph, described another Colorado colony, that of Greeley (founded by newspaperman and social reformer Horace Greeley), as ideal because the colonists themselves owned both the land and the means to irrigate it. This was not the case everywhere. In some colonies, the colonists were at the mercy of corporations and speculators who charged increasingly higher prices for water and canal maintenance. The founders of the Colorado Cooperative Company were determined to keep their community out of corporate clutches. Favoring ideals of cooperation and fervently opposing the mercenary aims of large corporations, they established a structure by which members, not an outside corporation, would build the ditch; they would pay for it with their labor, and they would own the ditch and the water it carried into perpetuity.

Locating the Colony in Colorado

After incorporating, the company sent one founding member—B.L. Smith—to find the ideal location for the cooperative colony. Prospective colonists could file for their land under either the Preemption Act or the Desert Land Act. Because the Desert Land Act required that land be irrigated before homesteaders could receive a patent, the CCC site would have to be fairly level and lie near a water source that would provide water year round. Article XII of Colorado Cooperative Company by-laws allowed members enough water for up to 40 acres each. To accommodate a town site and 40 acres for 1,000 members, the site would have to encompass approximately 40,000 acres.

Colorado was already becoming famous for its fruit, and the CCC founders planned orchards for their own use, as well as for export. Therefore, the colony site could not be too isolated—no more than a couple days' travel from a railroad. If they were to grow fruit, the climate had to provide an early frost-free date, plenty of sunshine, and a long growing season. And the soil, of course, had to be fertile once it was watered—not alkaline, nor too sandy, nor full of clay. Ideally, they should locate near some mining operations so that they would have a ready market for their agricultural products. The site had to possess ample stone and timber for building, and plenty of coal for fuel. Finally, if people were going to live out their days in this place and then leave it to their children and perhaps to their children's children, it had to be beautiful.

While recuperating in Placerville, Colorado, from an illness contracted during his travels, Smith heard of a mesa along the San Miguel River. Smith found this mesa, called Tabeguache Park, 50 miles from the Denver and Rio Grande station branch of Placerville. Situated on the western slope of the San Juan Mountains, it appeared fairly flat. The first issue of the company/colony newspaper, the *Altrurian,* described the site as possessing "rich land, ample water for irrigation and domestic purposes. The finest building stone in the world lying in strata from one inch to two feet in thickness . . . also coal not far away, and timber for fuel for an age." Smith determined that the climate would be conducive to the agricultural and fruit-growing endeavors the company planned.

Such a majestic land inspired grandiose dreams. The second issue of the *Altrurian* claimed: "We sincerely believe that there will yet spring up in some valley of the west a grander civilization than this world has ever known. Who will say that the Colo-

rado Cooperative Colony is not the nucleus of such." They had found their Eden, but to make it bloom, they had to get water to it.

Means of Formation

Build a Ditch

The mesa, where they planned to build their homes, lay 300 feet above the San Miguel River. Getting water to the mesa would require building a ditch approximately 13 miles in length. The founders knew that building this ditch would not be easy. They recognized the need for manpower, surveyors, and a ditch engineer. They recruited assistance from W.H. Porter, the man who superintended the construction of the cooperative ditch in Sinaloa, Mexico (Topolobampo Colony under Albert. K. Owen, 1871). Porter was asked by CCC founder and Superintendent B.L. Smith to share his ideas on cooperative ditch work. In the second issue of the *Altrurian,* Porter advised the CCC to follow sound business principles:

> All members should be stockholders with equal voice in the selection of a board of directors who should have the full power of authority to carry out the line of work agreed upon to be done. . . . The membership should always retain the right to recall (imperative mandate) the board management . . . but the membership should render obedience to said management until it was recalled.

Porter lauded the ideals of cooperation, but his experiences with A.K. Owen's colony in Mexico had made a realist of him, and he cautioned the CCC that humankind might not be ready for cooperation.

Cooperation

Membership in the CCC required a minimum deposit of $10 and payments of at least $5 per month until the $100 for the share of stock had been paid in full. Similar to the Anaheim Colony in California, some of the CCC members would live on-site to construct the ditch. Their labor would purchase their stock shares and their water rights. The rest of the members, residing outside the colony, would continue making monthly cash payments for their stock and water rights.

The first estimate of the cost of the ditch was $100,000 in labor and materials. Although the labor did not require cash, the equipment and supplies did. The plan depended on selling 1,000 shares of stock for $100 each, and that required members. Two main strategies were employed to recruit these members. One was the publication and national circulation of the company/colony newspaper, the *Altrurian*. The other was the establishment of at least five CCC clubs around the country. Members of these clubs were CCC stockholders, and they had a single purpose—to recruit more members. As stated in the Declaration of Principles, cooperation of all the members would bring success:

> We affirm that only by and through co-operation, viewed from a social and business standpoint, can we reach the highest condition of social and intellectual attainment, and material equality.

As events unfolded over the next seven years, the CCC encountered many problems that W.H. Porter had warned them of. In particular, a few members refusing to "render obedience to management" threatened the colony's founding values; not instituting the "imperative mandate" from the beginning resulted in dissension; and failure to "act as one body or organism" practically destroyed the colony.

Goals and Purposes of the CCC

Conforming

In the addenda to the Declaration of Principles, the founders of the CCC summarized what they wanted to do and how they planned to accomplish it. These people were not Luddites opposed to technology; rather they welcomed technology for its labor-saving potential. However, they considered debt, interest, and rent the special evils of capitalism and so resisted them as means to build their ditch. The CCC founders believed in cooperation, but not to the exclusion of all individual rights; that is, they distinguished between democratic cooperation, or democratic socialism, and communism, and this distinction created problems when some communistic members attempted to gain control of the company.

During the months following the signing of the Articles of Incorporation, the original founders drafted a constitution and by-laws for the Colorado Cooperative Company. The by-laws were first published in January 1895 in Volume I, No. 1 of the *Altrurian* with this claim, "when experience proves them impractical they will be changed."

As reported in the March 1895 issue of the *Altrurian*, the new board of directors reported the first year's accomplishments, which included increased membership from twelve persons to forty-one; an in-

A team of surveyors belonging to the Colorado Cooperative Colony takes a break from their efforts to construct a thirteen-mile irrigation ditch in the 1890s. The colonists' goal was to bring water to a mesa called Tabeguache Park, where they hoped to establish a socialistic utopian community. *(Courtesy, Rimrocker Historical Society)*

vestment of over $1,000 in cash, livestock, and tools; and 203 days' labor in hauling lumber, building cabins and stables, and temporary ditch work. During their second year, the CCC conducted surveys on the ditch, purchased equipment for and began a sawmill, planted crops, built roads, completed a small ditch to water annual crops, built houses, and continued to recruit and gain additional members—including two babies born to colony members.

By the end of year two, the leadership planned to relocate the *Altrurian* from Denver to Naturita and to publish weekly rather than monthly. A total of eighty-six members voted at the annual meeting held in Naturita in January 1896. All eighty-six had signed the Articles of Agreement, which bound them to abide by the constitution and by-laws and to "respect the orders and instructions of all lawfully elected or appointed officers . . . while in the discharge of any . . . business or government of the affairs of said Company."

Difference of Opinion

B.L. Smith addressed the stockholders at the annual meeting of 1896. In this address, Smith referred to some grievances "born of jealousy," and he warned the body to "proceed carefully with consideration." An article in the February 1896 edition of the *Altrurian* entitled "Lessons on Keweah" provided a thinly disguised warning to some CCC members when it listed several of the Keweah Colony's problems, which editors identified as "unequal yoking," internal discord, and acceptance into the colony of members who were incompetent or unfit. The trouble at Keweah, according to this article, was "not in the system or ideas, but in the people . . . the struggle is not chiefly economic, but essentially moral." The April issue quoted CCC member C.E. Smith as saying, "If there are members who cannot subject themselves to the directions of the manager then they have made a mistake joining the Colony, for it is to be managed by one man."

The difference of opinion erupted in April 1896

and resulted in the expulsion of ten members. Resident members approved this action on May 2 by a vote of 24 to 2. Comments in the May issue of the company organ revealed that expelled members had preferred communism over cooperation and had threatened CCC management and by-laws:

> The Colorado Cooperative Company is a corporation chartered under the laws of Colorado. It is not communistic as the term is understood—nine-tenths of the stockholders believe in the private ownership of a limited amount of land. They believe that those who cultivate the soil should own it. They don't believe the people are ready to own land in common if they ever will be.

The CCC had survived its first internal threat and had emerged with its founding values not only intact but strengthened.

Onward

Now that the threat was behind them, CCC members could afford the luxury of turning some of their attention outward, toward the presidential campaign, for example. William Jennings Bryan was running for president of the United States on the Populist ticket. With their founders involved in the Farmers' Alliance, and with a collective belief in the advantages of cooperation over the "evils" of capitalism, it is not surprising that they favored Bryan. The CCC made their opinions known through the *Altrurian*, referring to Bryan as "champion of the common people, that intrepid foe of corporation greed, that splendid young statesman." The paper told its readers that choosing Bryan over McKinley was choosing the common people over the wealthy.

CCC members also turned their attention to the future, to their ideal community, which some were now calling "Ingleside." Plans included a CCC university that would provide summer study of the geology and the flora and fauna of the western slope of Colorado, as well as anthropological studies, as described in the colony paper, "homes of a vanished nation . . . the cliff dwellings of Mancos." The community would provide "fair labor for all, drudgery for none, healthful recreation, good fellowship, kindliness, charity, and friendship." A jointly owned and operated electric rail, along with no horses, no coal, no ashes, and no factory or kitchen fires would assure clean streets and clean air. In anticipation of a library, they established a reading room and requested outside members to send books and magazines.

In October 1896, the *Altrurian* moved its operations from Denver to Naturita, and in November it published a census of on-site members that revealed a total of eighty-six persons—forty men, eighteen women, and twenty-eight children—residing at Naturita, Pinon, or one of the temporary camps of Sawmill, Cottonwood, or Riverside. By the annual meeting in January 1897, there were a total of 197 members in good standing; the company was out of debt, with $250 after all bills had been paid, and there was "enough flour on hand to last half a year, [and] beef and pork to last two weeks."

Storming the Seat of Power

Subscribing to a common philosophy of cooperationism was no guarantee that all CCC members would agree with everything other members or management did. Intelligent, well read, and opinionated, they had accurately characterized themselves as "eclectic" in the addenda to their Declaration of Principles. The annual meeting provided a time and place where members could make their grievances and arguments known by amending the by-laws and by electing new officers.

On January 3, 1897, shareholders voted on changes that nudged the seat of power further from the board and closer to the members. The original addenda was replaced by a completely new one, which pinpointed the crux of the problem that was to plague the CCC for the rest of its existence. Ironically, for a group of people who hated capitalism and who committed themselves to the ideals of cooperation, their major problem was money, as indicated by the new addenda:

> The number of men, who can be profitably employed by the Company is limited by the amount of money coming in from outside members. No cash is paid for work, but cash must be paid for food, tools, etc. What is most needed now is a large outside membership of self-sustaining workers who will send in regular monthly payments. . . .

The Colorado Cooperative Company/Colony began its fourth year of incorporation in January 1897. A special meeting that year, held in Pinon on May 1, finally resolved the issue, outlining a procedure of removing members of the board of directors under terms of the Imperative Mandate, a state constitutional amendment directing the state legislature to enact an eight-hour law for workers employed in mines, mills, smelters, and blast furnaces.

Money Problems

Although resident members were dependent on outside members for the cash they needed for supplies and equipment, the outside members did not feel the same dependence on the colony residents for attaining their mutual goal, and they did not send the needed cash to support the workers and their efforts on-site. The *Altrurian* published numerous pleas to outside members to make their promised cash contributions, including one by newly elected President T. O. Smith, in which he explained the difficulty of operating with an unpredictable cash flow. Smith reminded members of a new by-law, adopted at the previous annual meeting, that permitted the CCC to sell shares of stock when payments were not made, and he appealed to their desire for irrigated home sites to induce them to honor their financial commitments to the colony.

Unsure of the cash contributions from outside members, the board called for a year-long halt to any more families moving to the colony. In late August 1898, the board began issuing coupon books to families to use when purchasing supplies from the store or other departments. The system was designed to save time, thus cost, involved in keeping track of purchases.

Faced with increased debt and decreased supplies, continued hard work, and insufficient support from the outside, members began to find fault in several areas, including the board of directors, leveling criticisms at them for costing the company nearly $2 per hour to meet every week for what some considered to be trivial matters. In February 1899, former CCC president C.H. Robinson observed that the 28 percent of the membership who lived on-site had contributed 85 percent toward the completion of the ditch, while the 72 percent of the membership who lived outside the colony had contributed only 15 percent toward their mutual goal. By March, Robinson proposed the unthinkable—bonding the ditch.

Controversy

Controversy over two issues—bonding the ditch and implementing a self-sufficiency plan—eventually resulted in half of the board members submitting their resignations in April 1899. When he tendered his resignation, President T.O. Smith said he hoped this action would "unify the Stockholders of the company and promote harmonious action among the workers on the ground and the paying members on the outside."

Notice of the annual meeting of 1899 appeared in the June 7 *Altrurian*, and as had been characteristic of every other annual meeting, trouble was brewing. Twelve members of the Denver Club had sent a letter to the board of directors notifying them that, according to the Articles of Incorporation, the annual meeting should be held in Denver, not in Pinon, where it had been held since January of 1896. In response, the board decided to amend the Articles of Incorporation, an action that would require a two-thirds vote of the stockholders to ratify.

Before the Fourth of July celebration, the issue of where to hold the annual meeting landed in the hands of attorneys. Plaintiffs Charles E. Smith, George E. Wright, and George B. Ruggles sued on behalf of themselves and all other stockholders of the Colorado Cooperative Company. They claimed that the Articles of Incorporation did not provide for any location for the annual meeting except Denver, and they requested an injunction to prevent holding it anywhere except Denver. The *Altrurian* accused the Denver members of scheming to disenfranchise on-site members by forcing them to vote only in Denver, a trip most workers could not afford to make. On July 7, 1899, in District Court of Arapahoe County in the State of Colorado, Judge Frank T. Johnson refused to grant the injunction and ruled that the board of directors could decide where the annual meetings should be held. He told them to "go to the annual meeting at Pinon and fight for their alleged rights there."

Not enough votes were cast at the annual meeting held at Pinon on July 22, 1899, to decide the location of the company headquarters. It was not until three additional votes had transpired that the annual meeting of July 4, 1900, determined, with 192 voting for and 76 against, that "the principal office of the company within said state of Colorado, shall be located in Pinon, Montrose County. Other offices may be established elsewhere, where the Company may have interests as may be provided by the By-Laws."

Water Rights

For the next several months, articles and letters in the *Altrurian* reflected concern over water rights. The cost of a water right would equal the cost of the ditch divided by the number of members who had paid for the water, which made estimating the cost per member difficult. Members were warned repeatedly that water rights could be purchased only before the ditch was complete; after the water was on the land, no water rights could be purchased at any price. Outside members were encouraged to send payment for their

water rights—$5 per month from each outside member would support more workers to complete the ditch.

Though expert opinion indicated that the Colorado land with water rights attached would be worth as much as $900 per acre, the appeals for payment were ignored. By January 1901, B.L. Smith reported that only eighteen outside members had paid anything on their water rights, averaging only $3.99 per month, and at that rate, it would take over nine years to pay for enough water for 40 acres. He made a last appeal to outside members to make regular and sufficient payments on water rights. Smith also proposed borrowing $10,000 at 6 percent for five years to complete the ditch, and the board further proposed creating a separate ditch company.

Reforming

June 6, 1901, marked the last publication date for the *Altrurian*. That issue began with a notice to stockholders that outlined the options to be voted on at the July 4 annual meeting. Members' options included reorganization or dissolution of the Colorado Cooperative Company, or segregation of the company's ditch and water rights. The second option provided for the organization of a new and independent company to construct and operate the ditch. At the annual meeting, members ultimately decided on two major changes in policy. First, they would convert all water credits into common stock at par, which necessitated increasing capital from $100,000 to $150,000. Each share would be entitled to a pro rata share of water in the ditch, as well as to a vote in the proceedings of the company. Second, they decided to contract the remaining ditch construction, with qualified CCC members to be considered for these contracts.

So, work on the ditch continued, though not under the same cooperative structure envisioned by the founders over six years before. The egalitarian spirit behind the "one man, one vote" principle faded, along with the publication of the *Altrurian*.

More colonists, including many former nonresident members, arrived in Pinon between 1902 and 1904, making it the second largest town in Montrose County. After six and one-half years of discussion about the town plan and what its name should be, residents decided on the name Nucla, from the Latin word for nucleus, because they hoped it would become the "center of Socialistic government for the world." They formed the Town of Nucla Improvement Company with a capital stock of $50,000 divided into 5,000 shares with a par value of $10 per share. Each share of stock entitled the owner to a "99-year lease to one business lot or two residential lots, 42 by 200 feet, no person to hold more than one block or twenty lots."

The 1901 annual meeting also established May 1904 as the deadline for completing the ditch. Workers came within thirty days of meeting this deadline, and water flowed through the ditch on June 4, 1904. Colonists celebrated the feat on July 4 by caravanning from Pinon along the ditchline road in company wagons, on horseback, and on foot to a picnic at the town site on the mesa. While colonists had reason to be joyous, they celebrated without their original founders. Only one of the charter members of the CCC stayed to see the completion of the ditch and to build a home on the park. That was Ada McElroy, of Denver, who had taught at the Pinon school for a while. Before that, in the summer 1895, she and her brothers H.E. Robinson and T. (Tom) W. McElroy exhibited their adventurous spirits by bicycling from Montrose, Colorado, over the Uncompaghre Divide to the Pinon Camp. This bicycle ride may have embodied the spirit of all the CCC founders, but for a variety of reasons, including discouragement, changes in policy, and irresolvable differences of opinion, one by one, they each decided to pursue different dreams.

With the founders went the original cooperative principles, and Nucla gradually evolved into the quiet, rural town it is today. The reformed Colorado Cooperative Ditch Company accomplished what it had intended to do: it brought the water that was needed to create a community. It continues to supply water to Tabeguache Mesa into the twenty-first century.

Pamela Clark

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Homeopathy Movement
1870–Present

The initial growth of homeopathy coincided with the decline of the well-established professional class of "regular" physicians in the 1830s. As the public demanded that anyone be allowed to work as a healer, orthodox practitioners lost their privileged position and political power. Advocates of homeopathy became part of a group of dissident medical practitioners, referred to as "sectarians" by their orthodox counterparts. The sectarian challenge, reflecting public appeals for alternatives to an overly invasive and increasingly monopolistic orthodoxy, subsequently shaped both the structure of the profession and the approach to medical practice throughout the nineteenth century.

The Danish physician Hans Gram first brought homeopathy to the United States in 1825. Rising to the position of president of the Medical and Philosophical Society of New York in the early 1830s, he converted a group of prominent practitioners, who then spread homeopathy throughout neighboring states. By 1835, the Swiss physician Henry Detwiller and German physician Constantine Hering established the first homeopathic academy in Allentown, Pennsylvania. Hering, known as the father of American homeopathy, was instrumental in creating America's first national medical society in 1844, the American Institute of Homeopathy. By the time Hering obtained a charter for the Homeopathic Medical College of Pennsylvania in 1848, homeopathy represented a major source of competition for orthodox medical practitioners.

American medical orthodoxy emerged from the Enlightenment quest for a rational medical science. The orthodox approach, however, was largely empirical and based on counteracting the forces of nature. Their vehement opposition to the idea that nature had its own healing powers often distinguished practitioners of regular medicine. Prominent physicians like Philadelphia's Benjamin Rush were committed to direct and drastic interference in the patient's system. Believing that health is a function of the interaction between a person's constitution and the physical environment, physicians made dramatic efforts to stimulate and reinvigorate the patient.

Utilizing powerful substances like opium, mercury, arsenic, and strychnine, orthodox therapies earned the name of "heroic" medicine. For most ailments, orthodox physicians practicing during the period from the 1780s to the 1850s advocated bleeding, blistering, purging, and sweating. They often combined extensive bloodletting with the administration of massive doses of dangerous drugs designed to cleanse the system. As disease was defined as loss of equilibrium in the interaction between the individual and the environment, medicine amounted to a set of procedures designed to regulate bodily fluids. Consequently, few disease-specific therapies existed. Medical educators of the early eighteenth century advocated massive bleeding, for example, as a cure for a variety of ailments. The release of several ounces to several pounds of blood was prescribed to reduce inflammation, relieve congestion, alleviate pain, relax muscles, and stop hemorrhage. Physicians also prescribed calomel, the most widely used drug in the first half of the nineteenth century, indiscriminately. When calomel, containing the chloride of mercury, would break down in the intestines into its poisonous components, it served as a violent laxative, producing effects consistent with the system of orthodoxy. While some physicians doubted such harsh therapeutics, the average patient continued to insist upon receiving the treatment that was currently most popular.

Homeopathy entered a largely unregulated medical marketplace created by the political forces of Jacksonian democracy. A popular distrust of the wealthy, elite, and well educated made professional medical societies one of many targets. For the individual physician, membership in orthodox societies represented

distinction, prestige, and a license to practice. For the individual seeking alternatives to orthodox treatment, the medical society represented a monopoly. Responding to the equalitarian spirit of the times, state after state repealed laws governing licensure. While this opened the practice of medicine to virtually anyone, including quacks and outright frauds, advocates of deregulation saw diversity in medical practice as a counterpart to religious plurality.

Samuel Hahnemann and the Foundations of Homeopathy

The roots of homeopathy can be traced to German physician and theorist Samuel Hahnemann, a physician who left medical practice due to his disillusionment with heroic therapies. His work as a writer and translator of medical texts, however, ultimately led him back to practice and changed the history of medicine. While translating a treatise on medical treatments by Scottish physician William Cullen, Hahnemann included a footnote disputing Cullen's explanation for the effectiveness of cinchona bark in treating malaria. Cullen maintained that the bitterness and astringent quality of the bark confronted the fever and malaise. Hahnemann suggested another explanation was necessary because other substances decidedly more bitter and astringent were not effective in treating malaria. In an effort to understand the effects of cinchona bark on the body, Hahnemann took repeated doses of the herb until his body responded. He experienced the same fever, chills, headaches, and other symptoms of malaria. Consulting Hippocrates for an answer, Hahnemann concluded that the herb was effective because it caused symptoms similar to those of the disease it was treating. For Hahnemann, this meant the drug that caused illness in a healthy person would cure that same illness in a sick person. This founding principle, which he termed *similia similibus curantur*, or "likes are to be cured by likes," became the cornerstone of homeopathic doctrine.

In direct opposition to the excesses of heroic medicine, homeopathy was organized around a second fundamental principle—that diseases were curable by small doses of particular drugs. Hahnemann's "doctrine of infinitesimals" suggested that the greatest therapeutic benefit came from diluted doses. While regular physicians had no firm theoretical basis for attacking Hahnemann's "like is cured by like" principle, the idea of diluted doses provided an opportunity for orthodox followers to denounce homeopathy as nonsensical and therapeutically ineffective. For the patient, however, small doses prevented the damaging effects of heroic therapies. Offering an alternative to traditional orthodox practice, homeopathy gained a substantial following among doctors and patients as a safe, effective, and relatively inexpensive form of therapy.

Homeopathy also owed some of its popularity to its philosophical appeal, especially for Transcendentalists and others who had become disillusioned with the rigid materialism of Enlightenment rationality. Hahnemann provided an implicitly spiritual or metaphysical view of healing with references to the "spirit-like" activity of some medicines. He suggested that homeopathic remedies enabled an inner vital spirit to combat illness. This modified form of vitalism required a belief in the interrelationship between the spiritual and material provinces.

In 1810, Hahnemann published these ideas in his most important work, the *Organon of Homeopathic Medicine*. The following year, the first volume of his *Materia Medica Pura* included a guide to the medicines he tested and described based on the symptoms they caused. These "drug provings" provided a system of medical practice based on the law of similars. Hahnemann claimed that orthodox practitioners prescribed drugs not on the basis of *contraria* (drugs opposite in reaction to the symptom), or *similia* (like the symptoms), but *allos*, meaning another basis of prescription. Intended as a derogatory designation, the term *allopath* was soon commonly applied to the regular profession.

The Sectarian Challenge to Orthodoxy

Homeopathy was part of a much broader movement that challenged the legitimacy of orthodox practice. The first widespread challenge to regular medicine came from the son of a struggling New Hampshire farmer, Samuel Thomson. Thomson developed his own theory that illness was an imbalance of bodily constituents, normally the result of cold. According to Thomson, curing any disease involved restoring bodily heat by clearing obstructions and providing nourishment from stimulants. Although this was not dramatically different from the orthodox approach to restoring equilibrium, Thomsonians limited therapeutic intervention to herbs and intense steam baths. Thomson quickly enjoyed success as a healer and incurred the jealousy of orthodox practitioners. His motto of making every man his own physician coincided with the prevailing democratizing force of Jack-

HOMEOPATHY AND ITS KINDRED DELUSIONS

Oliver Wendell Holmes

German physician Samuel Hahnemann developed the idea of homeopathy in the late eighteenth century based on the notion of using natural cures for the treatment of physical and mental illness. Homeopathy continues to have millions of resolute adherents who believe the method is more effective than conventional medicine in treating their symptoms. The following document, first presented in lecture form in 1842, is a critique of homeopathy by U.S. Supreme Court justice Oliver Wendell Holmes.

It is necessary, for the sake of those to whom the whole subject may be new, to give in the smallest possible compass the substance of the Homeopathic Doctrine. Samuel Hahnemann, its founder, is a German physician, now living in Paris, at the age of eighty-seven years. In 1796 he published the first paper containing his peculiar notions; in 1805 his first work on the subject; in 1810 his somewhat famous "Organon of the Healing Art"; the next year what he called the "Pure Materia Medica"; and in 1828 his last work, the "Treatise on Chronic Diseases." He has therefore been writing at intervals on his favorite subject for nearly half a century. [Hahnemann died in 1843.] . . .

Does Hahnemann himself represent Homeopathy as it now exists? He certainly ought to be its best representative, after having created it, and devoted his life to it for half a century. He is spoken of as the great physician of the time, in most, if not all Homeopathic works. If he is not authority on the subject of his own doctrines, *who is?* So far as I am aware, not one tangible discovery in the so-called science has ever been ascribed to any other observer, at least, no general principle or law, of consequence enough to claim any prominence in Homeopathic works, has ever been pretended to have originated with any of his illustrious disciples. He is one of the only two Homeopathic writers with whom, as I shall mention, the Paris publisher will have anything to do with upon his own account. The other is Jahr, whose Manual is little more than a catalogue of symptoms and remedies. If any persons choose to reject Hahnemann as not in the main representing Homeopathy, if they strike at his authority, if they wink out of sight his deliberate and formally announced results, it is an act of suicidal rashness; for upon his sagacity and powers of observation, and experience, as embodied in his works, and especially in his Materia, Medica, repose the foundations of Homeopathy as a practical system.

Source: Douglas Stalker and Clark Glymour, eds. *Examining Holistic Medicine* (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1985).

sonian America and the belief that the individual could do anything he desired.

Homeopathy presented a much greater professional and economic threat to orthodox practitioners. Whereas Thomsonians operated outside the orthodox medical system, homeopathic practitioners often graduated from orthodox schools and subsequently defected from the ranks of regular physicians. Many homeopaths made a concerted effort to convert established physicians. Strong proselytizing efforts distinguished homeopathy from all other medical sects. Furthermore, although Thomsonianism tended to appeal to rural and poor clients acquainted with traditional herbal remedies, homeopathy flourished among the urban upper class. Homeopaths were generally well educated and carried the reputation of patronage by the aristocracy and social elites of Europe. As a result, homeopaths brought direct economic competition to the regular system.

The most effective denunciation of homeopathy came from the famous physician, poet, and medical educator Oliver Wendell Holmes in 1842. Presented as two lectures for the Boston Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, the classic assault on "Homeopathy and Its Kindred Delusions" was later published widely. Holmes disavowed the miraculous curing power of homeopathy by placing it in the same category as other medical delusions, including the legendary cure for a form of tuberculosis allegedly provided by the royal touch of the King of England. While Holmes found that the law of similars had some validity, he ridiculed homeopaths for the doctrine of minute doses and Hahnemann's drug provings. Holmes admitted, however, that the real problem with evaluating the merits of homeopathy was that the vast majority of patients recovered under any system. In an admission that seemed equally damning to the regular profession, and a pronounced retreat from heroic medicine, Holmes asserted that 90 percent of the cases commonly seen by a physician would recover if nothing interfered with the power of nature. Regardless, Holmes predicted homeopathy

would ultimately fail once its novelty wore off and its failures increased.

Surprisingly, the homeopathic influence in the abandonment of heroic therapies was made especially clear by the 1951 Fiske Award of the Rhode Island Medical Society, given for the best attack on homeopathy. In "Homeopathy, So-called, Its History and Refutation," Worthington Hooker skillfully used mathematics to demonstrate the absurdity of the theory of infinitesimals, while resorting to logic to disprove the claim that the law of similars was the only "law of cure." Yet, Hooker recognized that homeopathy had demonstrated that the healing power of nature could be even stronger than heroic practices. Hooker announced that regular medicine must learn to harness that power. He maintained that it was in this way that the most absurd of all medical delusions might still do service to the cause of science and humanity.

The American Medical Association and Homeopathy

Despite predictions that homeopathy was doomed, it continued to spread in the 1840s as orthodox practitioners like Hooker became increasingly hostile and defensive. Homeopaths also went on the offensive, claiming their system had a firmer grounding in scientific experimentation than orthodoxy, while criticizing the regular profession for an influx of inferior physicians. The regular profession was in turmoil, and homeopaths more than any other group advertised its shortcomings. The dramatic growth of proprietary medical schools compromised educational standards, faculty disputes ran rampant, doctors were unable to agree on methods of diagnosis and treatment, and citizens were outraged at the attempts of some physicians to regulate medical fees and eliminate competition. Acknowledging these problems, regular doctors sought to regain lost prestige by forming a national professional organization to improve medical education. Physicians saw the improvement of educational standards as an opportunity to promote citizen confidence in orthodoxy, ensure the elimination of inferior physicians and quacks, and inhibit defections to homeopathy.

At the first meeting of the fledgling American Medical Association (AMA) in 1846, no one mentioned homeopathy or other medical sects. The top priority was the improvement of standards and requirements for the medical degree. The following year, however, the formulation of a code of ethics explicitly asserted that no homeopath could consult with an orthodox physician, even if the patient requested such a meeting. The so-called consultation clause was sometimes carried out to the point of absurdity. It prevented the regular physician from coming to the aid of a patient whose doctor was a homeopath, regardless of how desperate the situation was—this despite the fact that by the early 1850s, the majority of the homeopaths were themselves graduates of orthodox medical schools. Nonetheless, by 1855 the member societies of the AMA had adopted the code of ethics, and the conflict between homeopathy and orthodoxy was officially sanctioned. Intended to separate quackery from orthodoxy, while publicly condemning sectarian practitioners, the code and the growth of the AMA did not bring the end of homeopathy. Enforcement of the code did, however, help to polarize the medical profession for the remainder of the century.

The first major battle between homeopathy and orthodoxy took place in the late 1850s, over the control of wards in newly constructed municipal hospitals. As major cities like Chicago, New York, and Boston made a commitment to provide medical care for the urban masses, homeopathic physicians applied for equal access. While homeopaths campaigned for hospital jobs, orthodox practitioners from 1850 to 1880 nearly unanimously refused to serve alongside homeopaths. With a stranglehold on medical boards, the orthodox community was even able to exclude homeopaths from military service during the Civil War, despite the fact that doctors were almost always in short supply.

Accommodation and a New Code of Ethics

During the 1860s and 1870s, regular practitioners gradually abandoned the harsh treatment of the age of heroic medicine, and the orthodox and sectarian found common cause to settle some of their disputes. Milder medication replaced heroic remedies, and more physicians relied upon the body's natural healing powers. At the same time, many who considered themselves homeopaths increasingly deviated from the tenets of Hahnemannian medicine, and the homeopathic profession began to fragment. While high-dilution advocates adhered carefully to Hahnemann's doctrines, other more eclectic homeopaths accepted orthodox remedies or dispensed homeopathic drugs in large doses. Some homeopathic graduates of orthodox medical schools experienced the benefits of

allopathic treatments and were attracted to an increasingly scientific medicine. The public and sectarians alike responded enthusiastically to exciting advances in surgery, preventative medicine, and pharmacology. Many homeopaths began to blend their teachings with the new orthodoxy, partly in response to patient requests and partly in hopes of achieving greater professional respect.

By the 1880s, the majority of homeopaths were in favor of dispensing both traditional homeopathic treatments and orthodox remedies. The growth of specialization increased the need for interdependence in the profession across sectarian and orthodox lines. Orthodox specialists relied on referrals from homeopaths, just as sectarian general practitioners relied on orthodox hospital administrators for access to facilities. A renewed licensing movement concurrently promoted collaboration between regular physicians and homeopaths to win laws that would protect all of them from competition with poorly trained practitioners, coming primarily from proprietary schools serving as diploma mills.

In an effort to strengthen and unify the profession, discussions of a revised code of ethics officially began at the annual meeting of the Medical Society of the State of New York in 1881. By early 1882, a committee had crafted a new code that abandoned the consultation clause and placed the health of the patient above professional restrictions. Defenders of the new code, usually younger physicians, claimed that the old code was an infringement on the rights of citizens to freely meet with their physician of choice. They argued that since homeopathy had been legalized in every state, it should receive professional recognition.

Despite support for the new code in newspapers and leading magazines, twelve of the fourteen state medical associations that met prior to the 1882 AMA convention passed resolutions condemning their colleagues. At the AMA meeting in Cleveland the following year, every delegate was asked to sign a pledge of allegiance to the old code of ethics. By 1885, the new code became a national issue that threatened to destroy the Ninth International Medical Congress to be held in Washington, D.C. When the AMA decided that only those physicians who accepted the old code of ethics could serve on any committee of the International Congress, prominent new code supporters like Henry Bowditch, who had served as president of the AMA in 1877, were summarily excluded. The new code controversy threatened to destroy what defenders of the old code cherished most—professional respect, integrity, and brotherhood.

While the consultation clause issue divided the orthodox profession into liberal and conservative wings, the homeopathic response was also mixed. Editorials in homeopathic publications warned that the acceptance of orthodox practitioners would threaten the individuality and therapeutic advantages of homeopathy. In 1885, the American Institute of Homeopathy suggested there was reason to be afraid. The AMA's attempts to establish licensing boards, which were dominated by orthodox practitioners, threatened to place the fate of homeopathy in the hands of the enemy.

A resolution to the protracted battle over consultation came at the 1903 AMA meeting in New Orleans. The old code of ethics was replaced with a document that opened up membership to any legally registered and reputable physician who was not supporting an exclusive medical system. This did not explicitly forbid homeopaths from joining the AMA, but it did suggest that they must not practice homeopathy exclusively. The document noted that it was inconsistent with scientific principles for physicians to designate their practice as exclusive or sectarian. The new code, however, avoided any reference to the type of medicine doctors actually practiced, allowing homeopaths to win a share of the scientific and professional benefits of the AMA.

Accommodation by the AMA came at the height of homeopathy's rise. In the two decades following the Civil War, homeopathy had gained the support of local boards of health, the government's medical corps, and the general public. When the regular profession denounced homeopaths, they thrived. By 1900 there were twenty-two homeopathic medical schools, more than 100 homeopathic hospitals, and more than 1,000 homeopathic pharmacies. Advocates of homeopathy included some of the most prominent and respected members of American society, such as William James, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Daniel Webster, William Seward, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Louisa May Alcott, and John D. Rockefeller. At the turn of the century, homeopathic physicians were generally supported in the press; they were famous for their success at treating various infectious epidemic diseases throughout the nineteenth century and prolific in scholarship with more than twenty-nine different homeopathic journals.

Ironically, the more homeopaths gained access to the privileges of the regular profession, the more their numbers declined. By 1910, there were only twelve

homeopathic medical schools left, and by 1923 only two remained. Internally, homeopathy suffered from doctrinal disputes and a softening view of orthodox medicine. While earlier advocates of homeopathy could point to a dramatic therapeutic difference with regular practitioners, the alternative to homeopathic practice was no longer so dreadful. Even regular physicians were now using large amounts of homeopathic medicines themselves. Meanwhile, as the orthodox community used scientific knowledge to distinguish between competent practitioner and quack, homeopathic colleges that decided to offer more education in the medical sciences to compete with orthodox schools often compromised training in homeopathic therapies. As a result, graduates from these colleges were less able to practice homeopathy and often prescribed medicines according to the disease categories of orthodoxy. Eventually, many homeopaths gave up homeopathic practice, while homeopathic patients sought other types of care.

Homeopathy was further weakened by socioeconomic factors. First, more money was to be made in specialization than in either homeopathic or orthodox general practice. Specialization was rarely an option for the homeopath because it was incompatible with the spirit of homeopathic doctrine. Second, homeopathy was ill equipped to match the combined resources of the AMA and the rapidly expanding drug industry. By 1910, the AMA had made a deal with patent-drug manufacturers that supplied a constant flow of money in the form of advertising revenue for medical journals. As these same medical journals became mouthpieces for pharmaceutical companies, homeopathy suffered the consequences of bad press. Ultimately, homeopaths found it difficult to compete with the quick fix provided by the proliferation of patent medicines and the acceptance of new drugs into the cabinets of orthodox physicians.

The Flexner Report and Reform of Medical Education

At the turn of the century, a reorganized and strengthened AMA returned to the problem that had originally motivated its formation by making the reform of medical education its top priority. The AMA had two longstanding goals that had not been met effectively since its formation fifty years earlier. First, the AMA hoped to renew licensing laws in order to combat the problem of competition in the medical marketplace. Second, in response to the glut of poorly trained physicians graduating from proprietary schools, members of the AMA wanted to improve their social, economic, and professional status as a group. In 1904, the AMA established the Council on Medical Education to evaluate the quality of instruction in the nation's 161 medical schools. The initial report, issued in 1907, declared that only 82 schools provided acceptable instruction, while 47 were listed as doubtful and 32 unsatisfactory. Homeopathic schools were largely condemned for their inability to meet requirements of adequate instruction in physics, chemistry, and biology. The first chairman of the council predicted that homeopathy would soon die out for lack of students, once the results were made public.

The report of the council presented one major problem for the AMA. Its own professional ethics code frowned on physicians attacking each other in public. Not only would publication of the council's report create ill will, but it would also be a technical violation of its own code. A new report from the independent and unbiased Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching would be necessary to provide the objectivity of a disinterested body. This report could then be published as part of a broader effort to shape public opinion in support of the AMA's objectives.

In 1910, the Carnegie Foundation commissioned Abraham Flexner to conduct an evaluation of sectarian and regular medical schools. The result was his report, "Medical Education in the United States and Canada," colloquially referred to as the Flexner Report on Medical Education. The Flexner Report rated schools according to the same standards. Flexner measured schools by the quality of their laboratories, size of their teaching hospitals, level of endowments, entrance qualifications, and amount of original research produced. Almost all of the homeopathic institutions failed to satisfactorily meet one of these criteria. Flexner criticized homeopathic schools for their failure to undertake progressive scientific work, a lack of resources, and their preference for employing professors who were also in clinical practice. While he was willing to credit homeopathy with playing an important part in discrediting the excesses of orthodox therapies, he argued that the orthodox schools were already doing the work of homeopathy far more effectively. Furthermore, Flexner insisted that adherence to Hahnemannian dogma by homeopaths was incompatible with science. Homeopathy was judged an unfit system for training physicians in scientific medicine.

Although Flexner was equally critical of many regular schools, the Flexner Report was clearly more

damaging to homeopathic schools as a whole. He denounced almost all of the existing schools for poor standards and made no allowance for their survival in his plans for reconstructing medical education. Flexner helped seal the fate of many homeopathic schools that were already struggling to meet the financial burdens of operating in a competitive marketplace. Licensing boards and potential students alike subsequently scorned schools with poor ratings.

The impact of the Flexner Report was heightened by internal problems within homeopathy. The report heightened the debate between the pure Hahnemannians committed to the doctrine of infinitesimals and the revisionists who were unwilling or unable to adhere to Hahnemann's rigid formula for therapeutics. Following the publication of the Flexner Report, some homeopaths maintained that homeopathic schools were closing because they did not teach pure homeopathy but instead devoted too much time to medical science. Other purists maintained that the new standards set by Flexner were too high and would require too much money to revamp existing programs.

The Flexner Report created a standard that favored orthodox medical education in an era characterized by a dramatic increase in philanthropic support for schools. In 1920, for example, the struggling Hahnemann Medical College of Philadelphia was unable to obtain funds from the General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation, despite the fact that John D. Rockefeller himself continued to consult a homeopath for his personal medical care. The General Education Board appropriated nearly $15 million for medical education by 1920, and by 1929 the total had climbed to $78 million. However, homeopathy colleges were not the recipients of these awards.

Decline of Homeopathy

The 1920s and 1930s brought a reinvigorated attack on all forms of unorthodox medicine. Orthodox practitioners abandoned any reference to their practice as "regular," and those outside the bounds of orthodoxy were no longer designated as "sects" but rather as "cults." The long-time editor of the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, Morris Fishbein, disseminated this representation of unorthodox medicine as cultlike most enthusiastically. In 1925, Fishbein published *The Medical Follies*, a best-selling book attacking the "healing cults." Although Fishbein acknowledged that homeopathy had encouraged positive reforms in orthodox practice, he concluded that it had ultimately died from internal inconsistencies.

In 1935, the AMA Council on Education outlawed the inclusion of unorthodox systems on the list of approved medical colleges and hospitals. This action eliminated the possibility of homeopathic schools benefiting from the extensive philanthropic support of regular medicine. By this time, the doctrinal split in homeopathy caused sufficient organizational and political weakness to preclude a significant response. In the decades to follow, homeopaths still made efforts to convince the AMA to recognize homeopathy as a specialty in internal medicine, but to no avail. By 1950, all the homeopathic colleges in the United States were either closed or no longer teaching homeopathy exclusively.

Homeopathy encountered a series of forces, peculiar to the American medical scene, that remained insurmountable. Practitioners were weakened from the attack on marginal schools instituted by the Flexner Report, unable to compete with the concentration of resources in fewer institutions, and burdened by a unified condemnation from the AMA and pharmaceutical industry. All the while, the orthodox community never provided scientific evidence that homeopathy failed to generate positive therapeutic results. Meanwhile, in Europe homeopathy maintained a large share of patients and in some countries expanded its base of patients and practitioners.

In the United States, however, homeopathy was on the brink of extinction by the 1960s. Most of its practitioners were over sixty years old. Few physicians were converted to homeopathy partly because it required a high level of therapeutic knowledge and expertise for practice, while demanding greater time and energy from the physician. Some predicted that homeopathy would not survive the twentieth century. With fewer than 200 practicing homeopaths, prospects remained grim.

Unexpected Revival

In the face of internal and external pressures, homeopathy did not die out. In the 1970s, there were only 50 to 100 physicians who specialized in homeopathy, and yet by the mid-1980s approximately 1,000 homeopaths had established practices. Capitalizing on the resurgence of alternative medicine in the 1970s, homeopaths reasserted their position, in opposition to a medical profession increasingly criticized for invasive therapies and limited success in combating major diseases. In the 1990s, studies in major medical journals revealed that patients used alternative medical

systems like homeopathy because they found these healthcare alternatives to be more congruent with their own values, beliefs, and philosophical orientations toward health and life. Some see the resurgence of alternative forms of medical care as a testimony to the increased public dissatisfaction with modern medicine and its delivery system. Others suggest that the public evaluation of scientific medicine must be separated from evaluation of physicians.

In addition to the resurgence of homeopathic physicians, since the 1970s dozens of new homeopathic medical schools have been established, sales of homeopathic medicine have increased 2000 percent, and for the first time, some orthodox medical journals have conducted successful clinical trials validating the efficacy of homeopathy. Although homeopathic practitioners continued to be marginalized by the orthodox community, a strong push toward a complementary approach to therapy by organizations like the AMA suggests that homeopathy will continue to thrive in the decades to come.

Eric Boyle

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American Intentional Communities

Intentional communities—communities devoted with intent, resolve, and commitment to a collective objective—have been a part of the American cultural scene since the early days of European settlement. Some had very idealistic aims and were also called utopian communities. The first British settlers at Jamestown, Virginia, adopted a communal form of organization for a time, as the Pilgrims did later at Plymouth, Massachusetts. Thousands upon thousands of experiments in community have dotted our history ever since.

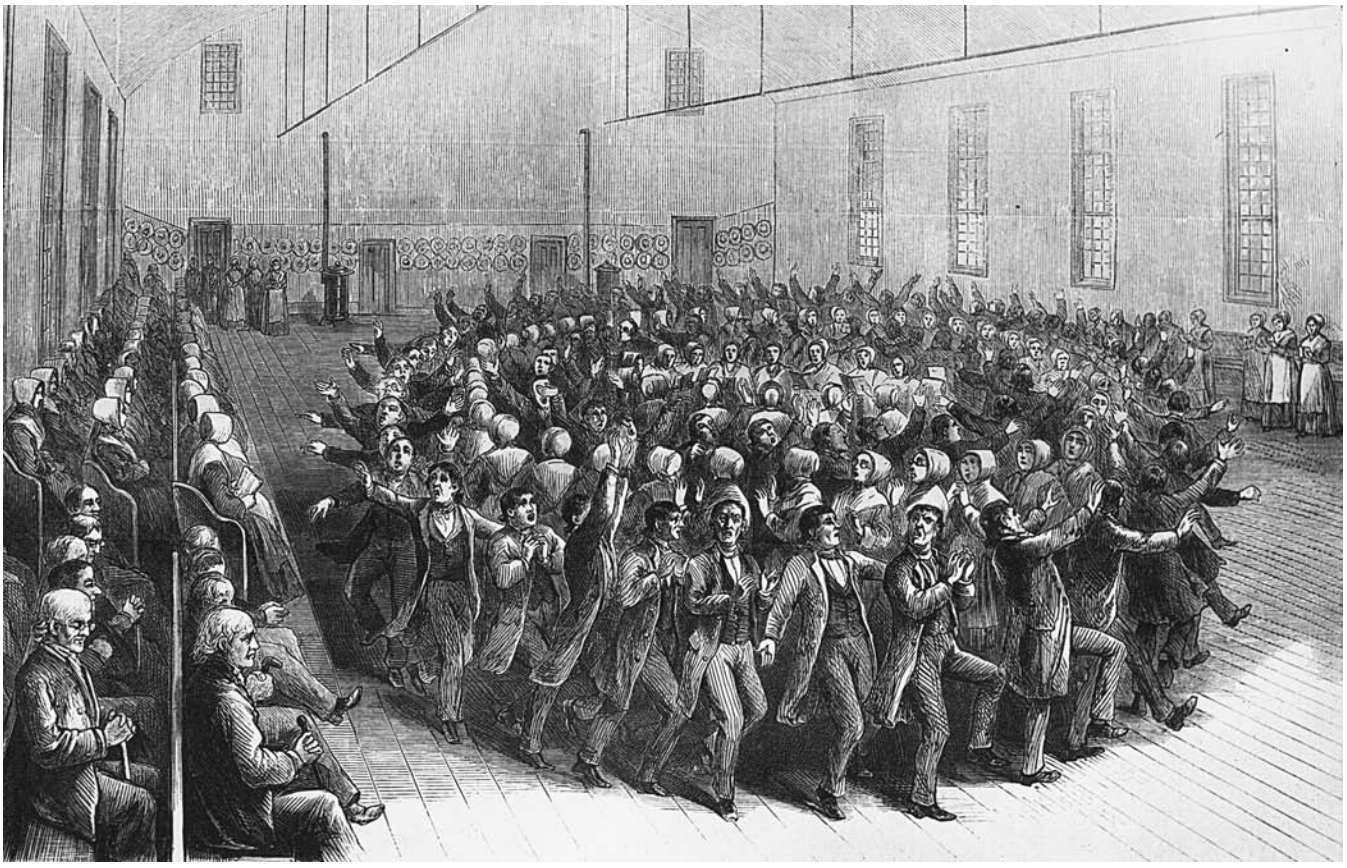
What is generally regarded as the first true intentional community in America—the first settlement organized from the beginning on explicitly communitarian principles—was Swanendael, or Plockhoy's Commonwealth. In the late 1650s, Peter Cornelius Plockhoy, a Dutch Mennonite, began to publish tracts that envisioned a community in which all residents would be equal, all work would be agreeable, and all points of view would be welcome. In 1663, Plockhoy and a band of some forty followers, with financial backing from the city of Amsterdam, set sail for America and in due course settled near what is now Lewes, Delaware. The fate of the colony is unknown because the Netherlands and Britain soon went to war, and a British detachment razed the colony a year after its founding.

Two other important communes followed Plockhoy's in the seventeenth century: the Labadist Community at Bohemia Manor, Maryland, and one popularly known as the Woman in the Wilderness in what is now Philadelphia. Both survived longer and had more impact on later communities than Plockhoy's did. Both (but especially the Woman in the Wilderness) influenced Johann Conrad Beissel, who in 1732 founded the earliest intentional community of which any built remnant remains, the Ephrata Community, or Cloister, in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Celibate renunciates, both men and women, lived lives of austere devotion and hard work, denying themselves worldly pleasures in their spiritual quest, producing marvelous works of choral music, beautifully illuminated manuscripts, and extensive works of prose and poetry published by their own press. Ephrata was not only one of the earliest American communal societies, but also among the longest-lived; it endured communally until 1814, and a few members remained on the premises until the 1890s.

The Shakers

While Ephrata was at its peak, the first members of what was probably the most famous American communal movement of all began their work. The first Shakers (more formally, members of the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing) arrived from England in 1774 and soon took up the common life near present-day Albany, New York. Their visionary founder, Ann Lee, proclaimed a message of repentance of sin and the abandonment of worldly attachments. Very early, apparently, the movement demanded celibacy of all of its resident members. Although Lee died in 1784, able leaders arose to organize the Shakers into their characteristic village colonies. Eventually, Lee came to be regarded as Christ in the Second Coming (the "Second Appearing" of the group's formal name).

The Shakers grew for several decades, eventually numbering several thousand members in around twenty communal villages, the larger of which had several hundred members each. Following Ann Lee's dictum, they put their "hands to work and hearts to God" and produced some of America's most admired craftworks, including elegantly simple furniture and the exquisite villages themselves, several of which survive as museums. The Shakers did not consider the production of beautiful artifacts, however, to be their chief goal. Instead they, like other monastics, were simply leading dedicated and highly ordered lives in



Shakers dance at a meeting in 1873. The Shakers—so named because they practiced shaking, shouting, dancing, and whirling during their religious services—derived from the radical English sect, the Quakers, and set up communal societies in New England, New York, Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana. Shakers believe in celibacy, equality, and simplicity, and although their numbers have dwindled, they remain active today. *(Brown Brothers)*

the service of God. The enforcement of celibacy meant that men and women were strictly separated, and a hallmark of Shaker architecture became its system of double doors and stairways—one for each sex. In their early years, the Shakers were well known for their vigorous worship practices, which involved "laboring," or group dancing, which could continue for hours. They also wrote thousands of spiritual songs, including the widely familiar "Simple Gifts."

Despite their disciplined lives set apart from the "world," as the general society was called, Shakers were not antimodern. On matters of gender and racial equity they were more than a century ahead of their time, accepting African-American members on an equal basis with all others and affirming the full equality of men and women. Gender equality was reflected in the Shakers' governance of each village with a ministry team of two brothers and two sisters, and a similar four-member ministry group over the whole movement. The Shakers were also inventive folk, credited with such creations as the circular saw, the clothespin, and the flat broom. They embraced technology readily, driving cars and trucks, for example, when they became available. Today's Shakers use computers.

The latter half of the nineteenth century was marked by a decline in the number of members, a trend that accelerated during the twentieth century. By mid-century, the end of Shakerdom seemed inevitable, as village after village closed. In 1947, the headquarters village at Mount Lebanon, New York, was shuttered. For several years two villages—Canterbury, New Hampshire, and Sabbathday Lake, Maine—continued to operate with only a few members each. In 1965, the leaders at Canterbury closed the society to new members; Sabbathday Lake continued to welcome newcomers. Sabbathday remains the only surviving Shaker location, with fewer than ten members, although inquirers do visit and occasionally a new

The Rappite House in New Harmony, Indiana. George Rapp, a German linen weaver, established the utopian community of Harmony (also spelled "Harmonie"), first in Pennsylvania and then in southern Indiana in the early 1800s. Rappites renounced marriage and lived in celibacy. In 1825, Rapp sold the entire village to Robert Owen, who used the land, houses, and work buildings to launch his own utopian society. *(Library of Congress)*

member does join. At present the Shaker existence is tenuous.

Harmonists and Rappites

Not too many years after the arrival of the first American Shakers came several groups of German immigrants who sought the freedom to live communally and practice their faith in America. One of the earliest and largest groups was the Harmony Society, which arose in the German province of Wuerttemberg in the late eighteenth century. The Harmonists constituted a particularly radical wing of the Pietist movement, which had recently arisen to challenge the formality and cold intellectualism of the established Lutheran church. The Pietists sought a heartfelt religious experience that included personal conversion and a striving for Christian perfection; some wanted to reform Lutheranism, but others sought to sever their ties with an institution they considered incapable of real transformation. Several separate groups ended up leaving Germany in their religious quest.

Into this environment came George Rapp (1757–1847), whose powerful Pietist convictions and leadership prowess won him some thousands of followers by about 1790. For several years tension between the civil authorities and the Rappites was intense, and eventually they decided to emigrate. In 1804, George Rapp and his associates purchased a tract of land

north of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on which they founded the communal village of Harmony. For a decade they built up their isolated village, but in 1814 Rapp decided that the group should move west. They purchased a large tract on the Wabash River, just upstream from the Ohio, in southern Indiana, which today remains one of America's most pristine museum villages. They achieved great prosperity in their new home, with extensive farms and industries, and soon they seemed permanently settled there. But in 1824 George Rapp decreed yet another exodus, this time to a place called Economy just a few miles from the original Harmony in Pennsylvania. In that last location the Harmonists achieved even greater prosperity and built the most extensive settlement yet. Eventually, however, the society began to fray. Celibacy, which had been introduced at the original Harmony, meant that the movement quit producing potential new members from within. A charismatic visitor who called himself the Count de Leon led a large group of disgruntled members out of the community in 1832. Rapp's death in 1847 led to notable organizational changes. Community life continued for several decades, but after the deaths of the old-line Rappites one John Duss seized control of the organization in the 1890s and squandered what was by then its vast wealth. In 1905, just a century after its arrival in America, the Harmony Society was dissolved.

Inspirationists and Amana

Another notable group of communal Pietist immigrants whose story to a degree paralleled that of the Harmonists was the Community of True Inspiration, also a product of the German Pietist unrest of the eighteenth century. Its distinctive contribution to communal Pietism was its embrace of the precept that a few persons, in the pattern of the biblical prophets, could speak with divine inspiration. Several of these inspired "instruments" helped shape the society's history—and none more so than Christian Metz, who, in 1843 and 1844, oversaw a migration from Germany to New York State, where the group founded a community called Ebenezer. As had been the case with the Harmonists, the Inspirationists, soon numbering more than 1,000, came to feel a need to move west, and in 1855 they began to resettle on a large tract of land in eastern Iowa. Calling the new location Amana, they built up seven villages under Metz's able direction. Eventually, however, spiritual restlessness among some members and economic problems exacerbated by the Depression forced an abandonment of the fully communal way of life at Amana. In 1932, the society decommunalized its economy. Its surviving industries, including the flagship appliance-manufacturing company, became private enterprises. Nevertheless, many Amanans stayed on. The Inspirationist church continues to operate (albeit without an inspired leader for more than a century), the factory turns out refrigerators and microwave ovens, and the Amana Society still has extensive land and business holdings. The colonies, now accessible by interstate highway, have become the leading tourist attraction in Iowa, marketing their own past to millions of visitors.

Noyes and the Oneidans

Many other immigrant colonies, albeit smaller than those of the Harmonists and Amanans, also flourished in the nineteenth century—the Zoar Society in Ohio (another product of German Pietism), Bishop Hill in Illinois (founded by dissenting Swedish Lutherans), and many more, all with fascinating stories. At the same time, home-grown prophets proved as capable as any of the immigrant leaders of bringing believers into the common life. Among them none was more successful, flamboyant, and famous (notorious, his detractors would say) than John Humphrey Noyes, the founder of the Oneida Community. Noyes was converted in a revival in 1831and began to study for the ministry. In 1834, he concluded that he was freed from sinfulness and was morally "perfect"; his community eventually developed as a place in which he and others who had transcended the human propensity to sin could build what was actually regarded as the beginning of the Kingdom of God on earth. No part of Noyes's unorthodox theology was more controversial than "complex marriage," in which the community of the saved became a family, with all men married to all women, with all of the sexual privileges that relationship implies.

Community life began in the mid-1840s in Putney, Vermont, but complex marriage scandalized that small town and Noyes was soon indicted for adultery. Later, in 1847, Noyes and his closest disciples then headed for upstate New York, where they settled outside the town of Oneida. Although their situation was financially precarious at first, eventually they built up solid industries; animal traps were a major success, followed by the silverware that has made "Oneida" a household word. Through their publications, they were a beacon among the intentional communities and social reformers of the day. Eventually, however, pressures—especially the inevitable external attacks against a community founded on such radical principles—took their toll on the community. In 1879, the

community abandoned complex marriage, and in 1881 its successful industry was transformed into a joint-stock corporation. The Mansion House—where hundreds of members lived under one roof—survives and continues to be inhabited in part by descendants of the original Oneidans.

Secular Intentional Communities

Religion was not the only basis for organizing intentional communities in the nineteenth century. The first of several secular movements to receive wide notice was the New Harmony of Robert Owen. Owen made a fortune as a mill-owner in Scotland and became renowned as a social theorist and reformer, one who held that workers, having created wealth, had a right to a share of their productivity. New Lanark, his company town, was publicized as a workers' paradise. In his prolific writings, he envisioned cooperative villages in which all would share in production and in the fruits of the community's enterprises under conditions of universal social equality.

Owen had hoped to inaugurate some grand communitarian experiments in Scotland, but land there was prohibitively expensive. When word reached him that George Rapp's Harmony Society was selling its entire town of New Harmony and its 20,000 acres, he seized the opportunity and purchased the property early in 1825. But as a community the experiment was short-lived. Owen flung the doors of his community open to all, attracting deadbeats as well as industrious idealists. It turned out that a diverse lot of people did not necessarily work harmoniously together. By 1827, the communal phase of New Harmony was over. The influence of the experiment, however, was enormous. New Harmony attracted a large contingent of intellectuals and became an important center of scholarship, particularly in geology and natural science. Its progressive schools became models for educational reformers. It was the home of the first American trade school. Its library for workers inspired some 160 other such institutions. Over a dozen other communal experiments based on Owen's ideas were started around the country. Owen himself remains a major figure in the history of socialism and social reform. In short, the influence of Owenite New Harmony extended far beyond its short communal lifespan.

One of the best-known American communities of all was Brook Farm, which was founded by George Ripley and others at West Roxbury, Massachusetts (now a part of the city of Boston), in 1841, as a direct outgrowth of the Transcendentalist ferment then at its peak. The New England Transcendentalists, of whom the leading light was Ralph Waldo Emerson, sought both free mental exploration and direct experience of the material world, and Ripley proposed to bring the diverse values of the movement together in a rural social experiment. Although many of the Transcendentalists declined to join the project, a goodly contingent of free-spirited and intelligent young adults jumped in and created what by all accounts was a fulfilling round of manual labor, intelligent conversation, and lively socializing. Especially prized was the community's school, which attracted students from far and wide.

In 1844, Brook Farm announced its reorganization as the Brook Farm Phalanx. By that time, the social ideas of the Frenchman Charles Fourier had developed an American following, and for a time Brook Farm became the intellectual center of Fourierism, which proposed to organize society in a manner that would be tightly prescribed but wonderfully fulfilling to its members. Under Fourier's system, exactly 1,620 persons would constitute a "phalanx," or community, and live and work in a "phalanstery," a huge structure surrounded by a large tract of open land. Brook Farm had a short-lived career as a phalanx because its grand phalanstery burned to the ground just as it was being completed in 1846, and the community could not survive that crushing blow. However, dozens of other phalanxes were founded from Massachusetts to Texas before the movement ran its course toward the end of the century. Most were short-lived, with only a handful lasting more than three years. Fourier's sweeping ideas, however, have influenced later communitarians and cooperators, especially those who founded cooperative stores and workshops throughout the country.

Another French-inspired secular communitarian movement shared the heyday of Fourierism. In 1839, Etienne Cabet published the utopian novel *Voyage en Icarie* (Journey in Icaria), a massive work along the lines of Thomas More's *Utopia*. Hundreds of readers of the work found it so inspiring that they determined to make it a built reality. Taking personal leadership of the movement he inspired, Cabet, like so many other European utopians, concluded that America was the best site for his project. In 1848, the first Icarians headed for Texas, where Cabet had purchased a million acres in the Red River Valley. For a variety of reasons the site was utterly unworkable, and when Cabet himself arrived in 1849, he and those willing to try again found a more congenial location—Nauvoo, Illinois, the home of the Latter-day Saints who had lately left for Utah. They bought much of the town

Founded by Transcendentalists in West Roxbury, Massachusetts, in 1841, the Brook Farm Institute of Agriculture and Education, as it was formally known, combined manual labor with progressive educational techniques, such as nonpunitive discipline, intellectual discourse, and open-ended study hours. Among Brook Farm's many literary residents was Nathaniel Hawthorne, who immortalized the community in his 1852 novel, *The Blithedale Romance*. *(Brown Brothers)*

from the Mormons and moved in. The lives of the Icarians were strictly regulated, but they developed a society that valued education, cultural pursuits, and gender equality. However, divisions soon erupted, not least because Cabet's authoritarian ways alienated a majority of his followers. In 1856, the anti-Cabet majority evicted the founder and his loyalists. Cabet then founded a new Icaria just outside St. Louis. A financial crisis at Nauvoo forced the remaining communitarians to move to Iowa, where cheap government land was available. In 1881, some members of New Icaria moved to California and founded the last colony, Icaria Speranza, north of Santa Rosa. It was dissolved in 1886, and in 1898 the last Iowa Icarians dissolved their community as well.

Secular communities would continue to be founded ever afterward. In 1885 a group of San Francisco Socialists moved to the Sierra Nevada and, with devoted physical labor, built the Kaweah Cooperative Commonwealth, a dynamic little utopia whose life was cut short when the federal government preempted the colony's land, without payment, to create Sequoia National Park. A notable cluster of Socialist and Anarchist communities grew up in Washington State; among them were the Puget Sound Cooperative Colony, located at Port Angeles, founded in 1887; Equality, near Bellingham, 1897; Burley, on Puget Sound, 1898; Freeland, on Whidbey Island, 1899; and the most notable of them all, the Home colony, which for more than twenty years after its founding in 1896 was a bastion of American Anarchism. Ruskin Colony, in Tennessee, published the *Coming Nation*, the nation's leading Socialist newspaper, in the 1890s, and the Llano Colony, first near Los Angeles and later in Louisiana, was a key center of American socialism in the 1910s through 1930s. Economic reformers also founded a number of cooperative settlements, including ten or so devoted to embodying the single-tax principles of Henry George. (Fairhope, Alabama, and Arden, Delaware, were prominent examples.)

Late-Nineteenth-Century Religious Communities

The latter part of the nineteenth century was rife with all kinds of religious communities. One of the most extensive networks of communities in American history was (and is) that of the various groups of Latter-day Saints (LDS). The Mormons had experimented with communal forms as early as the 1830s, but under Brigham Young in Utah in the 1870s, the United Order of Enoch, as it was known, was launched in earnest. Well over 100 United Order organizations were formed, some of them thoroughly communal in structure and others only loosely cooperative. Although the main Mormon church eventually gave up on communal living as an ideal, the legacy of the United Order lives on in the church welfare system, cooperative stores, and close-knit relations among believers. Moreover, dozens of Mormon splinter groups, many of them retaining the practice of polygamy that the main church abandoned early in the twentieth century, continue the communal tradition today. The polygamy-practicing splinter LDS settlement at Colorado City, Arizona, is the largest intentional community in the United States today, with over 5,000 resident members.

Hutterites

In 1874, just as the United Order was being launched in Utah, what would become the largest communal movement in North American history took root on the American plains. Founded in 1528 as a radical Anabaptist movement, the Hutterites had, after many migrations, settled in the Ukraine in 1770 with the understanding that they could live in their own communities and not be drafted into military service. When the special privileges were lifted in 1871, however, the Hutterites moved yet again. They arrived in South Dakota in 1874, organizing themselves into three separate subgroups (Schmiedeleut, Dariusleut, and Lehrerleut) and living in colonies of around 100 members each.

World War I was a difficult time for these German-speaking pacifists, and amid severe persecution most of them left the United States for the western provinces of Canada. In the 1930s, they began to return to the United States, and today they operate freely in both countries. With a high birth rate and strong retention of their young people, the Hutterites have seen explosive growth, today numbering over 40,000 in over 400 colonies. They embrace modern, large-scale agricultural technology but culturally remain largely isolated from the outside world. Their communitarianism is thorough; private property is limited to a few intimate personal items. By any standard (size, longevity, prosperity), the Hutterites are the leading American communal success story, exceeded in scope only by traditional religious communities of monks and nuns. Another similar movement, the Bruderhof, was founded in Germany in 1920 in explicit imitation of the Hutterites. It came to the United States in 1954 and now has over 2,000 members in several colonies in the United States and abroad.

The Hutterites were not the only refugees from eastern Europe who settled in intentional communities in the United States in their era. Shortly after their arrival came a large wave of Jewish community-building, fueled by the influx after 1880 of large numbers of refugee Jews fleeing persecution. Although most of the colonies, based on agriculture and light industry, were soon dissolved, traces remain, especially in southern New Jersey, where several former colonies (Woodbine, Brotmanville, Norma) continue their existence as small towns.

The turn of the twentieth century saw the rise of a number of communities led by independent religious visionaries. In the 1890s, Cyrus Teed, known as "Koresh," established his Koreshan Unity community at Estero, Florida, which lasted several decades and whose buildings have been preserved as a state park; the movement was best known for Teed's teaching that the earth is hollow and we live on the inside of it. Zion City, founded north of Chicago by the faith-healing evangelist John Alexander Dowie in 1901, may have had more than 5,000 resident members at its peak. The House of David was founded in 1903 at Benton Harbor, Michigan, by Benjamin and Mary Purnell, as one of many groups descended from the work of the English mystic Joanna Southcott. It was best known to the general public for its barnstorming baseball teams whose players never cut their hair or beards. Zion City continues as a noncommunal town, its independent Dowieite church still strong, while the House of David, now divided into two factions, continues to lead a tenuous existence in Benton Harbor.

New Age Religions

The turn-of-the-century era also saw the beginnings of religious communalism grounded in Asian, esoteric, and New Age religions. Theosophy, a blending of Asian and Western mystical religious traditions, established several communal centers, the largest and best-known of them at Point Loma, California (today part of San Diego), where several impressively exotic

buildings were erected and a wide variety of educational and cultural activities were pursued for several decades after 1897 under the leadership of Katherine Tingley. Theosophy also gave rise, indirectly, to the Camphill movement, which later in the twentieth century created a network of communities dedicated to caring for handicapped and retarded persons.

A later manifestation of the spiritual quest, the loosely defined New Age movement also gave rise to several communal centers, such as the far-flung Emissary communities, whose headquarters, Sunrise Ranch in Colorado, has been operating since 1945. The Vedanta Society, one of the early Hindu movements to establish an American foothold, had communal ashrams (Hindu religious retreats) operating in the first decade of the new century, and Buddhist monastic communalism began in the 1930s with the work of Dwight Goddard, a Baptist missionary to China who converted to Zen Buddhism and promoted his new religion upon his return to the United States. After changes in American immigration laws in 1965, many Asian teachers arrived on American shores, and Asian-based religious communities mushroomed. Hundreds of communal centers representing most major branches of Hinduism and Buddhism operate today.

Working artists have long congregated in various attractive locales, and for a few decades at the beginning of the twentieth century some of them went a step further and formed intentional communities. The Roycrofters, under the commercially savvy leadership of Elbert Hubbard, turned out a commercially successful line of books and furniture from their colony at East Aurora, New York. In 1902, Byrdcliffe was founded and funded by a patron, Ralph Radcliffe Whitehead; it made Woodstock, New York, the center of the arts, which it has been ever since. Rose Valley, near Philadelphia, had as many as sixty residents during its brief communal life from 1903 to 1908. Some communal colonies of the arts continue to operate quietly today.

A surge of commune-founding followed the onset of the Depression after 1929. The federal government, as a part of its general poverty-fighting program, sponsored around 100 collective settlements under the Division of Subsistence Homesteads and later the Resettlement Administration. At the same time, independent activists promoted self-sufficient living in small communities. Ralph Borsodi, a zealous advocate of self-sufficiency, formed what he called the School of Living. Arthur Morgan similarly promoted all kinds of small communities as an antidote to the ills of the day; the intentional communities of mid-century owe much to his leadership. As always, independent visionaries appeared with their own communal solutions to the ills of the day. The most prominent of them in the 1930s was Father Divine, whose followers considered him God in the flesh and who lived by the thousands in Divine's "heavens," as the communities were called.

The 1960s and 1970s

The era from the early 1960s through the mid-1970s saw the greatest outpouring of communal living that the country has ever seen. Mostly young persons affected by the cultural and political upheavals of the day banded together in huge numbers and formed thousands of urban and rural communes. Such early examples as Tolstoy Farm, an anarchist enclave in eastern Washington State (founded 1963), and Drop City, an art colony outside Trinidad, Colorado (founded 1965), offered exciting new lifestyle visions and opened their doors to all who would come. In 1966, Lou Gottlieb, a member of the Limeliters folk-music group, opened his 31-acre Morning Star Ranch north of San Francisco to one and all, and there soon ensued a veritable flood of communes on the West Coast. By about 1967, communes were turning up everywhere. They came in many styles and lived by many philosophies. The largest of them all, the Farm, founded in 1971 near Summertown, Tennessee, embodied the spirit of the day in classic form. Led by Stephen Gaskin, an eclectic spiritual teacher whose outlook embraced, among other things, the use of psychedelics, Farm members were strict vegetarians who eschewed modern conveniences and dedicated themselves to building a new society and helping the less fortunate.

Coming as they did at a time of sweeping social change, the 1960s communes saw a good deal of social experimentation. Many of them tolerated, or advocated, the use of drugs, especially marijuana and LSD. Unconventional patterns of sexual conduct were widely embraced, although practice probably was not as flamboyant as theory. Rejection of the values of mainstream society was bedrock.

Amid the countercultural communes that got a great deal of attention in the press were a good many religious communities, some with rigid standards of belief and behavior. The Shiloh movement, the Children of God, and many others took in thousands of earnest young Christian believers—and often were the focus of a good deal of controversy for their alleged tight control of their members' lives and their intense

spiritual energy. Other communal groups grounded in Asian religions—the International Society for Krishna Consciousness; the Unification Church—were similarly intense and similarly controversial. But many of them continue to exist today.

By the end of the twentieth century, two new, or at least newly named, types of communities were occupying important niches in the larger fabric of communitarianism. One was cohousing, usually found in urban or suburban locations, in which clustered homes were built in a way that allowed owners as much privacy or community as they chose. They had complete (but small) individual homes as well as shared facilities, which typically included workshops, child-care facilities, tool sheds, guest rooms, and a kitchen and dining room large enough for the whole community to use. The other was the ecovillage movement, whose communities were usually located in rural areas and sought to promote lifestyles that were cooperative, largely self-sufficient, and environmentally as benign as possible. Ecovillages often used alternative building technologies (such as straw-bale construction), engaged in organic farming, and tried to minimize energy consumption.

And so the story continues. Hundreds of intentional communities from the American past are still active. Reba Place (founded in 1957 in Illinois), Twin Oaks (1967, Virginia), Jesus People USA (1974, Illinois), the Celo Community (1937, North Carolina), and a host of others are all quite alive and well. They stand as a testimony to the human imagination and to idealism. Their members put their lives and fortunes on the line to affirm what they saw as the essential humanity of all. Historically, communities have often been short-lived. Still, the tendency for the communities to break apart fairly quickly has not deterred new generations of seekers. As long as optimism remains in the human race, intentional communities will be with us.

Timothy Miller

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Ethical Culture Movement

Founded by Dr. Felix Adler in 1876, Ethical Culture is a religious, educational, and social movement. The early history of Ethical Culture developed in response to the evils wrought by the industrial revolution. With a twofold commitment to both theory and practice, Ethical Culture has sought to anchor its social activism in moral ideals and a critical understanding of the sources of human oppression.

In accordance with a predominant current of nineteenth-century thought, Adler interpreted religion as an evolving phenomenon. He aimed to bring religion into modern times by creating a movement exclusively committed to ethical ideals, while eliminating supernatural belief and unscientific practices. Human dignity and interdependence lay at the heart of Adler's ethics. The mission of Ethical Culture then and now is to expand and deepen reverence for the worth of others as a vehicle to underscore one's own. It works to make primary the ethical factor in all relationships of life, ranging from the family to society, and ultimately the international arena.

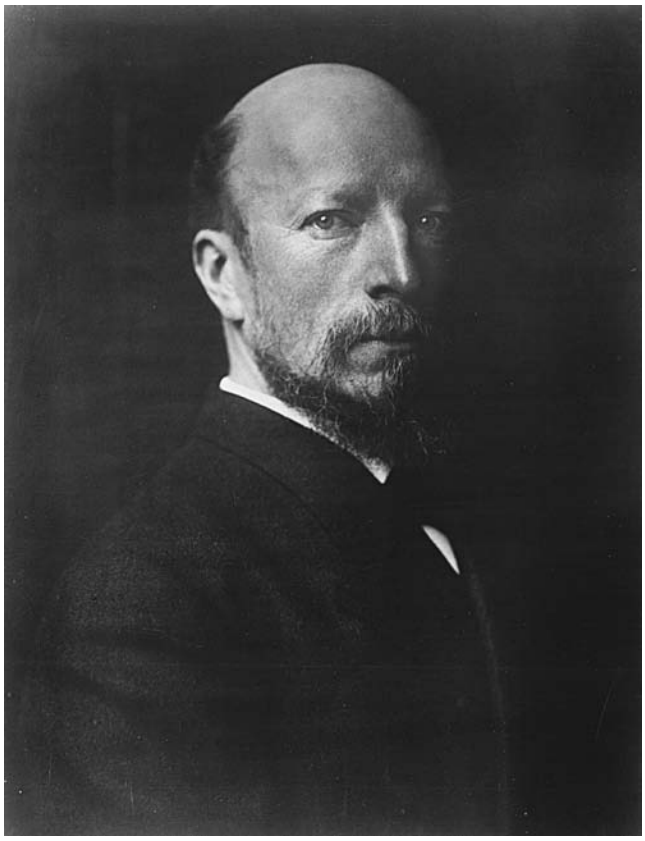
Ethical Culture Philosophy

On its philosophical side, Ethical Culture was born in what the historian of religion Sidney Ahlstrom has called "the Golden Age of Liberal Theology." It was a period in which religious thinkers were compelled to respond to Darwinism and its implication that man evolved by natural processes, and so lacked a special status conferred by divine creation. Science had great prestige in the nineteenth century, and liberal theologians sought to validate their religious speculations by harmonizing them with the scientific spirit and discoveries of the age. Adler was among these modernizers but remained troubled that science, which adequately described physical processes, could not sanction the absolute worth of the person. With Ethical Culture, Adler sought to create a new religious movement that would be "ultra-scientific without being anti-scientific."

Three major influences informed Adler's philosophy. Adler received his doctorate from the University of Heidelberg in 1873 and was greatly influenced by the moral and idealistic philosophy of Immanuel Kant, whose ethical thought he transformed in a more organic and social direction. Through creatively reworking Kant's concept of the "reality-producing processes of the mind," Adler found the transcendental reality by which to ground the absolute worthiness of the person.

Adler immigrated to the United States in 1857 at the age of six. He became inspired by the American democratic experience for which Ralph Waldo Emerson was a major spokesperson. Emerson had called for the emergence of a "purely ethical religion" in America, and Ethical Culture can be understood as a realization of Emerson's hopes. Adler also drew from Emerson's transcendentalism in his own construction of a spiritual universe, but paralleling his critique of Kant, he found Emerson's ideal of the "over soul" not sufficiently social.

Adler's background in Reform Judaism provided the third major influence on his thought. Adler's father, Rabbi Samuel Adler, who played a major role in liberalizing Judaism in Germany, later served as the second rabbi at the newly established Temple Emmanuel in New York. The Reform Judaism of the late nineteenth century was dedicated to the concept of "ethical monotheism" and was permeated with ideals of progress, rationalism, and universalism drawn from the European Enlightenment. The German Jewish community in America could be characterized by its meteoric economic success, a commitment to building social welfare institutions, and its desire for equality in Protestant-dominated America. Adler and many of his early followers who came from Reform Judaism reflected these cosmopolitan, high-minded sensibilities that were to animate Ethical Culture in its formative period. Ethical Culture attracted families identified with the German-Jewish elite who had



Born in Germany in 1851, Felix Adler established the Society for Ethical Culture in New York City when he was twenty-five years old. The Ethical Culture Movement emphasized the importance of moral values and judgment regardless of a supreme being. *(New York Society for Ethical Culture)*

prospered in the professions manufacturing and banking. Among them were Joseph Seligman, Lionel Sutro, Joseph Price, Henry Morgenthau, and Louis Bamberger.

Although Adler preached his own brand of ethical idealism from the Ethical Culture platform, he emphasized that Ethical Culture was founded on total freedom of conscience in matters of ultimate belief. This freedom, and Ethical Culture's dedication to social justice, were often expressed in the slogan "diversity in the creed, unanimity in the deed." For both Adler and his followers, religious devotion needed to be expressed in and through the world of social realities, with a view toward progressively transforming them by the light of the ideal. Adler referred to this work as "social reconstruction," implying that it was neither revolutionary nor simply reformist. In practical terms, much of the early work of Ethical Culture reflected a top-down approach to social change in which many of Adler's well-positioned followers were inspired to improve the conditions of the disadvantaged.

Ethical Culture and Social Reform

Ethical Culture was among several influential social reform movements that flourished in late nineteenth-century urban America and attracted an extraordinary cluster of talented visionaries and organizers. Among figures who were within the orbit of Ethical Culture in its early phase and worked with it toward common goals were such luminaries as Jacob Riis, Jane Addams, Lillian Wald, Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, Thomas Davidson, William James, and Walt Whitman. Samuel Gompers, the founder of the American Federation of Labor, was an enthusiastic member of the New York Society for Ethical Culture. Adler anticipated the Christian Social Gospel movement through his early emphasis on the moral dimension of Jesus' teaching. Like the Social Gospel movement, Ethical Culture was committed to applying religion to social reform, especially in the cities. Both movements were open to accepting new knowledge gleaned from the social sciences as an adjunct to liberal faith.

The problems of labor and industrial society consumed the passions of Adler and his followers. Endemic poverty, crowded, substandard housing, child labor, and deficient schools were among the problems these social reformers confronted. For some twenty years Adler had named "the social or labor question" as "the chief moral question of the day." According to Horace Friess, Adler's biographer,

> It was the growing edge of a new stage of society that he [Adler] saw in the general state and future prospects of industrial workers. It was a concern for the entire education and development of the workers, for their homes and families, their life structure and it was concern, as well, that they have a voice in the making of economic decisions. These economic, intellectual, and moral dimensions led Adler to view "the liberation of labor" as of crucial ethical moment to all society.

Within its first two years, Ethical Culture undertook several projects in the service of its mission that became characteristic of its approach to social reconstruction. In 1877, Ethical Culture hired several nurses to visit the poor in their homes and dispense their services free of charge. This program of "visiting nurses" later became a component of New York City's

health services and was permanently organized through the work of Lillian Wald and the Henry Street Settlement.

Around the same time, Ethical Culture established the first free kindergarten for the working poor on the Lower West Side of Manhattan. The Workingman's School eventually grew into an eight-grade elementary school, and then a high school, which, in contrast to the public and elite private schools, was dedicated to a progressive pedagogy of industrial education in which theory would be combined with practice. This early effort reflected Adler's lifelong commitment to education as a primary vehicle for social reform. The Workingman's School became the Ethical Culture School as members of Ethical Culture enrolled their own children and so diversified its class character. Adler's elaborated vision for the school, his "Fieldston Plan" (named for the area of the Bronx where the school was located), included prevocational training along with a broad liberal arts education. Though never fully realized within the confines of a single school, it did serve as a blueprint for such "magnet schools" as the High School of Music and Art and the Bronx High School of Science, among other outstanding components of New York City's public education system.

In the 1880s, as new waves of European immigration brought destitution to America's cities, Adler became a vocal member of New York State's Tenement House Commission. He advocated for humane, healthful living conditions, and he challenged the subterfuges of exploitative landlords, as he argued that profits on rent above 3 percent should be condemned as usury. His work with this state program inspired him to found the Tenement House Building Company, with E.R.A. Seligman, economist at Columbia College and Ethical Society member, as president. By 1887, the company had built six model tenements, which eventually benefited 3,500 families, on Cherry Street on New York's Lower East Side. These early projects reflected Ethical Culture's mode of activism in which, under Adler's inspiration, with the support of benefactors, the society would establish institutions that evolved to take on lives of their own, as their origins in the Ethical Movement receded to the background.

Expansion and the Settlement House Movement

In the 1880s, Adler recruited four professional lieutenants who moved Ethical Culture beyond New York City. William Mackintire Salter, S. Burns Weston, Walter Sheldon, and Stanton Coit came from liberal Protestant backgrounds. After pursuing graduate studies in Germany at Adler's behest, they respectively became the founding lecturers (later called "leaders") of Ethical Societies in Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, and London, England.

In those urban venues, they continued the work Adler had begun in New York City. Weston devoted himself to settlement house work in Philadelphia, while Sheldon, building upon the traditions of freethinking Germans who had settled in the St. Louis area, created the Self-Culture Halls Association that replaced the educational work of the settlement houses without their emphasis on direct social action. In Chicago, Salter, concerned about legal representation for the poor, helped to found the Bureau for Justice, which in time evolved into today's Legal Aid Society.

Although the Settlement House movement is usually associated with Lillian Wald and Jane Addams, the first settlement house in the United States, Neighborhood Guild, today known as the University Settlement, was founded by Coit in New York in 1886. Based on a British model, and together with Madison House and the Hudson Guild, it marked Ethical Culture as a pioneer in this influential effort to teach immigrants American values, train them in needed job skills, and provide venues in which newcomers could learn the habits of democratic self-governance.

Adler's interest in childhood development went beyond the confines of formal education. Inviting new advances in children's psychology, the New York Society initiated the Visiting and Teaching Guild for Crippled Children and the Mothers' Society to Study Child Nature, the latter growing into the Child Study Association. Adler combined his interest in children with his analysis of the labor problem in his long presidency of the National Child Labor Committee, which he helped to found in 1894. Adler railed against the powerful commercial and industrial interests that exploited children in factories while denying them education. With the documentary assistance of the famed photographer Lewis Hine, Adler's committee paved the way for early legislation protecting the rights of the child.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, there was no religious leader more sympathetic to the cause of labor in New York City than Felix Adler. Though he supported the trade union movement and its demands, his critique went far beyond advocacy of bread-and-butter issues. Adler believed that the labor movement was pivotal to bringing society to a new

stage of development. But as an idealist he averred that without the intellectual and moral education of both owners and workers, the movement limited itself to the materialism he saw represented by both capitalism and socialism.

Vocationalism and Women's Rights

Never a barricades activist, Adler possessed a temperament that found its expression in theoretical exposition, precise and eloquent oratory, organization, and mediation. In a series of twelve lectures given at the Summer School of Applied Ethics in Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1894, Adler produced his most elaborate assessment of the labor problem. These lectures, which Adler considered his finest work, brought together scholars, among them Woodrow Wilson, as well as activists to discuss conditions and remedies of the labor problem.

At the center of Adler's commitment to labor was his theory of vocationalism. This meant that the worker needed to be fitted to his specific task to ensure that his or her work would serve as a vehicle for authentic personal growth. Moreover, in a way consistent with the organic character of all of Adler's ethical theorizing, each vocation needed to stand in right and mutually fruitful relations with other callings.

In 1910, the commitments of Ethical Culture were challenged when the garment trades called an industrywide strike involving 75,000 workers. Significantly, Ethical Culture members took leadership roles on both sides of the mediating process. Ethical Culturist Julius Cohen served as lawyer for the manufacturers, while Henry Moskowitz, who joined Adler in professional leadership in 1907 and helped to found Madison House, worked tirelessly with his wife, Belle, to help reach a solution. Moskowitz called upon department store magnate A. Lincoln Filene, whose interests had been adversely affected by the strike. Filene, a fellow Ethical Culturist, in turn prevailed upon a young Boston lawyer, Louis Brandeis, to serve as arbitrator. Brandeis, Adler's brother-in-law, served under Adler's chairmanship of the Council of Conciliation, which grew out of the strike settlement.

Adler, in a way that expressed his Victorian values, did not support women's suffrage, asserting that it would worsen an already faulty electoral system. Although he supported separate social spheres for women and men, he nevertheless advocated for women's education and the need to learn a trade as a hedge against spousal abandonment. Despite his conflicting views, Adler recruited as a colleague the Unitarian Anna Garlin Spencer, in 1894. Spencer was a suffragist, pacifist, and vice president of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Unable to find a satisfying professional place in Ethical leadership, she resigned her position ten years later to become a founder of Columbia University's School of Social Work.

New Leadership

The year 1894 also saw the entry of John Lovejoy Elliott into the ranks of Ethical Culture's leadership. Elliott was chosen to become Adler's successor as the senior leader of the New York Society, upon Adler's death in 1933. Adler and Elliott provided a study in complementary contrasts. Elliott, who hailed from Illinois, came from an abolitionist family with deep Midwestern roots. While Adler was philosophical and aloof in his personal relations, Elliott immersed himself in the grit of human experience. Never a high-minded orator, Elliott's personalism exemplified a new style of Ethical Culture leader as social worker.

Elliott chose to live in the proletarian, rough-and-tumble neighborhood of Chelsea, on New York's Lower West Side among the Irish immigrant poor. Believing in the inherent goodness of the common man, he was committed to helping the powerless learn to help themselves.

Elliott's work centered on building the Hudson Guild Settlement, which brought him into daily contact with the destitute, youth gangs, and criminals. With financial assistance from Ethical Culture's uptown members, Elliott was able to build printing shops and create an employment bureau, a model tenement of its own, and a 500-acre farm in western New Jersey.

Through his prominence and success as a spokesperson for the disadvantaged, Elliott developed notable associations and friendships, which he used to good advantage. Frequently, he would appeal to New York's mayor Fiorello La Guardia or Eleanor Roosevelt to help win bail or a pardon for a prisoner whose case he was championing. Elliott's intercession on behalf of imperiled individuals took him to Berlin in 1938 to help secure the release from the Nazis of Dr. Wilhelm Boerner and Walter Eckstein, leaders of the Vienna Ethical Society. This experience inspired the New York Society to establish programs to help refugees adjust to American society while supplying them with needed food and clothing. Out of this work grew the Good Neighbor Association, a national effort with Elliott as chairman, New York Society member James Hart as executive, and Eleanor Roosevelt as honorary chairman. Though well launched, the asso-

ciation's work was cut short in 1941 by America's entry into World War II.

Through his productive career, Elliott bridged two worlds: He was a beloved figure to members of Ethical Culture and its young people, and a local hero to the poor on whose behalf he so arduously labored.

The Movement Declines

Elliott's style and commitments came at a time of change in the class character and philosophical underpinnings of Ethical Culture in the decades preceding Adler's demise. Idealism, which had been the regnant philosophy in nineteenth-century Europe, reached a dead end on America's shores, to be replaced by variants of naturalism, instrumentalism, and pragmatism. William James and John Dewey were the major exponents of this distinctly "American" approach in philosophy, inspiring former leader Edward Ericson to observe that Ethical Culture was "the movement that Adler built and Dewey, through his followers, so quickly inherited." With this shift in ground, Ethical Culture began to assume the mantle of a "humanist" organization, a term Adler shunned for its emphasis on human ends devoid of the spiritualizing dynamics inspired by transcendental ideals.

As new immigrants found their way to Ethical Culture, Adler's idealism simultaneously receded. The movement became a broad tent under which liberals, agnostics, atheists, Socialists, and activists could find a welcoming home. Adler's death also spurred a problem of succession and focus for the Ethical Movement, as preoccupation with institutional concerns grew, while the self-confidence characteristic of Ethical Culture in early path-breaking decades began to diminish. The social mission of Ethical Culture continued nevertheless as the defining center of its identity and activity.

Ethical Culture's Achievements

Although its precise origins are somewhat vague, there can be no doubt that Ethical Culture played a pivotal role in the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909. Elliott, Spencer, Salter, and Moskowitz were signatories of the NAACP's founding charter and represented Ethical Culture's early interest in race relations. Adler, who was a frequent lecturer at black colleges, organized the world's first international conference on race, held in London in 1911. Adler himself was one of the two American delegates to that conference; WE.B. Du Bois, the great African-American intellectual and activist, was the other.

Roger Baldwin, who was first introduced to Ethical Culture in St. Louis and later affiliated with the New York Society, founded the American Civil Liberties Union in 1920 as a response to government repression during the Palmer Raids and to render support to conscientious objectors to World War I. Elliott was a key participant in the ACLU's founding group, initiating a long-standing relationship between the two organizations.

Between 1893 and Adler's death in 1933, sixteen new individuals entered leadership, full or part time, to carry forward Ethical Culture's mission. Most of these leaders, such as David Muzzey, a noted historian who taught at Columbia University for many years, and Percival Chubb, who worked in Societies in England, New York, and for decades in St. Louis, distinguished themselves as educators and orators. Another activist to be added to the list that included Elliott, Spencer, and Moskowitz was Henry Neumann. Neumann became a leader of the Brooklyn Society in 1911 and served the Ethical movement professionally as a much-beloved personality until his death in 1966. Neumann, whose pacifism had caused rifts in the Ethical movement during World War I, was not less committed throughout his life to advocating for democratic socialism in the mold of Norman Thomas.

It was the youngest of the new generation of leaders recruited under Adler's tutelage who would go furthest in identifying Ethical Culture with progressive social change in the mid- and late decades of the twentieth century. Algernon D. Black, a son of working-class Russian Jews, was born in 1900. Educated at the Ethical Culture schools and receiving his B.A. in economics from Harvard, Black personified an activism that blended moral idealism with a strong economic analysis of social injustice.

A man of dynamic and charismatic presence and grandiloquent oratory, Black became synonymous with Ethical Culture for uncountable thousands who heard him from the Ethical platform and for decades as a commentator on New York's WQXR radio station. Although his activist commitments ranged broadly, Black became identified primarily with the causes of racial justice, workers' rights, affordable housing, civil liberties, and antifascism, and he was a forceful paragon of the democratic left in America, the Cold War era, and the civil rights movement. Though never a strong institution builder within Ethical Culture, Black taught ethics for four decades at the Field-

ston School, and his skills as a storyteller helped to mold the values of generations of children.

In the 1930s, Black spoke out forcefully against fascism in Spain, as he did against the Nazi onslaught in Europe several years later. Often a polarizing force in a movement hesitant about ideological zeal, Black supported a Worker's Fellowship in the New York Society, which many suspected had been infiltrated by the Communist Party in the 1940s.

Typical of Black's activism was the early assistance he gave to striking silk workers who were trying to organize in Paterson and Lodi, New Jersey. In 1941, Black became the founder and chairperson of the Citizens Committee for Harlem, and he was a prime mover in the development of the New York State, and later, the National, Committee Against Discrimination in Housing. Black served for years on the board of the NAACP and became vice president of the organization in 1950.

Both the leadership and laity of Ethical Culture have found the cause of civil liberties close to the center of the movement's commitment to preserving human dignity and freedom. Black, who had worked on behalf of labor with Roger Baldwin, served for years on the board of the American Civil Liberties Union, as John Elliott did before him, and as colleague Sheldon Ackley would later. His dedication to civic activism was duly recognized when Mayor John Lindsay of New York appointed Algernon Black as the chairperson of the controversial and short-lived Civilian Police Review Board.

No project reflected the scope of Black's political vision and the depth of his humanism more than the creation of the Encampment for Citizenship. In the mid-1940s, Black initiated the Work Camps for Democracy, which blossomed into the Encampment for Citizenship soon after World War II. Infused with the energies of suffragist Anita Politzer and the enthusiastic endorsement of Eleanor Roosevelt, the Encampment served as a radical experiment in democratic living and action in the years before the dawn of the modern civil rights movement. The Encampment brought together in a residential setting first college-age and then high school students from different racial, ethnic, and class backgrounds for classes and workshops in progressive community action. Classes and workshops were held in various sites in the United States, and participants were invited to Hyde Park, New York, to meet with Mrs. Roosevelt. For fifty years, the Encampment nurtured distinguished alumni of its own, including the activist congressman Allard Lowenstein; David Rothenberg, guiding light of the ex-prisoners' support organization the Fortune Society; Simeon Golar; and Eleanor Holmes Norton. Golar and Norton would become commissioners for human rights in New York City, and later Norton served as Washington, D.C.'s, nonvoting representative to Congress.

The role of Ethical Culture in providing a voice against the repression of the McCarthy era cannot be overstated. According to a movement historian, Howard B. Radest, "When McCarthyism was at its height, the New York Platform was one of the few places where public criticism was heard." Black's protest was the most outspoken of all, but he was joined in denouncing the Red Scare by Neumann and his colleague in New York, the liberal Deweyan Jerome Nathanson.

During the 1960s, Ethical Culture plied its work on the progressive landscape, in civil rights, in organizing against the American war in Vietnam, and in safeguarding civil liberties. Primarily through its national organization, the American Ethical Union, Ethical Culture continued to support public education, the separation of church and state, the rights of nontheistic conscientious objectors, and women's rights, and was especially active in securing a woman's right to a safe and legal abortion. Often this work was carried forward in coalition with kindred organizations, such as the Unitarian-Universalist Association and the American Humanist Association.

In the last decades of the twentieth century and into the current one, the cutting edge of Ethical Culture as a social movement has been more difficult to sustain. Unlike its golden period in the nineteenth century, many human services that it had pioneered have been absorbed by government programs, especially since the decades of the New Deal and the Great Society. Moreover, peopled primarily by middle-class professionals today, Ethical Culture lacks the formidable financial resources it once claimed, while volunteer activism has become broadly characteristic of the contemporary American ethos.

Although the history of Ethical Culture is most readily recounted through the initiatives of its illustrious individuals, it has always been a congregational movement, fulfilling the social and religious needs of its members and associates.

Today, Ethical Culture remains a progressive redoubt standing against the irrationalism and intensive subjectivism of the postmodern era. Its thirty societies in the United States serve as vital communities for humanists sensitive to the pressures of excessive consumerism in American life. Through its moral ed-

ucation programs for children, its humanistic ceremonies celebrating the life passages of birth, marriage, and death, and its enduring emphasis on the primacy of ethics and human dignity, Ethical Culture remains a distinctive and significant movement on the American landscape.

As Ethical Culture looks to the future, it rests upon a proud historical legacy. As the only "religion of humanity" founded in the nineteenth century to endure into the twenty-first, Ethical Culture, though never claiming more than 6,000 members, has served as a pioneering "gadfly" movement in American social history. Through its platforms, schools, camps, and numerous social institutions it has founded but which have achieved independent lives of their own, Ethical Culture has improved the well-being of countless thousands, while inspiring many more to live meaningful lives of deeper moral and social commitment.

Joseph Chuman

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Health Food Movement

Characteristics of the Health Food Movement

From its origins in the nineteenth century, the American health food movement has been loosely organized and diverse in character. Some scholars argue that the movement is more accurately described as a consumer lifestyle consisting of the similar yet disconnected food choices of millions of individual shoppers. On the contrary, the historical and contemporary significance of the health food movement is much more meaningful than the creation of a mere "market niche." The health tradition, in fact, has a long history of activist leaders and committed followers, cogent belief systems and ideologies, a network of organizations, independent businesses, and corporations that distribute nutritional information and health food products, and increasingly, millions of adherents whose everyday food choices are informed by ethical, environmental, political, and nutritional considerations.

Several important trends have marked the health food movement from its inception. The health food tradition is rooted in three major American reform movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Its leaders, ideologies, and organizations emerged during the Second Great Awakening, became popularized and institutionalized from the late nineteenth century through the Progressive Era, and matured in the wake of the cultural and political upheavals of the l960s and 1970s. The contemporary cultural climate and political issues of these major reform eras determined the character of health reforms in each period. For instance, Protestant reformers such as William Metcalfe, "moral physiologists" including Sylvester Graham and William A. Alcott, and new religious sects such as the Seventh-day Adventists led by Ellen G. White and James Harvey Kellogg preached a message of health for morality and salvation, giving the movement a distinctly religious and ethical tone during the nineteenth century. Public health, sanitation, and disease prevention occupied the attention of health reformers during the Progressive Era. The cultural and political radicalism of American youth, their critique of mass, homogenized food production, and their concern for the environment intertwined to inspire and popularize the natural foods movement of the 1960s and 1970s.

Health reformers in every period have been both reactionary and visionary. Consistently throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, they critiqued America's food production and distribution system, challenged conventional medical doctors, and questioned the authority of scientific experts to decide matters of health, nutrition, and healing. Health reformers have just as often offered idealistic, ethical, and moral visions for individual and societal reform. Arguing that the solution to societal ills lay in cultivating the relationship between physical health, spiritual well-being, and human potential, health reformers in every period have optimistically searched for a holistic way to maximize human performance. Eating certain healthy foods and abstaining from others, they believed, could result in a physically healthy and spiritually enlightened society. By the end of the twentieth century, environmentally minded health food advocates argued that by choosing carefully the foods they consumed, Americans could live their politics "365 days a year, three times a day," contributing to personal vitality while taking social responsibility in an interdependent global community.

The "Christian Physiologists" and the Holistic Tradition

The nineteenth-century American health food movement emerged from the religious revivalism of the Second Great Awakening. Reformers like the Protestant minister William Metcalfe, temperance and health

food advocate Sylvester Graham, and physician William A. Alcott encouraged Americans to follow dietary restrictions and other hygienic reforms (temperance, loose clothing, fresh air, exercise) as part of a plan for improved moral, spiritual, and physical health. Their ideas about health were rooted in the common belief that caring for the body, "the temple of God," was a sacred, religious duty. Historians consider these three "Christian physiologists" to be the founders of the American health food tradition.

Metcalfe, an English immigrant and founder of the Bible Christian Church in Philadelphia (1817), was one of the first reformers to argue for a direct correlation between food choices and spiritual health; in addition, he brought vegetarianism to the United States through his sermons and his book *Abstinence from the Flesh of Animals* (1827). In 1830, Metcalfe hired temperance reformer Sylvester Graham (1794–1851) to lecture at the Bible Christian Church. Combining his teachings on temperance with Metcalfe's proscriptions for health, Graham developed a regimen for healthy living based on strict dietary and hygienic guidelines. He claimed that all "stimulation" was potentially health threatening and warned Americans to avoid "flesh foods," alcohol, tea, coffee, spices, and frequent sex; the proper diet, Graham contended, consisted of wheat bread and grains, fresh fruits, vegetables, and nuts. Graham was especially critical of commercially processed breads, arguing that greedy bakers contaminated bread with "bean flour, peas and potatoes, chalk, pipe clay, and the plaster of Paris." Instead of purchasing bread in the market, Graham advised Americans to bake their own whole-grain "Graham bread." His holistic teachings, more secular than religious in nature, became so popular that contemporaries labeled them "Grahamism."

Although Graham's name became synonymous with the early health food movement, he did not work alone. His contemporary and cohort, Connecticut physician William A. Alcott (1798–1859), played an important role in the movement, warning Americans to stay away from "stimulating" foods, especially meat. Influenced by his cousin Amos Bronson Alcott, who founded the vegetarian commune Fruitlands, William Alcott argued that a "vegetable diet lies at the basis of all reform, whether civil, social, moral, or religion." In approximately 100 publications on diet, health, and ethics, he steadfastly advanced his simple argument: you are what you eat! Alcott warned Americans that "diseased food causes disease in the people who use it."

Graham and Alcott proactively advocated self-responsibility for disease prevention and health, but their philosophies also represented the popular reaction and disgust that Americans held for the painful and ineffective conventional medical treatments of the day, such as blistering, bleeding, and purging. It is likely that the broad appeal of the Christian physiologists relied on their ability to synthesize useful practices from both conventional and alternative medicine and offer the public more choices for health care. For instance, Graham and Alcott combined ideas from Shradrach Ricketson's *Means of Preserving and Preventing Disease* (1806) and botanist Samuel Thomson's *New Guide to Health; or Botanic Family Physician* (1822); they also incorporated homeopathy and hydrotherapy into their teachings.

In 1837, Graham and Alcott took the first steps toward institutionalizing the health food movement. They founded the American Physiology Association to promote holistic health reforms and established a health food store that sold Graham bread, fruits, nuts, and vegetables grown in "virgin, unfertilized soil." They also sponsored "physiological boarding houses," requiring tenants to follow a vegetarian diet, sleep on hard beds, take cold baths, and exercise moderately.

Institutionalizing the Health Food Movement

As Grahamism reached the apex of its popularity at mid-century, American reformers supplemented its holistic philosophy with hydrotherapy (water treatments that included bathing, exercising, massage, and sweating). Joel Shew, a New York physician, opened the first hydropathic establishment in 1844, and by 1870, 200 "water-cure" institutions existed in the United States. The most important of these resorts, Our Home on the Hillside, opened by James Caleb Jackson (1814–1895) in Dansville, New York, offered visitors a combination of Grahamism, hydropathic cures, and social activities such as lectures, concerts, dances, and plays. Our Home also marketed a line of health foods, including a coffee substitute, Graham bread, and Granula—a nonperishable alternative to Graham bread.

One of the most important visitors to Our Home was Ellen G. White, a founder and prophetess of the Seventh-day Adventist Church (SDA). White had begun to incorporate the ideas of the early Christian physiologists into the doctrines of the SDA church by the late 1840s, but after a visit to Our Home followed

REVIEW OF *HYDROPATHY; OR THE WATER CURE*

Hydropathy, or the water cure, became a popular medical treatment in the mid-nineteenth century. Joel Shew began his hydropathic practice in 1844 in New York and a year later expanded his practice to New Lebanon Springs, New York. Shew was a prolific writer and contributor to many publications on hydropathy and water cures.

10. *HYDROPATHY; or the Water Cure: Its principles, processes and modes of treatment*. Compiled in part from the most eminent authors, ancient and modern, on the subject. Together with an account of the latest methods adopted by Priessnitz, & c. By Joel Shew, M.D. Third edition. John Wiley, 161 Broadway.

Hydropathy, as a curative science, has certainly made greater progress in the last few years than has either Allopathy or Homeopathy, and we think for the general preservation of health, as well as a remedy for most disorders of the system, its growing reputation is deserved. That the medical science has been so backward in improvement in an age when all others have made such rapid advances, may be taken as evidence of the existence of some radical error in principles, and want of confidence in its professors—certain it is, that when personally afflicted, none show so great distrust of the efficacy of remedies they daily prescribe others, as physicians themselves. That many acute diseases will temporarily yield to a certain course of treatment, and that experience in relation to the physical condition of the patient as a guide to the application of those remedies seems to be the sum total of medical science as it exists. Beyond that there is no help in medicine. How helpless does the profession appear in the presence of the prevailing epidemic, which now for the third time is devastating the country! That Hydropathy, which eschews all drugs, is the true system, we do not assert; on the other hand, with many constitutions it does not agree at all. In very many, however, it is of great service, and few can read the work of Dr. Shew without being attracted by its merits.

Source: "Hydropathy; or the Water Cure: Its Principles, Processes and Modes of Treatment. By Joel Shew, M.D." *The United States Democratic Review* 25:133 (July 1849).

by several prophetic visions on health, White convinced her parishioners to fund and build the Western Health Reform Institute in 1866 (later renamed the Battle Creek Medical and Surgical Sanitarium). Destined to become the leading scientific institution of the health food and vegetarian movements, the San (commonly used name for this first Seventh-day Adventist health institution in Battle Creek, Michigan) functioned in obscurity until 1876, when Dr. James Harvey Kellogg (1852–1943) assumed leadership, announcing that the institution would become a "university of health" where "people learn to stay well." To fulfill this mission, Kellogg established an experimental kitchen at the San where he churned out the nation's first popular cold breakfast cereals—Granola and Sanitas Corn Flakes, a palatable peanut butter, and high-protein meat substitutes like Battle Creek Steaks and Battle Creek Scallops. Through institutions like the Battle Creek San, which had hosted 300,000 visitors by 1943, including President William Howard Taft, J.C. Penney, and Montgomery Ward, SDAs institutionalized, popularized, and legitimized the health food movement of the nineteenth century, creating an infrastructure of research institutions, hospitals, and health food stores staffed by experts trained in health and nutrition.

Noting the popularity of the health food movement in his book *Eating for Strength* (1888), Dr. M.L. Holbrook wrote: "In no period of the world's history has there ever been so deep an interest in the subject of foods as at the present. . . . It would almost seem as if the time had nearly arrived when mankind would eat to live, would feed themselves so as to nourish their bodies most perfectly and render themselves capable of the most labor, and least liable to diseases." Holbrook's reference to food as the basis of worker efficiency and disease prevention signaled a turning point in the movement as Progressive Era health reformers, armed with scientific expertise and a determination to bring order to America's burgeoning immigrant-industrial cities, turned to public health issues such as sanitation, disease prevention, and regulation of industrial food production. By the 1930s, the holistic health message of Grahamism and the Christian physiologists, though institutionalized by the SDA Church, had faded into obscurity in the mind of the American public behind the harsh realities of world war, a decade of cultural liberalism, and the Great Depression.

JOHN HARVEY KELLOGG (1852–1943)

John Harvey Kellogg, a leading advocate of healthy living and nutrition, was born on February 26, 1852, in Tyrone, Michigan, to John Preston Kellogg and Anne Jeanette Stanley, devout Seventh-day Adventists. In 1866, at the Health Reform Institute, Kellogg was educated in the water cure, known as hydrotherapy, which he later rejected. After receiving medical training at Bellevue Medical College in New York and becoming a medical doctor, Kellogg became editor of the Seventh-day Adventist monthly, *Health Reformer*, renamed *Good Health* in 1879. Dr. Kellogg returned to Michigan and in 1876 became superintendent of the Battle Creek Sanitarium.

Kellogg developed a "biologic living" dietary approach that was based on the notion of "natural living," vegetarianism, asceticism, and abstinence. Later, with his brother Will, Kellogg produced and marketed corn flake and rice flake cereals sold through mail order. The company, initially known as Sanitas Food Company, grew dramatically. Conflicts between the two brothers led to a formal split in 1906. Despite legal challenges, Will gained rights to the renamed W.K. Kellogg Company, which would become a multinational cereal company. John, less successful in his business than Will, established the Battle Creek Food Company, which sold a variety of health foods, including coffee substitutes and soybean-derived milk. By 1907, Kellogg was excommunicated from the Seventh-day Adventist Church because of his independence of thinking and differences over his business ventures. A prolific writer, Kellogg actively participated in the eugenics movement, founding the Race Betterment Foundation. Kellogg died at the age of ninety-one on December 14, 1943. At the time of his death, Kellogg held more than thirty patents for food products and various exercise, diagnostic, and therapeutic machines.

Immanuel Ness

THE "COUNTERCUISINE"

By the mid-twentieth century, the health food movement consisted of a few institutions, such as the SDA church, local vegetarian societies, and determined individuals such as J.I. Rodale and Adelle Davis. Generally referred to as "health nuts" in the popular culture, they kept the movement alive until the late 1960s, when America's youth, swept up in a maelstrom of cultural and political radicalism, recognized that "the personal is political," consciously reconsidered their food choices, and reinvigorated the health food movement.

The SDAs continued to play an important role in the health food movement throughout the twentieth century by establishing research institutions such as Loma Linda University, health food corporations like Worthington Foods, the vegetarian restaurant chain Country Life, and numerous publications on health and nutrition. Independent health food stores served similar functions in communities across the nation; distributing health food products, including meat substitutes, teaching interested Americans about alternative food choices, and serving as community centers for health food advocates.

Although they were dismissed as "crackpots" and conspiracy theorists by scientists and the medical professionals during the 1950s, pioneering health food reformers such as J.I. Rodale and Adelle Davis continued to criticize America's system of "unnatural" food production and encouraged consumers to search for alternatives. Rodale, founder of the Rodale Press and publisher of *Organic Gardening and Farming* and *Prevention*, lambasted mechanized monoculture agriculture and decried the use of dangerous agrochemicals in food production. Americans, he argued, should turn to "organic farming": a system of sustainable agriculture that acknowledged the ecological interdependence of soil, plants, animals, and people. Davis, also a critic of food production, argued that food corporations were poisoning Americans with dangerous additives like cyclamate.

Most Americans refused to hear the warnings of these "health nuts." Although Rodale preached organic and Davis warned about the dangers of additives, middle-class Americans baked casseroles with canned soups, enjoyed canned vegetables and processed cheeses, and gobbled down convenience foods—a Swanson's TV Dinner of turkey and stuffing could be had for only ninety-eight cents. Most important, Americans "cooked out" and consumed massive amounts of meat: sales of outdoor cooking equipment had topped 30 million dollars a year by the mid-1950s, and meat consumption rose from 121.7 pounds per year in 1930 to 160 pounds per year in 1970.

As historian Warren Belasco has written in *Appetite for Change: How the Counterculture Took on the Food Industry, 1966–1988* (1989), "In the late 1960s, young cultural rebels began to turn against mainstream foodways" to develop a countercuisine. The counterculture's experimentation with health foods began with a rejection of standardized, fabricated, convenience

foods like canned vegetables, Tang, Carnation Instant Breakfast, and Pringles, in favor of fresh fruits and vegetables, whole grains, beans, brown rice, and yogurt. Finding grains, rice, and beans in bulk at natural food stores and cooperatives, scooping out what one needed, and labeling the product fit well with the youth culture's search for eccentric, "authentic" experiences. At the same time, the product diversity, absence of brand names, and minimal packaging became a means by which to reject mass food production and homogenized supermarkets like Safeway, Giant, and A&P. Between 5,000 and 10,000 food cooperatives opened between 1969 and 1979, grossing an estimated $500 million per year.

The countercuisine became increasingly politicized after 1970 as activists considered the consequences of diet for American society and the environment; radicals criticized food production, and extremists such as Dick Gregory suggested a connection between poor diet and American intervention in Vietnam. Events at People's Park, an oil spill off the California coast, smog alerts in Los Angeles, news stories on DDT and cyclamates, and Paul Ehrlich's book *The Population Bomb* (1968), which predicted soil erosion, worldwide famine, and nuclear war from "runaway food and population pressures," catapulted environmentalism to the top of the radical agenda. Francis Lappé's *Diet for a Small Planet* (1971), in turn, directly linked food choices to environmentalism by explaining the global ecological consequences of a meat-based diet. Lappé argued that the nation's vegetable protein crops (grains and soy beans) should be consumed directly by humans instead of stock animals. Explaining that "an acre of cereals can produce five times more protein than an acre devoted to meat production; legumes can produce ten times more; leafy vegetables fifteen times more," Lappé claimed that by adopting a more agriculturally efficient vegetarian diet, Americans could alleviate world hunger. Lappé's hope that collective personal choices could make a social impact, her evidence that a vegetarian diet was nutritionally adequate, and her collection of recipes inspired and guided a generation of vegetarians and health food advocates. Dick Gregory, in *Dick Gregory's Natural Diet for Folks Who Eat: Cookin' with Mother Nature* (1973), argued that diet was at the root of America's foreign policy problems: "I think one of the reasons we have so much overweight and overeating in these United States is that America is insecure. In her security, America raids the refrigerators of Southeast Asia, wipes out the pantry of Latin America, munches and snacks on the freedom of people all over the world."

Mainstreaming the Movement

By the mid-1970s, the values and consumer preferences of the counterculture had become a powerful political lifestyle, defining health foods as foods with no synthetic ingredients, minimal processing, in as close to a whole and natural state as possible. As a result, the counterculture laid the foundation for the growth of the multibillion-dollar natural foods industry. Mo Siegel, founder of Celestial Seasonings Corporation, was one of the first "hip" capitalists to turn the tastes and philosophies of the countercuisine into big profits. His company had its beginnings in 1969 when Siegel, a nineteen-year-old hippie, and his friends conjured their first blend of teas called "Mo's 36 Herb Tea" in a barn outside of Boulder, Colorado, packaged it in hand-sewn muslin bags, and sold it to the Green Mountain Grainery—one of Boulder's health food stores. The success of hip entrepreneurs like Siegel depended on their ability to appeal to counterculture values by marketing their companies as socially useful and morally legitimate institutions. Siegel, for example, advertised his company's mission statement—"to create and sell healthful, naturally oriented products that nurture people's bodies and uplift their souls, and to make the world a better place by unselfishly serving the public"—and it quickly paid off. In 1970, he earned $2,000; in 1973, the year that Celestial Seasonings incorporated, the company made a profit of $1.3 million; by 1978, the company employed 200 people and earned $9 million per a year.

The success of Celestial Seasonings and other hip health foods corporations represented the mainstreaming of the health food movement and the birth of the "Lifestyles of Health and Sustainability Market" (LOHAS), a $230 billion industry, in 2002. Several factors propelled the health food movement into mainstream American culture after 1980. Many medical doctors, including Andrew Weil, Dean Ornish, and Julian Whitaker, argued for healthy eating as a central component of preventative and alternative medicine, giving the holistic philosophies of health foods reformers the authority of scientific expertise. The American Dietetic Association officially endorsed vegetarianism in the 1990s, and the U.S. government replaced the four food groups guidelines, which had emphasized the importance of meat and dairy products, with the food pyramid, informing the public that a healthy diet consists predominately of vegeta-

bles, legumes, and fruit. Finally, Congress passed the Federal Organic Foods Production Act in 1990, and the United States Department of Agriculture implemented the legislation in 2002. At the core of the LOHAS market are 10 million vegetarians and 8,000 natural foods retailers, including the natural foods giants Wild Oats Corporation and Whole Foods Corporation. One-half of conventional grocers now carry organic foods, and Americans' fast-food choices include wraps, smoothies, and garden burgers. As the health food movement approaches full circle from its religious infancy through its grassroots adolescence to its current status as an important retail market, it faces many complex challenges heading into the twentieth century. As a progressive force in American society, health reformers must deal with new and pressing issues such as the genetic modification of food, the preservation of community-based organic farms and natural foods outlets, and the co-opting of natural foods concepts by multinational corporations.

Amy L. Scott

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COUNTERCULTURE MOVEMENT
1960s–1970s

Mention of "hippies" or "the counterculture" often conjures an image of long-haired young men wearing tie-dyed tee-shirts and young women dressed in "granny" skirts, smoking marijuana, enamored of rock and roll, and flaunting their sexual freedom to the dismay of their elders. This reduction of the counterculture to the hedonistic pursuit of "sex, drugs, and rock and roll" often obscures the complexity, diversity, and seriousness of the phenomenon. Scholars are only now beginning to examine the counterculture as an important form of social protest during the 1960s and 1970s.

LOCATING THE COUNTERCULTURE

What place should the counterculture occupy in the history of American social movements? Who were the "hippies," and what did they contribute to the panoply of movements for social change that arose in the 1960s? This question has proved difficult to answer because the counterculture was a diffuse phenomenon that defies categorical understanding.

The cultural radicalism of the hippies and the instrumentalist politics of the New Left originated among distinct populations of radical youth in the early and mid-1960s. However, hippies and New Leftists interacted intensely with one another during the mid-1960s, as youth radicalism grew exponentially on college campuses and in urban, bohemian enclaves. However, by the late 1960s, neither formation constituted a discrete population. So many New Leftists incorporated countercultural styles, projects (such as communal living), and analysis into their organizing efforts, and so many hippies likewise found themselves moved to participate in demonstrations and to speak out against the machinations of corporate America that the two formations became integral parts of a larger whole. Therefore, it is most accurate to say that the counterculture and the New Left became *tendencies* within a larger movement of Euro-American youth activists, known at the time simply as "the Movement." What, then, distinguished these two tendencies from one another?

The New Left took a materialist approach to the analysis of the problems of American society, seeing inequality and individual alienation as problems primarily of *structure*, and only secondarily as problems of individual *consciousness*. They adopted Marxism's insistence that individual beliefs and feelings derive from the way in which society organizes power, work, and resources. People who lack the resources to force other powerful people to heed their concerns *feel* powerless and insignificant because elites exclude them from participation in decision making about what should be produced, how it should be produced, and how valuable such work is to society as a whole. These fundamental "relations of production," in turn, structure all other social relationships, even those not directly pertaining to work. Accordingly, New Leftists sought to reverse these feelings of powerlessness by organizing poor people for united action.

Counterculturalists developed an analysis of America's social ills as originating primarily in the repressive organization of individual *consciousness.* In their view, inequalities of social structure figured more as the effect, rather than the cause, of the profound alienation from which all Americans suffered. For most citizens, the material abundance and technological sophistication of the post–World War II period seemed to confirm the power of science to explain the universe in rationalistic terms. Yet, hippies noted profound incongruities between public and private life. They argued that urban life alienated citizens of industrial civilization from the natural world, and thus from their own fundamental

These "hippies" gathering at a site in Sultan, Washington, on September 3, 1968, for the Sky River Rock Festival, find themselves dancing in mud created by heavy rains. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

nature as members of an animal species. Furthermore, they argued, the heavily bureaucratized routines and authoritarian structure of work, and the emotionally empty practice of modern religion, reduced human beings to what they regarded as a state of spiritual passivity.

To compensate for this alienation, advanced industrial society offered Americans the opportunity to participate in a consumerist regime, driven not by genuine demand, but by a propagandistic marketing apparatus. As a result, said the hippies, Americans lived in a conformist society, and one increasingly devoid of genuine beauty and opportunities to develop individual creativity. Furthermore, the deluge of consumer products and marketing messages, combined with the anxieties attendant to career and property ownership, made genuine alternatives to the status quo increasingly difficult to imagine.

The appropriate response, as hippies saw it, was to liberate the instinctual, human animal from the self-imposed repression attendant to "progress." The individual quest to recover their repressed, animal instincts, to experience spiritual ecstasy, and to infuse daily life with artistic beauty, generosity, and genuine fellow feeling, would prepare the individual to initiate new ways of organizing all of the facets of social life. The new, liberated society would rise spontaneously amid the old.

The Counterculture's Diverse Forms of Opposition

Hippies agreed widely on the need for the liberation of consciousness. However, they never reached consensus on the best means by which to accomplish that liberation. Two primary schools of thought about countercultural praxis emerged among the most committed cultural radicals.

Beginning in 1966, a group known as the Diggers became the most celebrated advocates of anarchism as the most effective means by which to transform the American consciousness. The Diggers defined freedom as the complete absence of imposed rules. They believed that imposed authority of any kind robbed individuals of the freedom to organize their lives according to the dictates of self-knowledge and experience. Imposed rules also robbed individuals of the *responsibilities* that came with freedom: to deal with others in complete good faith, honesty, and with brotherly generosity; to accept others' difference from oneself; and to accept the consequences that followed from one's choices.

The Diggers charged that Americans suffered from an unhealthy dependence on leaders and institutions to make choices for them. Americans, they said, also behaved hypocritically in their private lives—for example, proclaiming the sanctity of the family while practicing adultery. It would be better, said these hippie anarchists, to abolish *both* institutions and allow free individuals to negotiate relationships on a more authentic basis.

Most of the founding Diggers had been members of the radical San Francisco Mime Troupe. Dissatisfied with the Troupe's structure and practice, several members, including Peter Berg, Emmett Grogan, Judy Goldhaft, and Peter Cohon (later, Coyote), broke away to experiment with the application of theatrical techniques to the process of changing people's consciousness on a massive scale. Instead of presenting plays on a stage, which audiences could regard as fictions separate from the realities of everyday life, the Diggers proclaimed themselves "life-actors."

They practiced a theater of the streets in which there was to be no dividing line between the audience and the actors, and in which participants could experience, at firsthand, a utopian world in which goods changed hands without money and in which life-actors followed their own deepest impulses, and not a script written and directed by others. The Diggers regarded the hippies of the Haight-Ashbury district as a population who lacked only the Diggers' dynamic example in order to become the crest of a rising wave of liberated individual consciousness, which would gradually engulf all members of "straight" (unliberated, nonhippie) society.

Anarchist hippies, however, were a minority in the counterculture. More numerous were those who attempted to achieve the liberation of human consciousness through the disciplined practice of mysticism: the conviction that religious faith requires not only belief in God, but also the direct experience of complete union with the Godhead, achieved through a process of mental discipline. Mystical hippies sought to reverse what they regarded as the spiritual death encouraged by scientific rationalism. They cultivated a seemingly limitless variety of religious beliefs in their efforts to counteract advanced industrial civilization's loss of faith in the spiritual and the metaphysical.

For some mystical hippies, the search for complete union with the Infinite took the form of a commitment to an established religious tradition or collective, such as Krishna Consciousness, the monastic forms of Buddhism, or the youth-oriented Christianity of the Jesus People. Frequently, however, mystical hippies followed spiritual teachers who advocated a syncretic philosophy, borrowing and combining concepts from diverse religious traditions, old and new. In addition, countercultural mystics sometimes pursued union with the Infinite through use of the powerful mind-altering drugs, especially LSD.

As students of the counterculture, we must not discount (as some authorities did at the time, and as some still do today) the seriousness of purpose with which countercultural youth sometimes approached the use of such drugs. At the same time, we must also realize that the risks inherent in LSD use were not then fully understood. Even those who approached its use with great reverence and respect for its mind-altering power sometimes suffered disabling psychotic reactions, occasionally leading to suicide. Such outcomes were more likely among those who used the drug not for religious purposes but simply for the thrill of the experience.

Through their pursuit of direct connection with the Godhead, mystical hippies sought, as did the anarchist Diggers, to transform the consciousness of all human beings. Widespread spiritual enlightenment would, they believed, lead to the withering away of institutions and practices that promoted human alienation. In their place would arise new forms of community and society promoting the sacredness of human life and the natural environment, and empha-

sizing the spiritual dimension of life over pursuit of material possessions.

ORIGINS

Although participants in the counterculture often sincerely believed that they had created the forms of countercultural radicalism from whole cloth, historical analysis shows that their originality lay less in their creation of new cultural forms and more in their capacity to combine existing cultural forms in new and imaginative ways. According to historian Laurence Veysey, the division of the counterculture into anarchistic and mystical schools of thought followed a pattern evident, since the nineteenth century, in the American tradition of cultural radicalism. A brief examination of two major influences on the counterculture reveals the debt that its proponents owed to earlier generations.

Historian Timothy Miller has carefully traced some elements of hippie communalism to the Catholic Worker movement and the School for Living, both of which originated during the era of the Great Depression. The Beats, a movement of literary experimentation and social criticism during the 1950s, provided another link between the hippies of the 1960s and older forms of American bohemianism. Few in number compared to the counterculture, the Beats nevertheless bequeathed to hippies their oppositional stance toward mass culture and conventional morality; an admiration of, and identification with, the marginalized people who lived by their wits "on the street"; a rich vocabulary of slang that they had appropriated from African-American jazz musicians; and a fascination with Asian mysticism. From both the Beats and the avant-garde artists of the 1950s working in other media, hippies inherited the belief that inspired art could serve as a vehicle for discovering the repressed elements of the self, revealing heretofore unimagined possibilities for human relationships through the transgression of conventional limits and the questioning of conventional wisdom.

DEVELOPMENT

The first countercultural enclaves took shape in 1965, mostly in urban settings and in college towns. Each enclave developed according to its own timetable and cultivated a distinctive local character. The most renowned of the early enclaves was the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco. The Haight was home to many students and faculty members of San Francisco State College; and, after authorities forced the Beats out of the North Beach district in 1962, many migrated there in search of inexpensive accommodations. New coffeehouses sprang up; soon, new rock and roll bands appeared, such as the Grateful Dead and the Jefferson Airplane, which played the "acid rock" influenced by Ken Kesey's experiments with electronics and light shows as accoutrements enhancing the effects of LSD. "Head shops," offering drug paraphernalia, books on Asian philosophy, and whimsical handicrafts, began to occupy long-vacant storefronts.

By late 1966, a "New Community" had taken shape, with its own psychedelic newspaper, the *San Francisco Oracle*, setting forth a vision of social change through mystical practice, and a rival faction, the Diggers, urging residents of "Psychedelphia" to become "life-actors," and realize *today* their vision of a new society through immediate, concrete activity.

The rapid growth of the enclave caused considerable tension between hippies and long-time residents. Meanwhile, the national media sensationalized developments in the Haight, portraying it, alternately, as a paradise of love and idealism in a heartless, competitive society, or as a sinkhole of moral depravity, addiction, and violence. A tidal wave of youthful seekers descended on the neighborhood during the spring and summer of 1967, far exceeding the number that could have been successfully integrated into the community. Many established hip bohemians, including most of the Diggers, left the neighborhood in search of less crowded environs, to escape the rapid rent increases that followed on the neighborhood's popularity and to escape the escalating violence of the drug trade, which organized crime had rationalized and commercialized.

A belief in a coming apocalypse—that straight society was an environmentally unsustainable way of life and one suffering a crisis of legitimacy in the face of rising popular discontent—pervaded both the counterculture and the New Left by 1968. Some New Leftists responded to this expectation of impending apocalypse by aligning themselves—at least, rhetorically—with Third World, anti-imperialist movements abroad, and militant, antiracist movements at home. Law enforcement agencies responded with increased efforts to infiltrate, destabilize, and destroy movement organizations. Many hippies responded to the expected apocalypse by leaving the cities to establish rural communes, in which they hoped to create new lifeways that would flourish in the free social spaces of postapocalyptic America.

The Rural Diaspora

Counterculturalists founded thousands of communes from 1968 to 1975. Writing separately, Timothy Miller and sociologist Judson Jerome converge on a rough estimate that perhaps as many as 30,000 rural and urban communes existed in the early 1970s, with a population approaching a million persons. By any estimate, the 1960s and 1970s witnessed the greatest surge in communal experimentation in the history of the United States.

These communes varied tremendously in terms of their social organization, longevity, and population size. Although many communal groups of a dozen or so kindred spirits formed, and then vanished, during the course of a summer, leaving no trace of their existence, other communes proved remarkably resilient. Several of the best-known hippie communes overcame the long odds against longevity and still exist today, even if in much-altered form, including Twin Oaks, in Louisa, Virginia; The Farm, in Summertown, Tennessee; and Black Bear Ranch, in Siskyou County, California.

Longevity should not be misinterpreted as a measure of a commune's "success." As historian Donald E. Pitzer has persuasively argued, the communal sharing of resources usually constitutes only one stage of a social movement's life cycle, and if prolonged beyond the point of its usefulness, communalism can become a barrier to a movement's continued development. Longevity *does* indicate, however, hip communards' devotion to their chosen way of life, long after the time when the wave of commune foundings crested in the early 1970s.

Both hippie anarchists and hippie mystics founded communes. What sustained these new communities, and what was everyday life like within them?

The Social Relations of Countercultural Communities

Communards traded the security of steady income in the mainstream economy for the expected social warmth of collective life. Since cash was usually scarce, its conservation was essential to the survival of the commune. Furthermore, the countercultural critique of consumerism made a virtue of the simple life. Freed from the time constraints of regular jobs, many hippie communards found both pleasure and profit in the manual labor of raising and preserving food; repairing vehicles, clothing, and shelters; and scavenging building materials, auto parts, used clothing, and sundry household items from the enormous stream of waste created by the consumer economy. Support from federal and local welfare programs also figured into the bottom line of many communes (although some, like The Farm, refused all such aid on principle).

Land ownership frequently proved a vexing question for idealistic commune-dwellers. The anarchist influence on countercultural thinking questioned the ethics of individual land ownership, arguing that land was a resource that belonged to all. At times, this ethic led to the declaration of "open land," upon which anyone might erect a dwelling and claim membership in the community. Lou Gottlieb, the legal owner of one of the earliest open-land communes, Morning Star Ranch, attempted to divest himself of mastery over the land by deeding it to God—local authorities having found his property in violation of numerous zoning regulations. More often, however, communalists accommodated themselves to the realities of land tenure, renting farmsteads or large urban houses, or benefiting from the donation of property to the group by a member or outside benefactor. Just as surely as the gift of land (or successful completion of mortgage payments) could lend long-term stability and a sense of rootedness to a commune, the loss of land could mean the demise of the community when landlords or benefactors experienced a change of heart.

In addition to the economies of scale that communal living provided, and in addition to the savings realized through simple living, some hippie communes, urban and rural, identified niches in the commercial economy that they were uniquely suited to fill. One of the more successful practitioners of this variety of hip capitalism was the Twin Oaks commune, which developed a successful hammock-making business. Other communes proved less fortunate: The Farm, for example, invested heavily in an expansion of its commercial agricultural production in 1978, at precisely the time when commodity prices plummeted. Losses from this reversal, in addition to a host of other pressures, finally forced a reorganization of the commune in 1981.

Anarchist communards, like those who occupied Black Bear Ranch from 1968 to 1974, resisted all efforts to stabilize governance by resort to formal political hierarchy. Nevertheless, some communes developed sophisticated systems of governance and accounting, such as Twin Oaks' work-credits system. The mystically inclined hippies of The Farm developed a complex corporate and political hierarchy as their ranks swelled in the late 1970s. By the end of that decade, it had become the largest of all countercultural com-

munes, with a population of perhaps 1,500 and with members branching out to found satellite communes in dozens of other locations.

Most communes fell in between the extremes of anarchistic decentralization and large-scale bureaucratization. The organizational structure of the Johnson's Pastures commune in Guilford, Vermont, took a variety of forms over time, as a high rate of membership turnover left the property in the hands of successive groups of relative newcomers. Further adding to the commune's difficulties was a struggle for control of the property between the tightly disciplined followers of a charismatic spiritual leader and the freewheeling successors to the original communards.

Day-to-day governance in most hip communities generally proved to be a matter of face-to-face interactions, rather than the sophisticated coalition-building and calculated organization of an institutional power base that characterizes the life of bureaucratic institutions. Among the Diggers, many (but not all) of whom lived in communal houses in San Francisco, the group's direction was left to the initiative of individual members, who derived influence from their perceived "personal heaviness"—that is, their demonstrations of fidelity to the group's anarchistic ideals, ability to conceive of new group projects that were both ideologically and aesthetically compelling (they were, after all, skilled practitioners of the theater arts), and the articulateness with which they justified their actions. Later, many communal groups sought to reach decisions through the development of consensus—sometimes through the application of "encounter-group" techniques and sometimes through interminable meetings, in which a single obstinate member could thwart the process. Perhaps the single most frequent form of communal governance was the exertion of peer pressure, whether manifested in the negative, as the threat of ostracism, or in the positive, as a live-and-let-live attitude that regarded efforts to impose one's own views as contrary to the spirit of the community.

Although most scholars have focused on the governance of individual communes, Barry Laffan argued that the Johnson's Pasture community occupied a specific niche within a larger network of increasingly more specialized movement organizations in southern Vermont and western Massachusetts in the early and mid-1970s. In terms of recruitment, Laffan located Johnson's Pastures within a national circuit of places known, by word of mouth, to be hospitable to itinerant members of the counterculture. Simultaneously, the recruitment of members depended not only on the personal contacts of existing members, but, as the local counterculture grew more specialized and institutionalized in the mid-1970s, on the commune's reputation as a haven for "street hippies," drawing misfits who did not feel at home in other local groups. In short, over time Johnson's Pastures became a low-status commune in an increasingly status-driven regional network.

The entire range of human reactions to life in close quarters, from the most admirable to the most despicable, found its expression in the hippie communes. At their best, the communes fostered a sense of community and intimacy that was rare—and, indeed, continues to prove sorely lacking—in the atomistic modern world.

Class, Race, and Ethnicity

As the example of Johnson's Pastures suggests, the counterculture brought together youthful seekers from a range of class backgrounds. Among many residents of the Haight-Ashbury enclave, the Hell's Angels motorcycle gang enjoyed a reputation as outlaws willing to defend their autonomy from the depredations of corrupt "Establishment" authorities, including the police. For a time, several of the Diggers (whose members came from both white-collar and blue-collar families) maintained an alliance with the biker "heavies," and one of their number, Bill Fritsch, actually joined the Angels.

As the mass media of the time frequently remarked, many other members of the counterculture came from middle-class, and even wealthy, backgrounds. If the power of the counterculture resided more in the attractiveness of its ideas than in the strength of its numbers, then one reason was because it drew on the articulateness of both middle-class, university-educated youth and the insights of cultural radicals from decidedly less privileged backgrounds.

Several commentators have noted the prominence of youth of Jewish heritage in the countercultural population, which necessarily paralleled their prominence in the movement as a whole—for example, among white students who "went South" to participate in Freedom Summer in 1964. A significant number of residents at both Black Bear Ranch and The Farm hailed from Jewish families, as did, for example, several of the leading figures on the staff of the Haight-Ashbury's first psychedelic newspaper, the *San Francisco Oracle.*

One factor that brought so many of Jewish heritage into the counterculture was the prominence of many of their parents in the radical politics of the De-

pression era. In many cases, this created a family tradition of strong commitment to social justice. The counterculture, as one segment of the youth revolt of the 1960s, thus can be understood only partially as a revolt of "youth" against parental authority. Although many youthful radicals, including many hippies, did quarrel with their parents over the appropriateness of their chosen form of rebellion, this did not always lead to total and permanent estrangement. For example, the correspondence that passed between members of the Black Bear Ranch commune and their parents demonstrates that, in many instances, sharp conflicts were but one dimension of a larger and enduring intimacy.

If the counterculture was perhaps more diverse in terms of social class than once was thought, it remains quite evident that hippiedom held significantly less allure for people of color than for white Americans. Many participants at the time, and many scholars since, have attributed this phenomenon to hippies' embrace of voluntary poverty, a stance available only to the economically privileged. Hippies, so this reasoning goes, had renounced the material possessions that impoverished minorities had never been able to enjoy.

Yet, this analysis presumes that the material acquisitiveness of the predominantly white middle class of the time constituted the universal standard of human dignity—a presumption that, once articulated, clearly stands open to debate. This analysis also obscures the existence of distinct forms of cultural radicalism among people of color during the 1960s and 1970s. Although the political nationalism of groups such as the Black Panthers has received more scholarly attention than the contemporary movements of African-American and Latino cultural radicalism, we will better understand the historical context of the counterculture by placing it in the context of the diverse manifestations of cultural radicalism of a multicultural society.

Gender

The counterculture took shape during the years immediately prior to the advent of the women's liberation and gay liberation movements. Like nearly all people at the time, hippies simply presumed that what we today call gender—masculinity and femininity—derived directly from biological maleness and femaleness, even if society molded those raw characteristics into "sex roles" that reflected its particular values at a given point in history. Although the popular memory is of hippie men as "longhairs" relatively indifferent to the prescribed masculine "sex role" embodied by John Wayne, the counterculture regarded the recovery of "natural" masculinity and femininity as integral to its program of liberation. All hippies agreed that conventional sex roles were repressive, and they believed that the liberation of the consciousness of the individual would facilitate the regeneration of authentic manhood and womanhood.

Counterculturalists disagreed sharply among themselves, however, over the appropriate means and ends toward that goal. Hippies' ideals and practices regarding the recovery of authentic masculinity and femininity depended primarily on their commitments to anarchist or mystical forms of social change. Hip anarchists suspected conventional forms, such as monogamous marriage, the nuclear family, and private property, as the primary means by which modern society robbed individuals of their autonomy. Thus, their gender ideal celebrated the manliness and womanliness of the "outlaw" who disregarded conventional morality. They championed the sexual revolution as not only an end to unwarranted restraint on individual sexual choice, but also as a vehicle for a more general liberation from all forms of unjust authority.

Hippie mystics thought of freedom not so much as the absence of rules, but as the recovery of awareness of the laws of nature from the hubris of an advanced industrial society beguiled by scientific rationality. Through mystical practice, they sought to reconnect men and women to the metaphysical dimensions of self and cosmos, including the transcended forms of masculine and feminine "energy" often conceptualized as yang and yin. Some mystics supported the practices of the "sexual revolution" as a means of ecstatic union with the Infinite. Others, like the followers of Stephen Gaskin at The Farm, saw the sexual revolution as another instance of modern society's lack of appreciation for the power of women's fertility and maternal nurture. Gaskin advocated that men adopt a chivalrous, "knightly" reverence toward "ladies," expressed in a willingness to commit to lifelong monogamous marriage. Other mystics, such as practitioners of Krishna Consciousness, distrusted the body and sensual indulgence as distractions from the discipline necessary to achieve union with the Infinite. They advocated total sexual abstinence as the ideal.

When the women's liberation movement (and, for a time, elements of the gay liberation movement) articulated an analysis of gender as a political and social, rather than reflexively biological, phenomenon,

they called into question the dominant countercultural assumption that freewheeling sexual expression would return relations between women and men to their presumptively harmonious, "natural" state. Although some men and women in the counterculture (including, for example, a minority of the residents of Black Bear Ranch) embraced this analysis, and some vehemently rejected it, many more responded more selectively, adopting some insights and practices and discarding others.

At Black Bear, most men moved toward a more equal distribution of household labor after women residents began meeting as a group to discuss the inequities of the commune's sexual division of labor in 1971. It took much longer, however, for some Black Bear women to gain the necessary skills to participate fully in tasks, such as woodcutting, once regarded as men's work. Similarly, the radical-feminist analysis of sexuality as a political process prompted a few of the women residents of Black Bear to create a "women's house" and to experiment, tentatively, with lesbianism as a form of sisterly solidarity. But in the main, most women residents appear not to have found this alternative compelling.

Thus, although the counterculture quite justifiably drew some of radical feminists' and gay liberationists' strongest criticism, and although elements of the counterculture offered resolute resistance to that criticism, preliminary evidence indicates that many more hippies proved at least moderately willing to adapt to that criticism as part of their commitment to social change through the transformation of individual consciousness.

The Fading of the Apocalypse

The great wave of commune foundings crested in the early 1970s. At various points in time after 1968, however, members of the movement reassessed the earlier expectation of an imminent, apocalyptic collapse of straight society that would facilitate rapid social change. As sociologists Jack Whalen and Richard Flacks have shown, this reassessment often did not amount to activists' recantation of their radical beliefs. Rather, it entailed a modification of the timetable for social change. Increasingly, New Leftists and hippies now expected change to come slowly, over a period of generations.

In light of this reassessment, it made sense to seek a more stable livelihood, one that would sustain their activism over an entire lifetime. Some left the communes to resume interrupted education toward conventional careers, such as law, that might be utilized as a means of social advocacy. Others sought to establish unconventional careers, such as the practice of "alternative" medicine, that bore the strong imprint of the counterculture's efforts to infuse daily life with religious ecstasy.

Of course, not everyone left the communes that had become so important as an expression of the countercultural quest for liberation. Those who carried on the communal lifeway sought to strengthen the economic foundations and governance mechanisms of their communities so that they might serve as vehicles for the invention and preservation of alternatives that might find a wider acceptance in future generations.

Thus, although the counterculture might not prove as visible today as it was in its heyday, its influence has diffused into the larger society through the large numbers of ex-participants who, in innumerable ways, still seek to spread peace and justice through the transformation of individual consciousness—if sometimes by less flamboyant means than they did in their youth. And though less visible today than in decades past, the many communes and "alternative" practices that still thrive on the margins of American society also bear witness to the power and vitality of the countercultural critique of American society.

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American Buddhism

American Buddhism has undergone four developmental phases, evolving from a topic of intrigue and exoticism in the travel narratives "Oriental Tales" and critical missionary accounts of the early national period, to a religion imported and practiced predominantly by Asian immigrants during the nineteenth century, to a central component of an eclectic and trendy counterculture spirituality, and, finally, to a revered spiritual discipline for both Asian immigrants and American-born converts during the last four decades of the twentieth century. Including practitioners of the three major forms of Buddhism—Theravada (predominant in Southeast Asia), Mahayana (predominant in China, Korea, and Japan), and Vajrayana (predominant in Tibet and Mongolia)—American Buddhism is the result of a social movement forged by Asian immigrants and teachers, American converts, and sympathizers who found wisdom in the Dharma (the teachings of Buddhism's founder, Siddhartha Gautama, 563–483 B.C.E.). The history of Buddhism in America is as complex as the immigrant cultures and teachers who transplanted it and as diverse as the individuals who practice it. Yet four categories of analysis—orientation, encounters, exclusion, and passages—laid out by Thomas A. Tweed and Stephen Prothero in *Asian Religions in America: A Documentary History* (1999) provide the most compelling framework for understanding the forging of a uniquely American Buddhism.

Orientation 1784–1840

Americans, whose attention initially turned eastward with the intention of capturing lucrative Asian markets, have long been fascinated by the contrasts in worldviews and religious beliefs between the peoples of the East and the West. Americans, however, drew their first impressions of Asian cultures and religions from reading the culturally biased travel narratives of traders, encountering artifacts brought back from China, and perusing reports by missionaries who labeled Buddhists as spiritual degenerates and atheistic heathens. In addition, the popular, fictional work "Oriental Tales" of this period whose authors sought to portray the exoticism of Asian cultures, such as Benjamin Franklin's "A Letter from China," further informed Americans' opinions about Buddhism. As a result, Americans lacked a learned understanding of Buddhist traditions and beliefs. Hannah Adams's *A Dictionary of Asian Religions* (1817) constituted the most sophisticated treatment of Buddhism by an American writer of the period. Adams, in an effort to understand Asian religions without comparing them to Christianity, argued that Buddhism was a venerable spiritual discipline practiced by one-third of the world's population.

Encounters 1840–1924

Americans gained direct access to Buddhist teachings after 1840 when publications such as *The Dial*, the voice of Transcendentalists and advocates of religious liberalism, published translations of Buddhist texts, including portions of the *Lotus Sutra*. Influenced by *The Dial*'s translations of "Ethnical Scriptures," popular American writers such as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, and Walt Whitman included references to Buddhist traditions in their writings.

Anglo converts to Buddhism, however, were rare. By far the most important transmitters of Buddhist tradition to America during this time period were the Asian immigrants who transplanted their ethnic religions in the West Coast's booming cities. Between 1850 and 1924, 368,000 Chinese immigrants and 270,000 Japanese immigrants entered the United States. Chinese merchant societies set aside space for worship on the upper floors of their properties, and immigrants established makeshift "joss houses" (God houses) in which they practiced Chinese folk religions that blended elements of Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. San Francisco's Chinatown had at least eight temples by 1875, and historian Ferenc Szasz estimates

that Chinese immigrants had established 400 temples on the West Coast by 1900. Japanese Buddhists, led by Dr. Shuye Sonoda and Reverend Kakuryo Nishijima, teachers of the True Pure Land Buddhism, established the Buddhist Mission to North America (BMNA) in 1898. In an effort to demonstrate their Americanism during World War II, a time of persecution and hardship for Japanese Americans interned in prison camps, the leaders of the BMNA renamed their institution the Buddhist Churches of America.

Zen, the most influential form of Japanese Buddhism in America, was introduced at the 1893 World's Parliament of Religions: a seventeen-day conference of 200 international delegates, organized by American religious liberals, and held in Chicago in conjunction with the Columbian Exposition. Historians define the Parliament of Religions as a decisive event in the history of American religious pluralism. Indeed, the meeting marked the beginning of a Buddhism that reached beyond Asian immigrant communities and sparked a dialogue between Buddhist teachers and potential American converts. Contacts crucial to the growth of Buddhist institutions in America were forged at the meeting. Paul Carus, for instance, the most important Buddhist sympathizer of the Gilded Age and the director of Open Court Publishing Company, met Japanese Zen master Soyen Shaku and Anagarika Dharmapala, the Theravada Buddhist delegate from Ceylon.

The ties forged at the conference marked a turning point in American Buddhism. Shaku's student D.T. Suzuki moved to the United States, where he worked with Carus for ten years, translating the Buddhist texts published by Open Court. Dharmapala traveled across America lecturing at events set up by Carus, and Carus himself wrote more than sixty books following the conference. Carus, intending to popularize Buddhism in America, borrowed from the philosophies of Dharmapala and Suzuki to create a marketable American Buddhism. Dharmapala, in a speech titled "The World's Debt to Buddha," had already explained to an American audience the pragmatism of Buddhist thought and practice: "In the religion of Buddha are found a comprehensive system of ethics and a transcendental metaphysic embracing a sublime psychology. To the simpleminded it offers a code of morality, to the earnest student a system of pure thought. But the basic doctrine is the self-purification of man." Carus repeatedly employed Dharmapala's logic to argue that Buddhist doctrines fit well in a modern America characterized by progress, reason, and scientific expertise.

EXCLUSION 1924–1965

Although the 1893 World's Parliament of Religions pointed to a future of religious pluralism and transnational spiritual dialogue, it took place amidst a general atmosphere of intolerance toward Asian immigrants. Workers in the West who feared competition from Chinese laborers in mining, agriculture, transportation, construction, and small business, and middle-class reformers who believed there were ineradicable racial and cultural differences between Asians and whites had convinced Congress to pass the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, effectively stemming Chinese immigration and excluding Chinese from U.S. citizenship. American policymakers targeted Japanese immigration with the 1907 Gentleman's Agreement. Discriminatory immigration restriction based on national origins culminated in the First and Second Quota Acts of 1921 and 1924, respectively, which established quotas of fewer than 100 for both China and Japan.

As a result of federal legislation, the Asian immigrant populations in America stagnated, as did ethnic Buddhist organizations. By 1906, the Census Bureau counted only 62 Chinese temples and 141 shrines in twelve states. Yet Asian-born leaders, such as D.T. Suzuki, expanded the reach of American Buddhism by converting Anglo Americans. Asian leaders opened Zen centers in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, and New York, published books, and delivered lectures on the East and West coasts. D.T. Suzuki, the most well known and influential Buddhist teacher of this period, contributed to the fashionable "Zen boom" among American elites during the 1950s. He taught at Claremont Graduate School and Columbia University, helped establish the Cambridge Buddhist Association in Massachusetts, appeared on television, and was the subject of at least nine articles in the popular press. Suzuki's lectures and books appealed to a diverse group of American writers and thinkers, including Alan Watts, J.D. Salinger, Jack Kerouac, Allen Ginsberg, Gary Snyder, Trappist contemplative writer Thomas Merton, neo-Freudian psychologists Erich Fromm and Karen Horney, and the humanist psychologist Abraham Maslow.

PASSAGES 1965–Present

Intellectuals Frederick Spiegelberg and Alan Watts, American converts such as Gary Snyder, Beat writers Jack Kerouac and Allen Ginsberg, and Asian teachers Shunryu Suzuki and Chogyam Trungpa did much to popularize Buddhism as a viable spiritual alternative

in postwar American society. In fact, this diverse group ensured Buddhism's inclusion in the spiritual experimentation of the 1960s counterculture and the holistic approach of the human potential movement during the 1970s. In 1951, Frederick Spiegelberg, a Stanford professor of comparative religions, became the director of the American Academy of Asian Studies in San Francisco and invited the former Episcopalian priest and popularizer of Zen Buddhism Alan Watts to join the faculty. Under Spiegelberg's and Watts's leadership, the academy formed the center of the San Francisco Renaissance in the 1950s and 1960s, providing a welcoming intellectual and cultural space where the adventurous soul could explore his or her consciousness through such diverse vehicles as Asian religion, humanist psychology, experimental poetics, and popular drugs.

Jack Kerouac, the most famous of the Beat writers, attended lectures at the academy. In *The Dharma Bums* (1958), he captured the spontaneous experimentation that characterized the San Francisco scene in the 1950s and expressed the hope that Zen Buddhist practice might form the basis of a new spirituality in America society. Japhy Ryder, the central character whom Kerouac based on Zen practitioner Gary Snyder, exclaims:

> I see a vision of a great rucksack revolution thousands or even millions of young Americans wandering around with rucksacks, going up to mountains to pray . . . all of 'em Zen Lunatics who go about writing poems that happen to appear in their heads for no reason. . . . What we need is a floating zendo. . . . Yessir, that's what, a series of monasteries for fellows to go and monastate and meditate in, we can have groups of shacks up in the Sierras or the High Cascades or even Ray says down in Mexico and have big wild gangs of pure holy men getting together to drink and talk and pray.

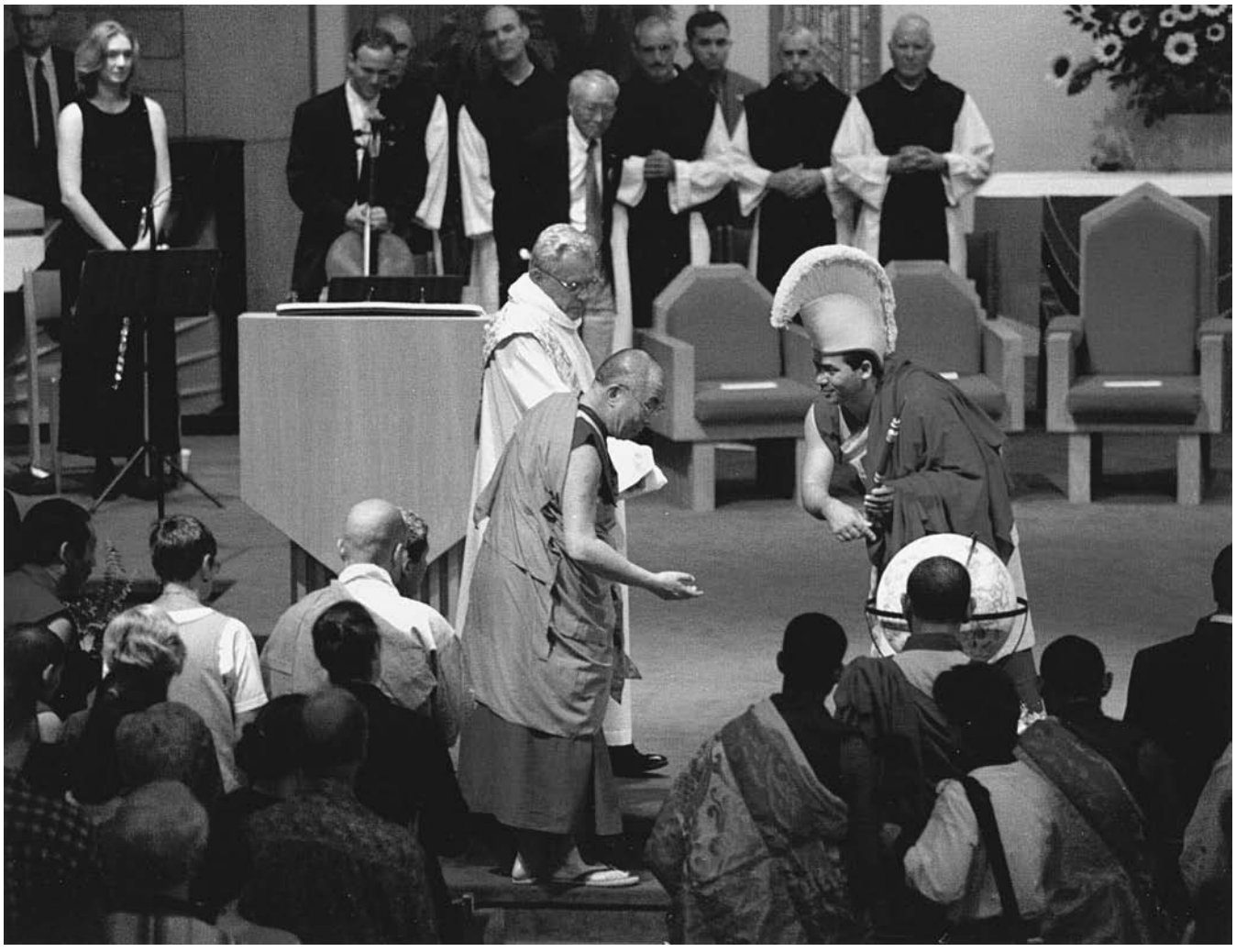
The teachings of Watts and Spiegelberg at the American Academy of Asian Studies and the popularization of Zen by Beat authors created a demand among Anglo Americans for instruction in Zen practice, prompting Shunryu Suzuki (1905–1971) to found the San Francisco Zen Center in 1962. With the founding of the San Francisco Zen Center, Tassajara Zen Mountain Center, and Green Gulch Farm in Marin County, California, American Buddhism became an institutional reality, offering American converts an unprecedented opportunity for advanced Zen training and a monastic regimen in the United States.

The institutionalization and popularization of American Buddhism escalated after 1965, when Congress passed the Hart-Cellar Act, abolishing the restrictive national origins quota system. Asian teachers, including Tibetan meditation master Chogyam Trungpa, immigrated to the United States. From his base of operations in the hip city of Boulder, Colorado, Trungpa did more than anyone else to shape the nature of Tibetan Buddhism in the United States, propelling the least known form of Buddhism before 1970 to one of the most popular in recent years. Aided by Beat poet Allen Ginsberg, Trungpa masterminded the establishment of the Buddhist-Poetics-Humanist Psychology community in Boulder, institutionalizing this hybrid counterculture spirituality into an experimental educational enterprise: the Jack Kerouac School of Disembodied Poetics (1974) and the Naropa Institute (1976), now Naropa University.

Trungpa had fled Tibet in 1959 after the Chinese government launched a campaign of ruthless oppression that eventually killed or drove into exile a third of the entire Tibetan population. After studying religion and mastering English at Oxford University, Trungpa established a meditation community in the Scottish Highlands. He felt at home in the mountains, but upon determining that "the Scots were slightly missing the point," Trungpa accepted an invitation to teach a religious studies course at the University of Colorado, moving his operation to Boulder in 1970.

Initially, Trungpa attracted students largely from the communes that surrounded Boulder. The new practitioners congregated at the Kharma Dzong meditation center, dropped acid, listened to Trungpa's lengthy lectures, and attempted to meditate on images from the *Tibetan Book of the Dead*. Trungpa and his student poet Allen Ginsberg concluded that, by combining the philosophy and practices of Tibetan Buddhism, the teachings of Humanistic Psychology, and the spontaneous poetic style of the Beats, they could fundamentally change the way students perceived the world.

Trungpa and Ginsberg became visible members of Boulder's growing counterculture community when they launched the Jack Kerouac School of Disembodied Poetics. Its first summer session offered courses and workshops in Eastern and Western disciplines of meditation, philosophy, psychology, poetry, creative writing, theater, dance, music, and visual arts. Prominent poets, artists, and scholars volunteered to teach that summer, including Allen Ginsberg, William S. Burroughs, Ann Waldman, Harvey Cox, Ram Dass, and Gary Snyder. Organizers of the school's first sum-



At St. Charles Borromeo Church in Bloomington, Indiana, a Buddhist monk greets the Dalai Lama on August 23, 1999. The Dalai Lama is the spiritual leader of Tibetan Buddhists, a branch of Buddhism that has attracted a large number of followers in the United States. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

mer session expected a maximum of 200 locals to participate in the workshop, but the prospect of enlightenment offered by Beat poets, hallucinogenic drugs, and Eastern religious gurus drew 2,000 people from across the nation.

Realizing the marketability of their alternative educational and spiritual experiment, Trungpa and Ginsberg founded Naropa Institute, a contemplative college that offered degrees in buddhist studies, Western psychology, and secular meditation. Instead of directing students toward a career path and a life of acquisitive materialism, Naropa would offer them a life of contemplation and service to the community. Required courses in Naropa's degree programs included spontaneous prose writing, history of the Beat poets, sensory awareness, body movement, transpersonal psychology, organic gardening, and insight meditation. In addition, Naropa's summer writing program continued to draw America's most famous radical poets and authors to Boulder. Beyond establishing Naropa Institute, Trungpa adapted traditional Tibetan teachings to American culture to meet the needs of his American students. In 1977, for instance, he developed Shambhala training, a secularized path to spiritual awakening based on meditation practice, and he established an international network of Shambhala Meditation Centers that together constitute the largest Tibetan organization in the Western Hemisphere.

The accretion of temples, universities, meditation

centers and retreats, publishing houses, and periodicals founded by Buddhist teachers and practitioners provided an institutional base for Buddhist Sanghas (communities) within America's diverse religious landscape, simultaneously popularizing aspects of Buddhist philosophy and spiritual practices to American consumers. In addition, American Buddhism continues to evolve as a social movement as "Engaged Buddhist" activists, inspired by world-renowned leaders like the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, Tibetan Tenzin Gyatso, and Vietnamese Zen Buddhist Thich Nhat Hanh, agitate for a politics that privileges environmentalism, social justice, world peace, and international human rights.

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9

Antiwar/Protest Movements

Introduction

When most people think of the American antiwar movement, the images that come to mind usually include the Vietnam War, student radicals, mass marches in Washington and New York, and the burning of draft cards. But antimilitarism in the United States has a long history that transcends the events of the 1960s. With roots in Christian pacifism and secular movements of political opposition that date back to the earliest years of American history, antiwar movements have grown and evolved to include a diverse constituency with a variety of political and religious beliefs and a wide range of strategies and approaches. The contemporary American antiwar movement represents the result of centuries of development and struggle.

Before there was a "movement," there were simply antiwar sentiments—brought over to the American colonies by members of the historic peace churches (the Quakers, the Mennonites, and the Brethren) and fostered by a growing colonial aversion to the carnage of the European imperial wars. Through the first half of the nineteenth century, pacifism largely remained the domain of personal religious witness. Antiwar protests, on the other hand, against wars like the War of 1812 and the 1846 Mexican-American War, grew out of the secular political divisions of their times. Although the influence of these two strains of American antimilitarism, political and religious, has varied since then, this distinction between principled pacifism and pragmatic antimilitarism continue as a defining feature of American antiwar struggles.

So, too, did the link between peace and social justice. Early-nineteenth-century pacifist leaders made the initial connection between these two concerns by building strong alliances with other antebellum evangelical movements for social and political change. The most visible merging of these efforts can be seen in the "nonresistance" policies advocated by members of the radical abolitionist movement led by William Lloyd Garrison. After the Civil War, women's rights activists took on the antiwar cause as part of their broad "maternalist" political agenda that defined women's Progressive Era reform. Bohemians, Socialists, and other radicals linked antimilitarism to the struggle for working-class solidarity before and during World War I, and responded to the political repression during those wartime years by fighting to defend basic civil liberties and constitutional rights. The antiwar movement of the 1920s and 1930s similarly linked its goals to those of the surging labor movement, while pacifists from the 1940s through the 1960s made concrete connections between their nonviolent protests against war and the developing black freedom struggle. Struggles for peace and fights for social justice have often gone hand in hand.

In spite of these strong threads of continuity, the history of the American antiwar movement is just as strongly marked by change. Before 1915, there were antiwar efforts, pacifist groupings, and antiwar organizations, but no organized protest movement had arisen in a form that people would recognize today. Most pacifists of the pre–World War I era focused on pursuing a style of individual "nonresistance" through personal acts of religious witness and fidelity. Secular antimilitarists, on the other hand, generally saw themselves as constructive political actors, but not as leaders of social movements. In fact, many of these antiwar advocates saw their work as supporting the status quo of American politics rather than opposing it. Indeed, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the most prominent American antiwar efforts were led not by pacifists or by dissidents, but by members of America's professional and business elite, who focused their attention on building institutional structures to mediate international conflict and promote global trade.

World War I changed everything. In response to

the carnage that defined the European conflict, a national, organized antiwar movement emerged in the United States for the very first time. This movement drew upon the initiative of Progressive reformers, women's suffragists, Socialists, pacifists, and radical activists and intellectuals. Its opposition to U.S. involvement in the war was both principled and pragmatic. But most significantly, the leaders of the World War I–era peace movement used the political skills and experiences they had gained in other struggles to create national political organizations capable of mobilizing vast numbers of people. In the years before the United States' 1917 entry into the war, they organized mass demonstrations for peace never before seen in this nation's history. Afterward, in the face of state repression and a national Red Scare, the number of antiwar advocates shrank but their efforts continued. In the process, activists created the framework for modern American antimilitarism: a mass-based movement standing in opposition to U.S. overseas policies and linked to progressive and radical struggles for social and political change.

The antiwar movement continued to evolve over the course of the twentieth century. Certainly, strategies changed. In the 1930s, for example, inspired by Mohandas Gandhi's organized resistance campaigns against British colonial rule in India, American activists began to incorporate the tactics of nonviolent direct action into their work for peace. Pacifist practice moved beyond the traditional doctrine of passive nonresistance—of simply refusing to fight—to include the more active Gandhian tactics of nonviolent resistance to war.

The political focus of antiwar efforts changed as well. The end of World War II forced pacifist and nonpacifist activists to turn their attention toward the threat of nuclear arms. Such efforts culminated in the massive "ban-the-bomb" movement of the late 1950s and early 1960s, which were then overshadowed by the increasingly militant and widespread opposition to the Vietnam War—the movement that most people think of when then they think of "the American peace movement." Although the mass base of the Vietnam War–era antiwar movement was unprecedented, it was built on the leadership and example of those activists who had come before to wage a far-reaching and persistent fight against U.S. Cold War policies. Activists in the decades since have used the experiences and lessons of the 1960s to continue the struggle against nuclear weapons, the American culture of violence, and U.S. military intervention overseas. The recent mass protests throughout the nation against the United States' unilateral war on Iraq represents simply the latest evolution of the movement's broad antiwar agenda.

As the essays in this section show, perhaps the most striking characteristic of the American antiwar movement is its longstanding diversity: in goals, in membership, and choice of political tactics. Over the course of its history, American antiwar efforts have embraced people from a variety of political and philosophical backgrounds—from absolute pacifists opposed to violence and war of any kind to individuals politically opposed to specific wars, to social and political reformers intent on finding constructive ways to promote peace. Members of these movements have spanned the political spectrum from right to left and have often linked the antiwar struggle to other campaigns for social change, including abolitionism, antipoverty crusades, and struggles for women's rights. This diversity of purpose has been a source of weakness and strength. At times, as during the 1930s and 1960s, this range and variety helped create a vital and broad-based movement with significant political impact. At other historical moments, these differences created deep divisions that undermined efforts to build and sustain political influence and support. At almost all times, antiwar efforts have been minority campaigns of dissent that operated from the margins of national politics and culture. Nevertheless, the antiwar movement has played an integral role in America's protest tradition, reflecting the nation's values and perspectives even as it has worked to challenge and reform the meanings of patriotism and loyalty in American life.

Marian B. Mollin

Antiwar Movement: Overview

Antiwar movements in the United States have historically embraced people from a variety of political and philosophical backgrounds—from absolute pacifists opposed to violence and war of any kind to individuals politically opposed to specific wars, to social and political reformers intent on finding constructive ways to promote peace. Members of these movements have spanned the political spectrum from right to left and have often been linked to other struggles for social change, including abolitionism, antipoverty crusades, and both early and contemporary struggles for women's rights. This diversity of purpose has been a source of both strength and weakness. At times, as during the 1930s and 1960s, this range and variety has helped to create a vital and broad-based movement with significant political impact. At other historical moments, these differences have created deep divisions that undermined efforts to build and sustain political influence and support. At almost all times, antiwar efforts have been minority campaigns of dissent that operated from margins of national politics and culture. Nevertheless, the antiwar movement has played an integral role in America's protest tradition, reflecting the nation's values and perspectives even as it worked to reshape and reform some of the most basic assumptions of American life.

Pacifism and Antimilitarism in Early America

Although the antiwar movement as we know it today did not emerge until the cataclysmic years of World War I, pacifism and antimilitarism have a long heritage in the history of American political dissent. Pacifism came to colonial America through the historic peace churches, the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) and Anabaptist sects like the Mennonites and the Brethren, and until the twentieth century pacifism was primarily religious in orientation. Building on the Christian principles of loving one's enemy and turning the other cheek, religious pacifists adopted a stance of "nonresistance" by resolutely upholding the biblical injunction against killing. This position most obviously required refusing to bear arms or join the military. Nevertheless, it did not automatically imply engaging in active resistance to war. Instead, the traditional nonresistant pacifist was expected to submit to violence even as he or she refused to participate in it.

It is important to differentiate between principled pacifism and the more pragmatic political efforts individuals and groups have made to influence U.S. foreign policy and international affairs. In fact, when looking at the early history of American antimilitarism, one is struck by how little pacifism influenced antiwar efforts at all. According to historian Charles DeBenedetti, the Revolutionary struggle for independence, for example, arose in part as a response to a growing cultural revulsion to militarism. Antiwar sentiments grew out of the evangelical religious revivalism of the First Great Awakening and the intellectual currents of Enlightenment thought, and by the mid-1700s had begun to shape Americans' ideas about their involvement with the larger world. Colonists spoke out about wanting to break from the seemingly endless cycle of European wars and to protect themselves from the threat of tyranny posed by British soldiers on colonial soil. Even though Revolutionary War leaders embraced the need for armed resistance to British imperial power, many still described their ultimate goal, in the words of Thomas Paine, as "peace for ever." Those who opposed the Revolutionary struggle, on the other hand, largely opposed it for political, not antimilitarist, reasons. Loyalists supported the British Crown and believed that resistance to colonial rule would endanger the health of American society overall. But, like their patriot counterparts, they were more than willing to take up arms. Antimilitarist and antirevolutionary beliefs did not preclude waging war in battles for independence.

Religion and Pacifism

There was a Revolutionary War–era pacifist movement, but its emphasis was on religious constancy, not political protest. This was a difficult stance to uphold, even for members of the historic peace churches. Many did not necessarily oppose the war per se, but they overwhelmingly refused to fight, often at great risk to their personal well-being. A number lost property or faced physical persecution for their stance. Most simply tried to live their lives as best as they could according to their faith. For many, this meant turning inward into their religious communities and isolating themselves from the larger outside world. Others, like the Friends, chose to take on a more activist role by providing aid to noncombatants caught in the wake of war, and thus began a long tradition of Quaker social reform.

The distinctly nonpacifist nature of early American antiwar protest similarly characterized opposition to the War of 1812. Relations with England, never particularly good after the Revolutionary War, turned overtly hostile in the early 1800s as the repercussions of the Napoleonic War began to be felt on North American soil. But the decision to declare war on Britain reflected not only frustration with British policies, but also the increasingly partisan divisions that had come to characterize American political life. Thomas Jefferson's political heirs, the Democratic-Republicans, were among the most vocal war hawks of the time. They fondly recalled France's support of their own revolutionary movement a generation before, and they considered themselves ideological brothers to Napoleon's own revolutionary crusade. To declare war on France's enemy thus seemed logical and just. But to the Federalist opposition, mostly New England merchants who depended upon the trans-Atlantic trade and who had strong cultural and economic ties to England, the war was a tragic mistake. They feared that it would bring American commerce to a halt and create an irreparable schism between the United States and what Caleb Strong, governor of Massachusetts, emotionally referred to as "the nation from which we are descended." When President James Madison brought the declaration of war to Congress, not one New Englander voted in support.

Federalist opposition did not stop there. Antiwar sentiment was widespread, especially in the Federalist stronghold of New England, where it reached its peak in 1814. Resistance to the war took many forms, from the public speeches of prominent leaders who decried Anglo-American hostilities to the refusal of New England financiers to purchase war bonds, to public demonstrations among common people reminiscent of the Revolutionary War–era street actions that had undermined British colonial rule. The revolt of the Federalists and their sympathizers culminated in the Hartford Convention of 1814–1815, when Federalists gathered to complain of the federal government's disregard of New England's interests, discussed the possibility of seceding from the Union, and then crafted a public statement that elaborated their grievances about the war.

These acts of protest did little to impede the actual conduct of the war but led almost directly to the downfall of the Federalist Party. A victim of bad timing, the Hartford Convention's statement of dissent came out just as the war came to an end, with Andrew Jackson's symbolic but triumphant victory over the British at the Battle of New Orleans. Although the results of the war were ambivalent at best, nationalists couched the conflict as a second War of Independence and denounced the antiwar Federalists as traitors. With that, the Federalists' political fate was sealed. Their antiwar stance had cost them political influence and power. As a political party, they ceased to exist.

The Nineteenth-Century Peace Reform

Antiwar sentiments, on the other hand, persisted and spread over the course of the nineteenth century. War continued to be a touchstone for domestic political divisions, most notably in the case of the Mexican-American War. But the nature of peace advocacy also changed as the evangelically based antebellum reform movements gave birth to a nonsectarian strain of pacifism, distinct from that of the historic peace churches but similarly rooted in a principled opposition to violence of all kinds. By the late 1800s, the peace reform had evolved to yet another stage. Peace advocates, influenced by both Gilded Age and Progressive tendencies, embraced the goals of rationality, practicality, and an activist state over spiritual and moral reform. Their focus shifted as they worked to create institutions to prevent and mediate international conflict. Growing efforts to link the emerging struggle for women's rights to the antiwar cause augmented the movement's focus. Together, these ingredients laid the groundwork for the birth of a recognizably modern American peace movement.

The most dominant form of antebellum antimilitarism grew directly out of the religious revivalism of the early 1800s known as the Second Great Awaken-

ing. Newly inspired converts quickly translated their religious zeal into action as they organized Bible tract societies, temperance campaigns, antiprostitution crusades, and antislavery associations, seeking to address the social ills of nineteenth-century American life. This movement similarly inspired the men who founded the nation's first two peace organizations in 1815: the New York Peace Society and the Boston-based Massachusetts Peace Society. As David Low Dodge, founder of the fledgling New York society typically proclaimed, "All who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity cannot but ardently desire that wars may cease." The pursuit of peace, he believed, not only would save Americans from the scourge of war, but would turn them away from the temptations of vice, bringing them ever closer to the kingdom of God. Mirroring the strategies of other evangelical reformers, antebellum peace advocates emphasized persuasion and conversion, and recruited volunteers to distribute literature and organize public lectures. Though small in number, they abided in the belief that they could convert society to their aims.

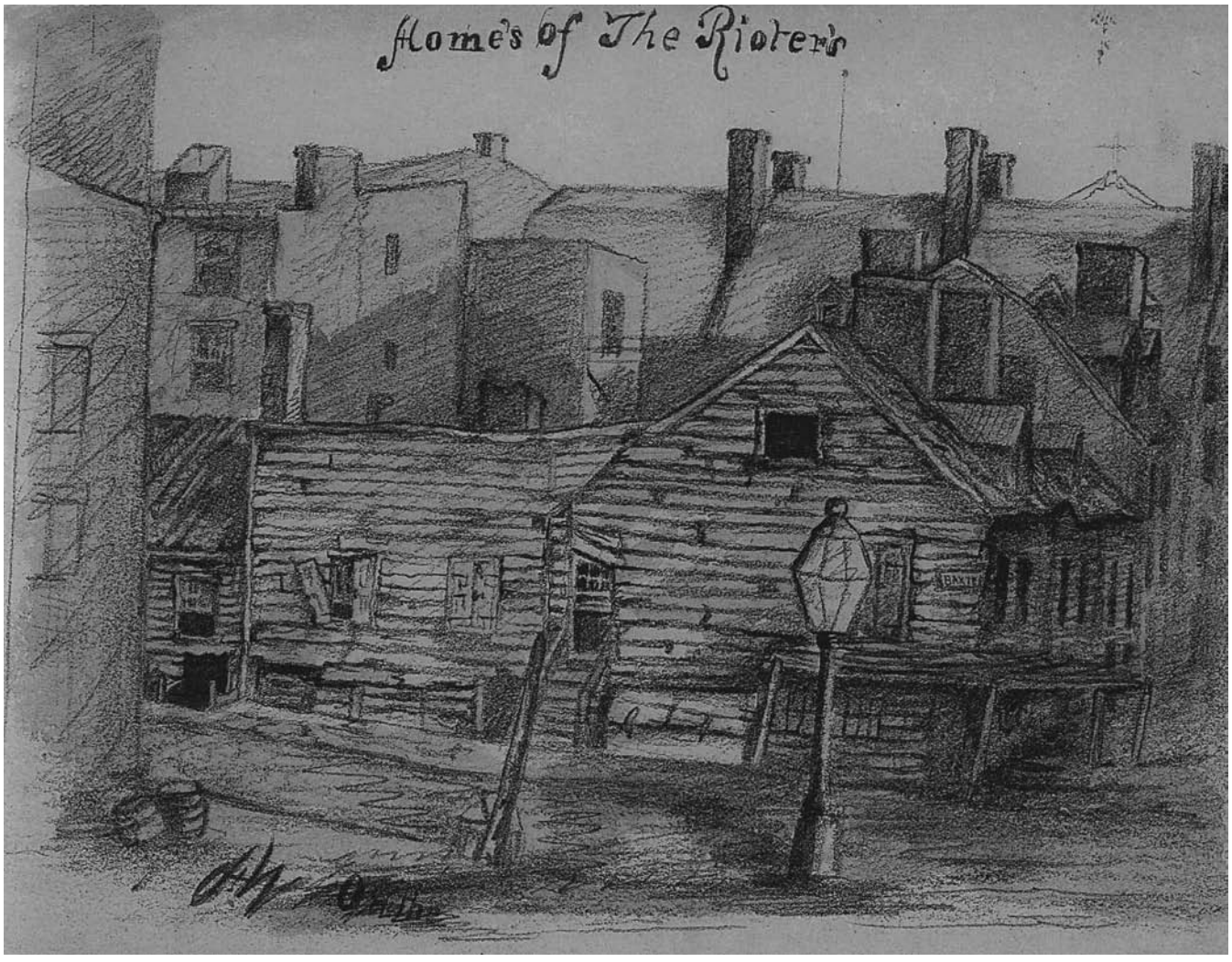
In the years leading up to the Civil War, peace reformers forged strong alliances with other movements for social and political change. By 1838, for example, with the founding of the New England Non-Resistance Society, it became almost impossible to separate advocates of Christian nonresistance from the radical wing of the antislavery movement led by the well-known abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison. In Garrison's eyes, slavery was a form of violent coercion as heinous as war that required personal purity, a commitment to nonviolence, and unceasing agitation to overcome. The Garrisonians' embrace of a more active form of pacifism distinguished them from others who sought to abolish slavery through either force or legislation, and helped link ideas about peace to the abolitionist cause. At the same time, this most "ultra" group of evangelical reformers also began to relate nonviolence and nonresistance to the organized pursuit of women's rights. The leaders of this movement, including early feminists like Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, and Sarah Grimké, saw nonresistance as a critical tool in overcoming the oppression faced by women as well as slaves.

Peace reformer Elihu Burritt provided antebellum Americans with another example of how nonviolence could be linked to larger struggles for justice and social change. Like Garrison, Burritt based his nonresistance on an understanding of Christian perfectionism that viewed war as what he called the "sin-breeding sin of sins" and that sanctified the notion of a brotherhood of man. This belief in brotherhood, and his background as a blacksmith, led Burritt to embrace a far more inclusive vision of peacemaking—one that inspired him to turn peace advocacy into a trans-Atlantic cause that could be embraced by the working as well as middle classes. In 1846, he traveled to England, where he promoted the idea of an international peace pledge and helped found the League of Universal Brotherhood, which quickly counted over 30,000 members in Britain and 25,000 in the United States. To attract working-class recruits, Burritt argued for peace on economic as well as moral grounds and publicly cast his lot with laboring men. In his eyes, the pursuit of nonviolence needed to be more than just a vocation for the elite: only an organized international working-class brotherhood could help pave the way for universal peace.

The outspoken nature of these antebellum peace leaders, however, belied the general apathy that most Americans felt toward the antiwar cause. Nevertheless, when war with Mexico broke out in 1846, opposition raged, especially in New England and the Old Northwest. For the most part, these clusters of antiwar sentiment stemmed not as much from a principled opposition to war as from pragmatic political concerns regarding the growing power of Southern slaveholding interests in national politics. Northerners overwhelmingly viewed the U.S. incursions into Mexico as part of a larger Southern plot for territorial expansion and believed that acquiring new territories would exacerbate the already tense divisions between the North and the South. Abraham Lincoln, then a young congressman from Illinois, publicly criticized President James Polk for instigating the conflict and lying to Congress. Newspaper editors denounced the conduct of the war. And writer Henry David Thoreau publicized the voice of moral protest and individual conscience when he refused to pay taxes to support what he believed to be an immoral war and then marched off to jail. His essay "On Civil Disobedience" became a powerful statement on the virtue of individual resistance to governmental wrongdoing. Yet, in the tradition of earlier antiwar advocates, Thoreau and others did not justify their position with pacifist ideals. In the 1840s, Christian nonresistance and antiwar agitation were not one and the same.

Pacifism and the Civil War

The increasing intensity of the national struggle over slavery in the 1850s further undermined the power of the peace reform movement. As the nation headed toward war, pacifist reformers stood on the edge of po-

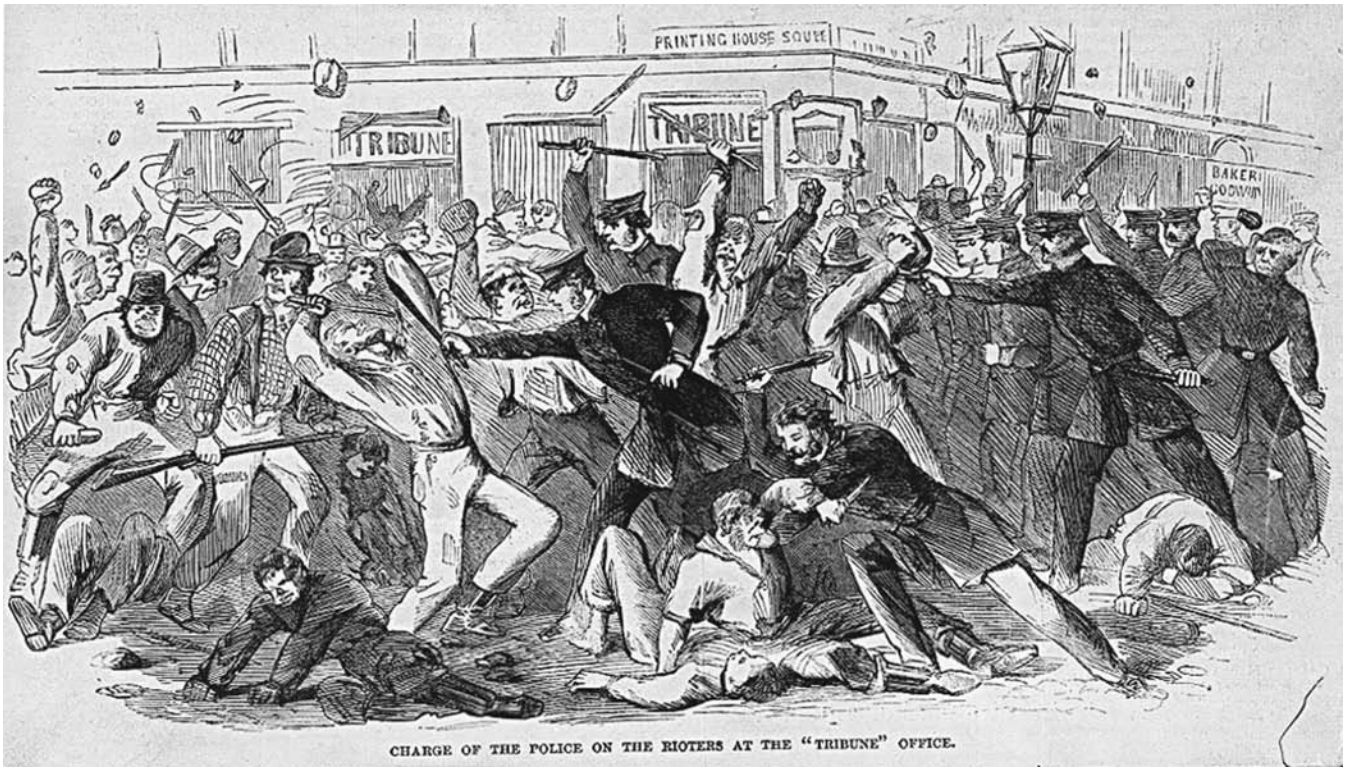


Many of the participants in the New York City draft riots of 1863 lived in the Five Points area, a poor, largely Irish-American neighborhood in Manhattan. During four days of violence, mobs beat and lynched blacks, resulting in more than 100 deaths. *(Collection of the New-York Historical Society)*

litical irrelevancy. Committed to the emancipation of slaves above all else, even the most devout advocates of nonresistance found ways to tolerate the violence that threatened to divide the nation. Radical abolitionist and feminist Angelina Grimké wrote in 1854 that there was no choice but "to choose between two evils, and all that we can do is take the *least*, and baptize liberty in blood, if it must be so." Even the pacifist William Lloyd Garrison offered his qualified support to John Brown's violent raid on the Harpers Ferry armory. And when the Civil War broke out in 1861, most peace advocates lent their support to it on pro-Union and antislavery grounds. Indeed, the most visible signs of antiwar discontent came not from the efforts of the nation's tiny and largely middle-class peace community, but from a crowd of nonpeaceable working-class whites who led the New York City draft riots of 1863. This three-day rampage highlighted racial and class resentments among poor white men who could not buy their way out of conscription but had little sympathy for black freedom's cause. Nonresistance as a mobilizing force, however, fell by the wayside as the "war to save the Union" became a war to end slavery.

Pre–World War I Pacifism

Instead, in the aftermath of the Civil War, at the dawn of the Industrial Age, the quest to promote practical alternatives to war rose to replace the pacifist ideal as the guiding force of American peace reform. It was a



The New York City draft riots of July 1863 were the largest civil disturbance of the nineteenth century. Most rioters opposed both conscription and the Civil War. When police proved unable to quell the violence, President Abraham Lincoln ordered Union soldiers—victorious in the recent Battle of Gettysburg—to New York to patrol the streets. *(Brown Brothers)*

reform shaped by the hallmark values of the Gilded Age—rationality, optimism, and an unabashed celebration of American advancement and power—that stood in striking contrast to the efforts of the prewar reformers. Antebellum peace dissidents had struggled from the political margins as they worked to shape society in God's image and lead the nation away from the sin of war. The Gilded Age reformers, however, drew upon their expertise and connections as members of the educated elite to create a powerful coalition of business leaders, government officials, legal experts, and social reformers. Like other Progressive reformers, peace advocates promoted practical solutions to the "social problems" of their day—in this case the threat of war—by finding "rational" ways to mediate conflict and shape foreign policy. Their emphasis on preventing violence through the arbitration of international conflict dominated peace efforts for almost fifty years, until the outbreak of world war in 1914.

Reaching its peak between the 1880s and the early 1910s, the Gilded Age peace reform firmly linked antiwar efforts to professional internationalism rather than the pacifist idealism of earlier decades. Motivated by the globalization of capital and the search for commercial markets, reformers argued that preventing war was the only way to ensure global trade. Such efforts attracted the support of prominent Americans, like the steel magnate Andrew Carnegie, and cooperation from leading government officials. Even peace-minded clergy couched their quest for peace as a business rather than a moral proposition. As the influential Protestant cleric Josiah Strong characteristically noted in 1898, "We are entered upon the final stage of industrial development, which is the organization of a world-industry. This world-tendency involves also the complete development of a world-life, a world-conscience. And all these involve ultimate international arbitration." The work of Russian czar Nicholas II, who called the First Hague Peace Conference in 1899, seemed to suggest that such mechanisms were possible. The conference's creation of a Permanent Court of Arbitration and its prohibition of the use of certain weaponry as a means to "civilize" and "rationalize" war pointed the way toward a new standard in international affairs.

Nevertheless, a moral pacifist impulse remained as an important undercurrent of antiwar reform. Quakers continued to promote nonresistance as an integral part of their witness for peace, most notably through the work of Alfred H. Love and the Universal Peace Union. Feminists like Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Julia Ward Howe similarly persevered in their belief that women's rights and the pursuit of peace were inseparable goals. Echoing the arguments of other female reformers, feminist peace advocates insisted that women could draw upon maternal concern and, in Howe's words, women's "superior moral force" as powerful weapons against war. By the 1890s, they were joined by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union's Department of Peace and Arbitration, which, as part of the largest grassroots political organization of its time, mobilized its members to work against military conscription, war toys, and schooltime military drills. Finally, there was the influence of Leo Tolstoy, whose writings highlighted a belief in Christian anarchism that upheld the dignity of human life above all else and that denounced violence and force of all kinds. Settlement House leader Jane Addams, one of the most famous social reformers of the Gilded Age, was profoundly influenced by Tolstoy's work. So were a number of other turn-of-the-century reformers, idealists whose desire for peace stemmed from humanitarian concerns.

World War I and the Birth of the Modern American Peace Movement

World War I came as a shock to those who believed that the Progressive principles of order and law would make war between nations obsolete. Instead they faced the horrifying specter of barbarism rising from the heart of the "civilized world" and the growing realization that their efforts to resolve international conflicts with scientific studies and judicial codes would do little to stop the slaughter then making its way through Europe. A movement that relied on reasonable discussion and governmental cooperation had little relevancy in a world where neither of those forces existed. The genteel respectability of the prewar American peace movement had painted itself into a corner from which there was no apparent escape. Its members could only watch the affairs in Europe with dread and dismay.

Out of this crucible of hopelessness, a new American peace movement was born. It began, first, with the women. On August 29, 1914, less than a month after the war in Europe began, approximately 1,500 women silently marched down New York's Fifth Avenue in a parade of mourning and concern. The Parade Committee hoped to stimulate public opposition to U.S. involvement in the European war. Led by prominent women's rights activists, including Fanny Garrison Villard (daughter of abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison), Harriot Stanton Blatch (daughter of the pioneering feminist Elizabeth Cady Stanton), and Carrie Chapman Catt (leader of the National American Woman Suffrage Association), the parade highlighted the special role feminists believed that women should play in the struggle for peace. As mothers, they saw themselves as uniquely devoted to the preservation of human life. As women, they acutely felt the dangers that war posed to their advancement and safety. As suffragists, they argued that only the enfranchisement of women would inject female morality into the political sphere and lead the world to peace.

The organization they ultimately formed, the Woman's Peace Party (WPP), reflected this feminist perspective as well as a determination born of experience in the growing mass movement to win women the right to vote. The New York branch of the Woman's Peace Party, for example, mirrored the militancy of suffrage protests by staging street demonstrations, leafleting at preparedness parades, and booing and hissing pro-war speakers. Other WPP members, though less confrontational, were equally daring in their deeds—particularly the almost fifty women who traveled to Europe as a female peacemaking delegation in the spring of 1915. Internationalism, in fact, became a defining feature of this antiwar effort. So did their public protests, which stood in stark contrast to the staid and respectable demeanor of prewar peace endeavors.

Principled antimilitarism gave birth not only to the WPP, but to numerous other antiwar groups that attracted tens of thousands of men and women to their cause. There was the American Union Against Militarism (AUAM), whose mass meetings and Washington office provided an outlet for those who wanted to act decisively against the growing tide of military preparedness. Chicago activists, including the venerable Jane Addams, by this point one of the most famous women in the nation and a leading member of the WPP, convened the Emergency Peace Federation to defend the Progressive reform agenda from the ravages of war. Christian pacifists, heirs to the nonresistance tradition of the nineteenth century, gathered together in the nondenominational Fellowship of Reconciliation. Smaller local groups similarly tapped into widespread public antiwar desires. For the first time

in U.S. history, a truly national movement existed with peace at its center.

The World War I–era antimilitarists were broad thinking and politically savvy. Veterans of successful social reform campaigns and experienced in the workings of political life, this new generation of antiwar activists took themselves seriously as organizers and agents of change. The leaders of the AUAM, for example, could pride themselves on building an organization that had over 15,000 members, distributed literature in the hundreds of thousands, maintained a sizable national mailing list, lobbied in Congress, and published articles in the leading reform-minded journals of the time. Like their antebellum predecessors, these activists saw their antiwar efforts as part of a much larger struggle for social and political change. They believed, on the most fundamental level, that militarism threatened the democratic institutions that they held dear. Only by achieving social justice, they argued, could a lasting peace be forged. The struggles of the suffrage and labor movements, of antipoverty campaigns, and for women's rights—struggles in which they had all taken part—became part and parcel of their antiwar reform.

Up until the moment that the United States entered the war, the Progressive peace movement maintained its fervor, intensity, and public support. In the early months of 1917, as tensions between the United States and Germany reached the breaking point, a sense of urgency took over the anti-intervention campaigns. Mass rallies, lobbying efforts, and full-page newspaper ads alerted the nation to the growing danger and signified the persistence of a public antiwar impulse. But as the inevitability of war grew, the movement experienced critical signs of attrition. Local groups folded. Key members of the WPP and the AUAM resigned. Nevertheless, even on the eve of war, antimilitarist forces were able to hold a rally in New York's Madison Square Garden whose crowd overflowed into the street.

All of this changed when Congress declared war on Germany in April 1917. Public support for the antiwar cause evaporated overnight, its decline aided in part by passage of the Selective Service Act that May and the Espionage Act in June. Conscription brought the heavy hand of the state down upon those men who hoped to avoid participating in the war. But it was the Espionage Act, which empowered the federal government to censor newspapers, ban the mailing of publications, and imprison anyone who "interfered" with the draft or voluntary enlistment, that sent a palpable chill through antimilitarist circles. Not surprisingly, the threatened penalty of twenty years in prison and a $10,000 fine dramatically narrowed the range of acceptable public debate. Activities that had once been legal, though controversial, were now prohibited by law. As Jane Addams recalled after the war, pacifists and antimilitarists essentially became "outlaws." Only the most stalwart dissenters remained within the peace movement's fold. Most other Progressives left, having decided that it was futile to oppose government policy; instead, they worked to influence the conditions of the postwar peace.

Thus, the declaration of war profoundly changed the basic parameters of antiwar activism in the United States. Activists regrouped, first in the new People's Council of America for Peace and Democracy, whose platform called for an early peace, the repeal of conscription, safeguarding the rights of labor, and protecting civil liberties and basic democratic rights. Its leftist orientation attracted members of the Socialist Party and the Anarchist labor movement—radicals who feared that what they considered a capitalist and nationalist war would only undermine their efforts on behalf of the working class. The Espionage Act, however, put these groups on a collision course with the wartime assault on radical dissent. Federal authorities arrested and imprisoned numerous leaders of the Socialist Party and the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) for sedition. Even those who weren't arrested found it almost impossible to organize and meet. The postmaster general barred antiwar and Socialist publications from the mail, making communication difficult at best. And when the People's Council tried to convene a constituent assembly during the summer of 1917, mobs and local police closed down the meeting halls and drove its leaders out of town. Activists across the country were shocked by the intensity of government repression and by how quickly it had pushed them to the political margins.

Religious pacifists and conscientious objectors to military service (COs), though small in number, found the times trying as well. Federal legislation granted members of the historic peace churches exemption from military combat, for the first time providing a legitimate avenue of nonresistance to pacifist adherents. But the government forced those it granted official CO status to work in the military in noncombatant roles, thus turning them into soldiers who simply did not carry guns. In addition, the federal CO provisions explicitly excluded pacifists not specifically affiliated with the historic peace churches, thus closing off all options except outright resistance. As a result, over 1,400 men, one-third of all those who

claimed CO status, spent the war imprisoned in military confinement and subject to physical and psychological abuse.

Given the difficult nature of their wartime task, a number of antiwar advocates turned their attention to the defense of civil liberties and constitutional rights. Two feminist pacifists, Tracy Mygatt and Frances Witherspoon, founded the Bureau of Legal Advice, which furnished organized help for conscientious objectors and free speech victims. The AUAM followed suit with a Civil Liberties Bureau that lay the groundwork for the founding of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). Over the next several years, these two groups provided legal advice and prepared affidavits for thousands of antiwar protesters and COs.

By the time the war ended with the armistice of November 1918, the American antiwar movement had been radically transformed. No longer the domain of eminent men who hoped to use arbitration and the rule of law to make the world safe for global commerce, the movement had become a haven for reformers and radicals, women and men, seeking to create social change by fostering peace. In its recognizably modern form, the peace movement became an organized voice of collective protest that linked social justice to the pursuit of a nonviolent world.

The Antiwar Zenith of the Interwar Years

The end of World War I, however, did not necessarily mean peace for those involved in the antiwar movement. Building on the political repression of the wartime years, the United States experienced a postwar wave of anti-Communist hysteria—a Red Scare—that effectively stifled whatever political dissent had not already been stamped out. What began in 1919 as a government crackdown on domestic radicalism and the mass deportation of "enemy aliens" (mostly IWW members and Anarchists) continued through the 1920s when the nation entered an era as famous for its political conservatism as it was for its cultural experimentation. Peace advocates, now tied in the public's mind to radical causes, became easy targets. Even the venerable Jane Addams, once one of the most highly esteemed women in the nation, was not immune from attack as "subversive" and "un-American." Nevertheless, the antiwar movement, backed by a committed core of experienced leaders, continued to work toward its new postwar goals of disarmament, the abolition of war, and the pursuit of social justice on a national and international scale.

Even within this harsh climate, the antiwar movement tapped a raw nerve in the public psyche. The atrocities of World War I had led to a widespread social and cultural revulsion to war, a sense of disillusionment that, despite the Red Scare, made sizable sectors of the American public open to the message and goals of peace advocates. War stories by Ernest Hemingway, John Dos Passos, and, most famously, Erich Maria Remarque in his best-selling novel, *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1929), spread images of senseless horror that countered the wartime discourse of honor, civilization, and patriotic duty. Scholars published research arguing that collusion and manipulation on the part of the Allies, and especially leading industrialists and munitions manufacturers, had caused a war that was, at its root, about earning profits, not saving democracy. By the early 1930s, even the terms of the postwar peace had come up for public critique. The rise of fascism in Germany and Italy suggested the limits of a war ostensibly fought to make the world "safe for democracy." To many Americans, the solution was clear: make sure that such a war never happened again.

The Women's Peace Movement

Stripped of their prewar optimism but not of their sense of political influence and power, female activists—leaders and members of the Woman's Peace Party—began a multifaceted campaign for disarmament and the outlawing of war. Feminists had achieved a major victory with passage of the women's suffrage amendment in 1920. Now, convinced that women could act as a united and potent political force, they turned their attention to the problem of war. As in earlier efforts, many of these female leaders argued that women had a unique role to play in the work for peace, not just as mothers but as worldly and experienced political reformers. They saw their work as an extension of "municipal housekeeping"—their earlier (and successful) efforts to reform the state—which they now hoped to take to the international stage.

Through organizations such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), the Women's Peace Society, the Women's Peace Union, and the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War (NCCCW), former suffragists became the backbone of the interwar peace movement. Determined to work on the inside of a political system they had just gained official access to, these women mobilized their vast constituencies, elected political allies, and lobbied Congress in pursuit of their goals. WILPF, the recon-

stituted successor to the Woman's Peace Party, pursued a primarily legislative strategy. Led by the indomitable Dorothy Detzer, WILPF played a dominant role in the Washington "peace lobby" of the 1920s and 1930s—working tirelessly for universal disarmament under the auspices of the League of Nations and fighting to secure U.S. participation in a world court of justice. WILPF's pursuit of legal alternatives to war was augmented by the efforts of the Women's Peace Union, which sought, unsuccessfully, to introduce a constitutional amendment prohibiting war, and the NCCCW, which, under the directorship of former suffrage leader Carrie Chapman Catt, organized a vast membership of over 5 million women in outreach and educational campaigns.

Paralleling the development of these sizable women's peace efforts was the rise of the nation's first mass student movement. Organized in response to the social conditions of the Great Depression, a diverse coalition of college radicals came together in late 1931 to seek action-oriented solutions to the problems of poverty, joblessness, and economic collapse. By 1933, the movement had pushed the issue of world peace to the center of its political agenda, a decision that facilitated the movement's spread from its center in New York City to campuses across the country. Not surprisingly, college students were among those most disillusioned by the "lessons" of World War I. As youthful idealists, they looked back in horror at the domestic repression that went hand in hand with militarization in the United States. On a more personal level, they feared becoming the next generation of casualties in the next "Great War." Students converted to pacifism and antimilitarism in unprecedented numbers. Beginning in the spring of 1933, tens of thousands took the Oxford Pledge, by which they renounced personal participation in any war. A national student poll that same semester documented the widespread nature of these antimilitarist beliefs: 39 percent of those polled supported the Oxford Pledge, while another 33 percent stated that they would fight only if the United States itself was attacked. Student demonstrations between 1934 and 1936 pushed the campus peace campaigns to a militant edge that reached its peak in April 1935, when 60,000 students boycotted classes as part of a national student strike against war.

Much of the push for this student peace movement came from the ranks of the radical left, Communists and Socialists who saw the antiwar cause as intimately linked to a much wider struggle for social justice and social change. In their opinion, wars were the work of "vested interests," the businessmen and industrialists who had been implicated in the Nye Committee's 1933 congressional investigation of war profiteering and the munitions industry during World War I. From the perspective of student radicals, undermining the power of ruthless capitalists thus removed a major obstacle to world peace. They threw themselves into the labor movement, providing support and publicity to working-class struggles during a crucial moment in U.S. labor history. This largely white group of student activists also took up the banner of interracial justice by organizing campus campaigns to abolish Jim Crow. As with their antiwar forebears of World War I and the pacifists of the nineteenth century, student radicals saw the struggles for peace and justice as part and parcel of the very same cause.

These connections gained credence in the early 1930s as news of Mohandas Gandhi's nonviolent struggle against British colonial rule in India reached the United States. Pacifist clergy in particular—the third major branch of the interwar peace movement—embraced Gandhi's example with zeal. The Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), which had become the leading venue of radical Protestantism in the years since World War I, had been striving for years to apply the precepts of the Social Gospel—the idea that American Christians had the responsibility to use their power and privilege to create a better world—to its work for peace. What Gandhi provided was proof that nonviolence could work as an effective, and "Christian," alternative to war. Quaker lawyer Richard Gregg publicized Gandhi's experimental techniques in his widely read 1934 book, *The Power of Non-violence*, which FOR members studied as they theorized about how to apply these tactics to their work, and thus transformed the meaning of Christian pacifism in the United States. The traditional doctrine of passive nonresistance had long stood at the center of pacifist theology. But many believed it was no longer enough to simply refuse to fight. With Gandhian nonviolence, it was now possible to resist.

Together, Christian pacifists, student radicals, and feminist internationalists built a powerful and far-reaching antiwar movement. By the mid-1930s, they had developed a solid constituency, political allies, and a developing theory of nonviolence that would have surprised the beleaguered pacifists of 1919. The challenges of the late 1930s, however, would put this coalition to the test.

Pacifism and Neutrality Meet World War II

The antiwar movement of the 1930s, for all of its popular support, faced an insurmountable obstacle to its quest for world peace: the rise of fascism and militarism in Europe and Asia. The threat first appeared in 1931, when Japanese troops invaded Chinese Manchuria. By the mid-1930s, the threat had reached Europe with the Nazis' rise to power in Germany, Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia, and the carnage of the Spanish Civil War. The world now teetered on the edge of another total war, and peace advocates needed to formulate a response. The bulk of the peace movement initially gathered under the banner of "neutrality." Like their antimilitarist counterparts of World War I, they sought to prevent U.S. involvement in the conflict overseas. But as international tensions deepened, the movement disintegrated, leaving only the most absolute pacifists behind and tainting the movement with a stain of treason that would follow it for years.

At first, however, it seemed that neutrality, specifically *strict* neutrality, would provide a workable solution to the problem of U.S. involvement in the spreading global conflict. Strict neutrality differed from prior practices in that it prohibited *all* trade with belligerent nations. Critics had blamed "neutral" commerce for having aggravated international tensions in the 1910s and pulling the United States into World War I. Now activists worked to implement a stricter definition. In 1935, pacifists from the FOR, WILPF, and the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) joined with liberal internationalists to form the Emergency Peace Campaign (EPC). Although strict neutrality played a key role in the EPC's program, its ultimate goal was not to isolate the United States from international affairs. On the contrary, EPC leaders believed that strict neutrality had to go hand in hand with an internationalist program that stressed transnational cooperation and political democracy around the globe. In the mid-1930s, activists still believed that such a program held significant promise.

The EPC opened with high hopes. Leaders launched the campaign in April 1936, during the third year of nationwide student strikes for peace and amid continued support for the Oxford Pledge. By the spring of 1937, the campaign had grown enough to launch an ambitious and broad-based "No-Foreign-War Crusade." This "crusade," like other EPC efforts, reflected the coalition's internationalist interpretation of neutrality. Organizers distributed literature, held public meetings, and conducted workshops to educate the public about developments in Europe and Asia. Speakers traveled across the country, and staff members and campaign leaders met directly with senators and congressmen to gain sponsorship and support for neutrality legislation. Although political victories proved elusive, organizers were pleased with the publicity and enthusiasm their efforts gained. There still seemed to be popular support for a movement against war.

But tensions in Europe proved stronger than peace advocates expected, and by 1940 the interwar movement had fallen apart. The Communists left first, convinced by the events of the Spanish Civil War that direct action was necessary to overcome Fascist aggression. By the spring of 1938, nonpacifist internationalists had also abandoned the neutrality effort to advocate on behalf of U.S. intervention in the anti-Nazi struggle. Liberal pacifists joined with Socialists in the short-lived Keep America Out of War Coalition, but they themselves left in 1940 when the coalition allied with the right-wing and isolationist America First Committee. From there, the pacifists and the peace movement were on their own.

This remaining remnant quickly found itself isolated and derided. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941 only accelerated a trend that had started several years before. As historian Lawrence S. Wittner notes, "Americans now renounced pacifism with the same fervor with which they had previously renounced war." The public viewed antiwar advocates as delusional cowards and blamed them for the appeasement policies that had given Adolf Hitler a foothold in Europe. At a time when supporting the war effort defined the meaning of patriotic service, even principled pacifism was viewed as "un-American." Ostracized from the mainstream of American political life, and even from the radical left, pacifists turned inward—gathering in religiously oriented organizations like the FOR and the AFSC, and the more secular War Resisters League (WRL) and WILPF, for mutual support.

Conscientious Objectors

The status of COs quickly moved to the top of the peace movement's agenda. Prodded by leaders of the historic peace churches, the federal government included provisions in the 1940 Selective Service Act that not only secured exemption from military service for religiously based pacifists, but established Civilian Public Service (CPS) camps where COs would live and engage in work "of national importance." Most

DAVID DELLINGER (1915–)

Born in Wakefield, Massachusetts, on August 22, 1915, David Dellinger is a descendant of old New England families and the son of a well-to-do Boston family. He graduated from Yale University in 1936 and studied at Oxford University, Yale Divinity School, and Union Theological Seminary (1939–1940). Dellinger's dedication to antiwar causes began early in life and would lead him to the forefront of militant, nonviolent activism.

After graduating from Yale, Dellinger went to England in 1937 to study at Oxford. While on vacation, he traveled around England and read and learned about St. Francis of Assisi, an experience that deeply influenced his future. He returned to America and entered the Union Theological Seminary. Dellinger, with other members of the seminary, started the Newark Commune. The commune, located in the ghetto of Newark, functioned as a cultural center for the black and white children of the neighborhood. The commune also served as a buying program that purchased a farm in Chester, New Jersey, and turned it into a communal farm. When World War II broke out, Dellinger refused to register for the draft despite his eligibility for a deferment as a seminary student and, as a result, was sentenced to three years in prison. He held hunger strikes in prison to protest how prisoners were treated. The protests eventually led to more humane treatment and also the desegregation of the federal prison system.

Upon his release in 1945, Dellinger formed the Libertarian Press, a printing cooperative. During the 1940s and 1950s, he took part in many demonstrations and nonviolent protests. In April 1950, he participated in a two-week fast in Washington to protest the making of the hydrogen bomb. He also participated in sit-ins at the Atomic Energy Commission in Maryland and New York City.

Later, Dellinger actively opposed both the Korean War and the Bay of Pigs Invasion. In 1956, he became editor and publisher of *Liberation*, a major voice of radical pacifism. The magazine focused on the causes of civil rights, anarchism, decentralism, nonviolent direct action, and others.

As an opponent to American involvement in Vietnam, Dellinger was a major link to the North Vietnamese government and facilitated the release of American prisoners of war. He was arrested as a leader of the antiwar demonstration that erupted in riot at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in 1968 and was charged as part of the "Chicago Seven"—the popular name of the seven radicals accused of inciting the Chicago riots, and was sentenced to five years. The conviction was later overturned.

Emphasizing the need for radical change as well as nonviolence, Dellinger became editor of *Seven Days* magazine (1975–1980). In the 1980s, he moved to Vermont to teach and write. He has continued his activism, speaking at the "Stop the Drug War" rally in Chicago near the 1996 Democratic Convention. He also regularly fasts in an effort to change the name of Columbus Day to "Native American Day."

James G. Lewis

of this work involved menial tasks like digging ditches and building roads, but the almost 12,000 pacifists who entered these camps, largely run under the direction of the peace churches themselves, lived in conditions far superior to those of their World War I forebears. Although not a perfect system, most pacifist leaders viewed CPS as a giant step forward in the government accommodation of COs.

The men who served in the camps, however, were not always so sure. Since COs were drafted just like ordinary Americans, their presence in the camps was anything but voluntary. Unlike soldiers, however, CPS men were not paid for their service. Instead, the peace churches had to raise funds for the camps' operating expenses while the men had to find ways to support themselves and their families. Work assignments proved problematic as well. As a rule, most COs were happy to donate their skills and energy to important works of service. But as highly educated men with idealistic goals, the work to which they were assigned, generally unskilled physical labor, only added insult to injury. "How can we be content day after day to manicure mountains," one CO complained, "when the world has such crying need for practical real help and help that we want to give." As the war, and their grievances, progressed, growing numbers of COs came to view CPS more as a form of state-sponsored punishment than as an experiment in alternative national service.

Many began to rebel. Inspired by the radical labor movement of the 1930s, men in the CPS camps initiated work stoppages and slowdowns. The more frustrated camp members simply walked out. Leaving the camps did not mean freedom, but rather the opposite,

since such noncooperation violated federal law. The COs who walked out simply exchanged one prison for another: CPS for the federal penitentiary. There they joined men who had refused to cooperate—for reasons of conscience, religion, and politics—with the draft in any way or form. Over the course of the war, approximately 6,000 hard-line resisters, uncompromising pacifists, and deserting CPS men—one-sixth of the total federal penal population—served federal prison terms, where they continued their protests, albeit in a different form.

Their biggest challenge was to justify their pacifism in the face of Nazi atrocities and overwhelming popular support for the war. For those who took the biblical commandment not to kill at its word, however, there was little choice. This had always been the position of the historic peace churches. A.J. Muste, the nationally renowned leader of the FOR, named by *Time* magazine as "The Number One U.S. Pacifist" in 1939, echoed these sentiments when he publicly insisted that since "all men were brothers" it was immoral to kill. But he also blamed the rise of fascism on economic domination, global imperialism, and the flawed peace of World War I. Still others pointed to Gandhi, who propagated the view among many throughout the world that war was immoral.

The Color Bar

For the imprisoned COs, Gandhian nonviolence also became a practical tool of transformation and radicalization. Working from an incipient understanding of nonviolent direct action techniques, a group of draft resisters began to demonstrate against racial segregation inside the federal prison system. The color bar was everywhere, even in the Northern institutions. To resisters like the black pacifist Bayard Rustin and the white militant James Peck, segregated dining tables and dormitories were a grievous affront that required an immediate response. By mid-1943, their protests, which included a combination of prolonged work and hunger strikes, had spread through the federal penitentiaries that housed militant COs. Authorities responded by separating the protesters and putting them in solitary confinement, but the resisters sent word of their actions to the outside world, successfully publicizing their efforts to a larger community of support.

The nonviolent prison protests against Jim Crow mirrored similar campaigns being waged in the streets. Pacifists had latched on to the wartime surge in civil rights protests, inspired in part by black labor leader A. Philip Randolph, who led the 1941 March on Washington Movement that forced President Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration to act against racial discrimination in the war industries. The FOR developed close ties to Randolph and, encouraged by Randolph's assertion that the "evil of racism" could be overcome by "nonviolent, good-will direct action," adopted the civil rights issue as one of its own. FOR members helped found the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in 1942, which provided pacifists with a venue for constructive wartime work and an outlet for their experiments with Gandhian techniques. CORE's local chapters used pickets and sit-ins to combat segregation at lunch counters, restaurants, movie theaters, and amusement parks, and helped keep pacifism relevant during a difficult time.

The Waning of the Peace Movement

By the end of the war, the American peace movement had dwindled to a small but hardened core of dedicated pacifists. Organizations like WILPF, which had worked to attract nonpacifists to the antiwar cause, emerged battered yet still intact. Purely pacifist organizations, like the AFSC, FOR, and the WRL, actually saw their memberships rise during the wartime years even as their broad bases of support shrank. Isolated pacifists sought each other out for much-needed fellowship. Solidarity helped to strengthen their resolve, while experiments in nonviolent action paved the way toward a new direction in antiwar protest.

The Struggle Against McCarthyism and the Bomb

Ultimately, it was how World War II came to an end that most profoundly shaped the antiwar movement of the postwar years. With the dropping of atomic bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, the United States simultaneously ushered in the nuclear age and paved the way for the Cold War. The nuclear threat made the struggle against war all the more urgent, as did the growing tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, growing fears about Soviet expansionism set off another Red Scare on American soil. At a time when the stakes seemed higher than they ever had been before, the opportunities and tolerance for political debate shrank. Those who challenged U.S. foreign and military policy were deemed subversive and dangerous enemies of the state. Antiwar advocates faced new challenges and unfamiliar threats.

Atomic scientists were among the first to organize

in opposition to the bomb. As the people most directly responsible for its development and most knowledgeable about the consequences of its use, they felt a special responsibility to bring the burgeoning arms race under control. Under the banner of "One World or None," prominent scientists like Albert Einstein, Linus Pauling, and Leo Szilard joined together as the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists. From the committee's perspective, atomic weapons made wars dangerously obsolete. "Time is short," they argued, "and survival is at stake." The only solution, they believed, was to prevent international conflict through powerful institutions of world government. The scientists' stature brought them instant acclaim, although their message lost its appeal once the Cold War set in. By the summer of 1946, Americans had replaced their fear of nuclear weapons with an even greater fear of the Soviet threat. The atomic scientists' movement continued but without its necessary support.

The Soviet Threat

More traditional peace constituencies faced even greater obstacles to success as anti-Communism came to dominate American politics, culture, and life. The wartime alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union began to break down in 1945. By 1946, U.S. government officials were characterizing the Soviets as a threat to democracy across the globe. Fears of Communist infiltration quickly consumed the minds of American politicians and the public at large. In 1947, President Harry Truman pushed through a program of loyalty oaths that trickled down to state and local levels. By 1950, the effort to root out Communist subversion, now labeled "McCarthyism" after Senator Joseph McCarthy's anti-Communist crusades, had become a national obsession. The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) held virtual nonstop meetings that interrogated Americans from all walks of life. Congress passed the McCarran Act, requiring Americans who belonged to government-identified Communist or Communist-front organizations to register with federal authorities. Government surveillance and harassment of dissidents increased and spread into the popular culture. Although the United States had a long history of antiradical crusades, McCarthyism brought such efforts to an all-time high.

The Cold War and the Red Scare redefined patriotism and loyalty in ways that undermined almost every organized antiwar endeavor. Public pronouncements equated "peace" with containing Communism through military strength and deemed any other definition as "unpatriotic." The government did everything it could to neutralize the peace movement itself, using overt political harassment to complement the growing cultural antipathy for dissent.

Communist-led peace campaigns, which criticized U.S. foreign policy without questioning the military buildup of the Soviet Union, only helped to brand non-Communist antiwar efforts, still reeling from their marginalization during World War II, with the indelible mark of subversion. As experiences within the movement suggest, peace activists themselves could do their share to undermine the work and unity of organizations struggling to stay alive.

WILPF, for example, at first appeared to be on sound footing. Although its membership had dropped dramatically over the course of the war, it had managed to survive with the help of strong leaders. In 1946, as a testament to WILPF's vision of feminist internationalism, the Nobel Peace Prize committee granted its prestigious award to one of WILPF's founding members, Emily Greene Balch. WILPF had also begun to reorganize its work—putting a new emphasis on the dangers of the nuclear age—and to renew its membership base. With the advent of McCarthyism, the organization took up the causes of free speech and civil liberties even as its leaders insisted that WILPF's democratic vision was incompatible with Communist doctrine. WILPF publicly prided itself on welcoming all who subscribed to its antimilitarist program.

Despite WILPF's "anti-anti-Communist" stance, conflicts flared in a number of local chapters—Denver, Chicago, and metropolitan New York—as members argued about how to protect themselves from the dual threats of internal Communist subversion and external charges of Communist infiltration. Suspicion ruled as branch leaders investigated new members, pried into the histories of its most active local leaders, and persecuted those whom they believed had Communist ties. The results were disastrous. WILPF lost some of its most able and dedicated organizers. Equally damaging, the atmosphere of paranoia divided and crippled the work of its local chapters and diverted energy away from the organization's national campaigns.

McCarthyism helped turn the late 1940s and early 1950s into the nadir of twentieth-century peace advocacy, not just in WILPF, but in the movement overall. It was not that antiwar activism did not continue. Numerous activists and organizations persisted in their efforts to respond to the arms race, conscription,

the Korean War, and the continuing struggle for racial justice. But their numbers were small and their influence too weak to make a dent in public policy or opinion. The combination of paranoia from within and hostility from without took a toll on a movement already struggling in the aftermath of its World War II decline.

The Civil Rights Movement

Unexpectedly, in the mid-1950s, the situation suddenly changed. Rising concern about the dangers of atomic testing reached a crescendo as the general public gained knowledge about the health hazards of radioactive fallout. Then, in 1955, a bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, led by the young Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., ignited the civil rights movement and helped break down the Cold War's barriers to protest. For peace activists who had cut their teeth on the jailhouse demonstrations and interracial struggles of World War II, the Montgomery boycott was a monumental event. As the editors of the radical journal *Liberation* wrote in 1957, "Not since the death of Gandhi [in 1948] has there been so much discussion of nonviolence as there is today." Many pacifists believed that the time was now right to start a nonviolent movement of their own.

These stirrings of discontent brought almost immediate results. In 1955, the first protests appeared in New York City during the municipally mandated civil defense drills. Then, in 1957, a broad coalition of antiwar activists came together to organize the Committee to Stop H-Bomb Tests. Within months, this committee had devolved into two parallel disarmament organizations: the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) and the Non-Violent Action to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (NVA). SANE harnessed liberal opposition to nuclear weapons testing, and its program of newspaper advertisements, petitions, and literature distribution attracted tens of thousands of members. NVA, on the other hand, with its calls for unilateral disarmament and direct action against the bomb, acted as the new home for a smaller but dedicated group of radical pacifists. Together, these two groups mobilized public sentiment and brought the campaign against nuclear weapons to the front pages of the nation's news. By 1960, the peace movement had been reborn.

The distinct orientations of SANE and NVA (later reorganized as the Committee for Nonviolent Action [CNVA]) highlight the diverse nature of this reconstituted movement. SANE had one basic goal: a comprehensive ban on nuclear testing. Leaders viewed this objective as the first step toward nuclear disarmament and the easing of Cold War tensions but insisted on maintaining their singular focus. This decision was a tactical success. SANE reached out to a large and only moderately politicized community, gathered signatures for its acclaimed newspaper advertisements, and organized enormous marches and rallies—all designed to pressure Congress to pass a nuclear test ban.

CNVA, on the other hand, placed the ban on nuclear testing within a much broader political agenda that challenged the very foundations of the Cold War. Taking Gandhian nonviolence to the next level of protest, CNVA members staged a series of dramatic civil disobedience campaigns: they trespassed on the Nevada nuclear test site, sailed into the Pacific nuclear test zone, blockaded trucks heading into nuclear facilities, and climbed aboard nuclear submarines. These radical pacifists cast themselves as the revolutionary vanguard of the antiwar struggle, not as the leaders of the moderate mainstream. Like the Garrisonian abolitionists of a century before, they saw themselves as the necessary and uncompromising voice of moral protest whose work would broaden the boundaries of political debate.

The combined efforts of SANE and CNVA mobilized a groundswell of opposition to nuclear testing and nuclear arms. SANE was an almost immediate success. By 1958, it counted almost 25,000 members in 130 local chapters. News reports in 1959, which revealed that radioactive fallout, particularly Strontium 90, had been absorbed into the nation's food and milk supply and now appeared in the bones and teeth of children far away from the actual tests, only increased public support for the antinuclear movement. In 1959, SANE and the AFSC co-sponsored an annual series of Easter marches for peace that by April 1961 attracted over 20,000 people. Even CNVA's militant actions garnered sizable support. And although SANE lost its lead in the test ban struggle in the spring of 1960, after anti-Communist purges left the organization bitterly divided, the movement continued to grow. The emergence of Women Strike for Peace (WSP)—which brought over 50,000 concerned housewives and mothers into the streets in defense of their children's futures, and which successfully stood up to the intimidating tactics of HUAC—and the Student Peace Union—which attracted growing numbers of students to the antiwar cause—indicated how antinuclear protests, even in the midst of the Cold War, could move from the political margins into the mainstream of American liberal dissent.

Decline of the Movement

These forces won a victory of sorts with passage of the Partial Test Ban treaty in 1963. No one doubted that this was a diplomatic breakthrough. But, as SANE had recognized from the start, the treaty was only a first step that had serious limitations. It did not end nuclear testing; it only moved it underground. Nor did it halt the continued escalation of the arms race or the development of new and more deadly nuclear weapons systems. It did, however, pull the rug out from under the peace movement's efforts. With passage of the treaty, many recruits to the antinuclear cause believed that they had accomplished their primary aim. The impetus for widespread activism disappeared while the organizations, which still believed that much needed to be done, scrambled to maintain some degree of momentum and visibility.

In the wake of their greatest success, the peace movement hit hard times. Groups like SANE and WSP stagnated. Radical pacifists in CNVA bemoaned the test-ban agreement and the movement's subsequent decline. What they failed to recognize, however, were the movement's more subtle successes. SANE and WSP had helped bring the antiwar movement back into the political mainstream—no small feat in the conformist climate of the Cold War. CNVA, with its dramatic acts of civil disobedience, similarly helped to popularize nonviolent direct action techniques beyond those employed in the emerging civil rights struggle. Finally, as historian Charles Chatfield notes, the combined efforts of the movement helped antiwar activists gain political influence as they "forced the government" to admit its mistakes and "acknowledge dangers it had masked." Although activists could not know it at the time, these developments, and the changes they had fostered in the national political culture, would soon help their movement confront a new crisis and build widespread opposition to an unpopular war.

The Peace Movement, the Antiwar Movement, and the Vietnam War

The signs appeared almost immediately. In the fall of 1963 and the spring of 1964, new chants began to punctuate liberal and radical peace gatherings and demonstrations: "End the War in Vietnam, Now!" Since the mid-1950s, the U.S. government had grown increasingly involved in sustaining the anti-Communist state of South Vietnam, the southern half of the former French colony that, in its fight for independence, had unwittingly become a pawn in the Cold War. U.S. military intervention started out slowly, but by 1963 the nation had wholeheartedly committed itself to supporting the brutally corrupt, but ardently anti-Communist, South Vietnamese regime. To a small but growing number of activists, these developments suggested that U.S. foreign policy had taken another dangerous turn. Groups like WILPF, WSP, SANE, the FOR, the WRL, and CNVA turned their attention toward Vietnam, adding it to their long agendas of political concern. Little did they know how quickly the Southeast Asian conflict would overshadow their internationalist and disarmament efforts, consuming the movement and transforming the antiwar struggle.

Pacifists led the way in the years leading up to 1965, although, as in the 1950s, their demands and strategies varied. Radical pacifists favored direct action protests, including burning draft cards and sitting in at military installations, as their tactic of choice. For them, there were no halfway measures. Just as they had espoused "unilateral disarmament" during the ban-the-bomb struggle, they now called for "immediate withdrawal." So, too, did they emphasize acts of personal witness—civil disobedience protests that carried the risk of arrest and jail—which demonstrated commitment through sacrifice and which highlighted the need for individuals to take a moral and uncompromising stance against violence and war. Liberal pacifists, on the other hand, focused their energy on education, lobbying, and outreach. Rather than rejecting the roots of American foreign policy, they simply sought to reform it. They believed that their moderate tactics and call for a "negotiated settlement" to the war would inspire large numbers of Americans to speak out in protest.

But it was the war itself, rather than pacifist leadership, that mobilized people to gather in opposition. In winter 1965, President Lyndon Johnson inaugurated Operation Rolling Thunder, launching massive bombing raids and substantially increasing the number of U.S. troops stationed in Vietnam. Johnson's policies sparked an almost immediate response on the nation's college campuses. Faculty and students at the University of Michigan spontaneously initiated a new form of protest, the teach-in, which spread to over 100 campuses before the semester's end. The teach-ins captured public attention and gave tens of thousands of young people the information they needed to challenge Johnson's foreign policy decisions. An April march and rally, sponsored by the radical Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), similarly gave notice that a new force in antiwar politics had arrived. Much to

SDS's surprise, its march against the war brought 20,000 supporters into the streets of Washington, D.C., making it the largest peace demonstration in the capital city until that time, and the first major demonstration against the war.

Students quickly became the most visible group in this new and evolving movement. In part this was because of the draft, which brought the war home to male students in a very personal way and which became the focus of widespread resistance actions. The existence of organizations like SDS helped as well. Established in the early 1960s to seek broad social change through campus reform and inner-city organizing campaigns, SDS quickly became a vital conduit that linked masses of students in its local chapters to the national antiwar struggle. Then there was the rise of the counterculture, which helped bring youthful rebellion to the forefront of national consciousness. Best known for their promotion of "sex, drugs, and rock and roll," dungaree-clad hippies also embraced the values of "authenticity," "community," and "liberation." Many saw the antiwar movement as yet another venue to express political dissatisfaction and visionary idealism. Although their presence often alienated mainstream America, their gentle nature softened the hard-line politics of student leftists and committed pacifists, and helped attract a wide range of young people to rallies and demonstrations. Before long, hippies and protesters, the student movement, and the antiwar movement came to be seen as one and the same.

The movement against the Vietnam War, however, was about more than just youthful rebellion. In early 1966, religious leaders came together in Clergy and Laity Concerned About Vietnam (CALCAV) to spearhead a faith-based constituency of Americans organized to end the war, and scored a major coup when civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. joined their ranks later that year. Mainstream Democrats, prodded by liberal peace groups like SANE, WILPF, and WSP, also began to speak out openly against the war. Their efforts to elect peace candidates in the November 1966 elections brought them into the movement and created valuable local networks of opposition to Johnson's policies abroad. Vestiges of the old labor-oriented left, like the Socialist Workers Party, joined the struggle. So did militant black activists, particularly associates of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), who saw little justice in going to fight against dark-skinned people overseas when they, as black people, had so few rights at home. By the summer of 1966, they, like their white student counterparts, had endorsed draft resistance as a key strategy in the struggle to end the war. In this movement of movements, all avenues could lead to some form of opposition. The campaign against the war in Vietnam had room for Americans from all walks of life.

Building such a broad-based coalition allowed leaders to mobilize unprecedented numbers of people in protest. The spring 1966 International Days of Protest, for example, drew 200,000 people into the streets in demonstrations across the nation. One year later, over 300,000 rallied in New York and San Francisco to pressure Johnson to end the war. When 100,000 people gathered in Washington, D.C., in an October 1967 March on the Pentagon, nobody blinked—except for the government, who called out federal troops to protect the capital city from protesting citizens. As the numbers suggest, opposition to the war was widespread and growing.

Sustaining a united front, however, was not as easy as the massive numbers of protesters suggest. By late 1967, the antiwar movement was more like a many-headed hydra than a unified and coordinated campaign. Rising frustration over Johnson's continued escalation of the war led to serious tension within the movement. So did the irony that, no matter how many demonstrations people organized, and no matter how large the crowds, how varied their membership, or how militant their actions, the war continued unabated. Divided by constituency, locality, and ideology, activists increasingly found little they could agree on except for their common desire to end the war in Vietnam. Liberal peace advocates, who believed that the only way to end the war was to work through existing political channels, had little to say to radicals who shunned the Democratic Party and called instead for revolution and confrontation. Local activists often found themselves at odds with organizers in the national offices. And pacifists, who had hoped to lead a Gandhian-styled antiwar campaign, instead had to struggle to keep nonviolence in the forefront of the movement's tactics. It proved difficult, at best, to build solid alliances between those who believed that the war was just an aberration, a mistake in an otherwise acceptable political system, and those who believed that the war grew out of the unjust distribution of power that defined American politics and life.

Johnson's Electoral Challenge

The tensions became particularly clear in late 1967 and 1968. That fall, Minnesota senator Eugene Mc-

Carthy rose to challenge President Johnson for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination. The liberal contingent of antiwar protesters rushed to his support. Idealistic young college students shed the "hippie" image, cut their hair, and operated phone lines, ran off press releases, and canvassed door-to-door as part of the "Clean for Gene" brigade. This grassroots effort at democracy-in-action celebrated in March 1968, when McCarthy won over 40 percent of the vote in the New Hampshire primary in a surprising show of popular support. McCarthy's victory paved the way for Senator Robert Kennedy's entry into the presidential contest—now bringing two critics of Johnson's war to the center of Democratic Party politics. Johnson, aware that popular sentiment was running strongly against him, decided not to run again. His surprise announcement on March 31st seemed proof that liberal reform efforts could affect the outcome of the war.

This apparent liberal success, however, came in the wake of a rising tide of violence that brought the radical vision of social change to the forefront of the antiwar struggle. The January 1968 Tet Offensive, when North and South Vietnamese rebel forces attacked American military strongholds in South Vietnam, shocked an American public that had been told by government officials that the end of the war was near. Then the bloodshed and fire came home. On April 4, Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee, setting off a wave of urban riots that left major cities, including Washington, D.C., in flames and convincing many that the age of nonviolent protest had come to an end. That May, a small group of Catholic laity and clergy, known as the Catonsville Nine, raided a Maryland draft board and incinerated the records with a homemade recipe for napalm, the jellied gasoline mixture that U.S. forces were dropping on civilians in Vietnam. Although many antiwar advocates shunned this public destruction of government property, the poet and priest Daniel Berrigan, one of the Nine, insisted that it was better to burn paper than children. Given the intransigence of federal government policies, he and his supporters believed that there were few choices left besides the most militant of actions.

The visibility of such radicalism only increased as the viability of liberal dissent seemed to shrink. Demonstrations, some turning violent, rocked college campuses that spring of 1968. Then, in June, Robert Kennedy was assassinated in front of a crowd of supporters. Along with King, Kennedy had marked the last of the great liberal hopes. Now all such hope seemed dead. The rioting and police assault on demonstrators outside that August's Chicago Democratic National Convention, and the selection of Johnson's designate, Hubert Humphrey, as the party's presidential nominee, highlighted the obstacles that antiwar forces faced as they tried to make themselves heard. But it was the Chicago street actions, not Democratic Party machinations, that captured the public's attention. Rather than garnering sympathy and support for the movement, television images of militant protesters battling police raised the ire of the general public, who increasingly saw these demonstrations as a dangerous and disruptive force. Although growing numbers of Americans opposed the conduct of the war, in the battle for public opinion, the antiwar movement found itself on the losing end. As the movement became more and more associated with its radical wing, Americans came to hate antiwar protesters as much as they hated the war.

Wracked by internal dissension and external opposition, about all that kept the antiwar forces of the late 1960s together and moving was Washington's continued prosecution of the war. The imperative for action was constant. Republican Richard Nixon came to the presidency on a platform of "Peace with Honor." But when he unveiled his peace plans in May 1969, activists recognized that his peace required continued military support for South Vietnam and quickly mobilized in protest. That fall, the movement staged two of its largest and most impressive demonstrations. The first, the Moratorium, drew from the grassroots organizing experience of antiwar liberals and Democrats involved in the 1968 presidential campaign. On October 15, over a quarter of a million Americans—students, workers, housewives, and politicians—removed themselves from their day-to-day responsibilities and gathered in their cities and hometowns to express their desire to end the war. A month later, a coalition on the left organized the fall Mobilization, attracting more than 800,000 people in two large protests in San Francisco and Washington, D.C. The Mobilization's high point came during the thirty-eight-hour "March Against Death," where a seemingly endless line of participants, each carrying a placard with the name of an American killed in Vietnam, marched from Arlington Cemetery to the White House and placed the placards, one by one, into a series of wooden coffins. The success of these protests belied the disarray that was ravaging the movement. Nevertheless, when Nixon announced the U.S. invasion of Cambodia in late April 1970, the movement rallied in a spontaneous wave of protest.

These demonstrations were, more than anything, displays of reaction rather than proactive programs of organized political dissent, but there was no doubt that they were spreading. The May protests, for example, arose specifically in response to the Cambodia invasion. When they ended in tragedy on May 4 at Kent State University and two days later at Jackson State, after the National Guard and local police shot into crowds of unarmed students, college campuses rose up in revolt. Spontaneous student strikes shut down almost 500 colleges and universities. Veterans similarly began to organize, coming together as Vietnam Veterans Against the War in public demonstrations that stunned the nation and infuriated the president. With each escalation of the war, the protest movement escalated as well. But it was a movement held together by little more than a shared disgust with the war.

McGovern's Campaign to End the War

Protests persisted through the early 1970s, and although militant demonstrations still stood at the center of media coverage of the movement, liberals had actually started to make significant gains. Efforts at education, lobbying, and outreach had begun to influence the contours of congressional political debate. In 1972, Democratic presidential candidate George McGovern openly stated his plans to withdraw U.S. forces from Vietnam. By the time an agreement was reached on the Paris Peace Accords in January 1973, organizers representing the liberal wing of the movement had forged the strongest antiwar coalition ever, gaining support from McGovern's campaign, the labor movement, and traditional pacifist stalwarts like SANE, WILPF, and the AFSC.

It was this last core of pacifists who once again led the struggle in the years between the signing of the peace agreement and the actual end of fighting in Vietnam in 1975. Historians Charles DeBenedetti and Charles Chatfield describe the movement as, over the course of a long decade, having come full circle. What was a peace movement in 1963 was subsumed by 1965 into a larger, but more narrowly defined, antiwar struggle. A decade later, nonpacifist leftists, liberals, and civil rights advocates—the bulk of the movement's constituency—had fallen away, returning to the demands of their daily lives or to other struggles for social and political change. As a result, the antiwar movement reverted to its pacifist roots. But this was not the same pacifist movement that had inaugurated early protests against the Vietnam War. Antiwar coalitions had brought pacifists in touch with activists working on a variety of other concerns and had helped forge vital links between the peace movement and the broader struggles for social change. Pacifist leadership had also been transformed. A younger, experienced, and more radicalized generation now stood at the helm. Skeptical of liberal politics and governmental affairs, they displayed attitudes that reflected the growing cynicism of post-Watergate American life. Nevertheless, the peace activists of the mid-1970s remained a highly empowered group, committed to nonviolence and convinced that citizens had the power to promote change and resist war.

The Antiwar Movement: From Vietnam to the New World Order

In the decades since the end of the Vietnam War, the antiwar movement has had to adjust to dramatic changes in political climate, the global balance of power, and its place in domestic debates over violence and war. Although the movement shrank significantly after 1973, it rallied with an impressive show of strength in the early 1980s. Since then it has struggled to retain influence and support while advancing a nonviolent vision of social and political change.

One theme that continued unchanged from the Vietnam War years was opposition to U.S. military intervention overseas. Activists got an early taste of things to come in 1973, when a U.S.-sponsored military coup toppled the popularly elected Socialist government of Chile. By the late 1970s, the United States was actively working to undermine revolutionary movements in Guatemala, El Salvador, and Nicaragua. Peace advocates sided with the popular insurgent movements, arguing that they comprised the strongest voices for democracy and reform, and that the American government was supporting repressive military regimes under the guise of Cold War conflicts. Acting in solidarity with the people of Central America, peace activists staged vocal demonstrations, waged outreach and educational campaigns, lobbied Congress to cut off funding for military aid, and enlisted help from a wide range of liberal, radical, and religious groups. In all of these efforts, antiwar "veterans" of the Vietnam era shared their experience and knowledge with a new generation of activist volunteers as they struggled to maintain the movement's vital edge.

Opposition to Nuclear Weapons

The peace movement's other main focus in the 1970s and 1980s was the revived struggle against nuclear weapons. Even in the midst of the Vietnam War, SANE had not entirely abandoned its goal of ending the nuclear arms race. In 1969, it spearheaded an effective coalition effort to halt the development of antiballistic missiles (ABM), and in 1972 it played a key role, along with the AFSC and CALC, in the successful campaign against the B-1 bomber. These efforts were augmented by the contributions made by radical direct actionists to the antinuclear power crusades that swept the nation with mass demonstrations, and thousands of civil disobedience arrests, in the middle and late 1970s.

This combination of radical and liberal activism laid the foundation for the mass movement against nuclear weapons that emerged in 1979. The Nuclear Freeze campaign built on the mainstream political efforts of SANE and the AFSC. Its goal was limited and, activists believed, achievable: a bilateral and comprehensive freeze on the development and deployment of nuclear weapons. As with the test-ban advocates of the late 1950s, Freeze organizers saw their campaign as the first step toward a nuclear-free future. Designed as a grassroots effort that placed Nuclear Freeze referendums on state and local ballots and that put political pressure on elected officials, the campaign attracted widespread support and mobilized hundreds of thousands of citizens on its behalf. The radical wing of the peace movement, however, like its counterpart from the ban-the-bomb days, called for unilateral disarmament and shunned electoral campaigns. In cities from Minneapolis to Las Vegas to New York, radical grassroots organizers mobilized thousands of citizens to sit in at local munitions makers and military sites. Expanding the boundaries of protest even further, the priest brothers Daniel and Philip Berrigan catalyzed Catholic resistance to the bomb by hammering on nuclear warheads, sparking a series of direct disarmament actions known as the Plowshares movement. The women's movement also joined forces with the antinuclear crusade when, in solidarity with feminist antinuclear efforts in England, it organized a peace camp at the Seneca Army Depot in upstate New York.

Encompassing both the center and left wings of American politics, the antinuclear weapons movement grew at a dramatic pace that ultimately proved difficult to sustain. In June 1982, only three years after the founding of the Freeze, a New York City rally held in conjunction with the United Nations' Second Special Session on Disarmament attracted nearly one million people, making it the largest protest demonstration in American history. Two days later, in a coordinated gesture, over 1,600 protesters risked arrest by committing civil disobedience at the consulates of the world's nuclear powers. This dramatic showing, however, marked the movement's peak. By the mid-1980s, with few legislative victories and no treaties to show for its efforts, the movement to stop the arms race had shrunk down to a declining core of dedicated activists. Activism continued, albeit in a muted, diminished, and increasingly marginalized form.

The Persian Gulf War

The antiwar movement persisted in its reduced state through the late 1980s and into the 1990s, when world events rearranged the global dynamics of power and forced peace advocates to adjust their priorities and goals. The first indication that things had changed came in 1991 with the Persian Gulf War. The United States' military conflict with Iraq was qualitatively different from its military engagements of the Cold War years. Protests broke out against what activists described as the unilateral use of U.S. power in the world, with demonstrations that attracted tens of thousands of supporters in the days before the January 1991 declaration of war. It seemed, for a moment, as if the peace movement had been reborn. But once the war began, the tide of public opinion turned. In the new age of conservatism, the tolerance for dissent had dramatically diminished. Pundits described the Gulf War as the nation's remedy for its humiliation in Vietnam and as a preview of the United States' role in what President George H. W. Bush called "the new world order." The media, which no longer considered peace activism a newsworthy item, kept the voices of protest out of the news and isolated from one another. Only the most dedicated activists maintained their involvement through small local vigils, newsletters, and occasional civil disobedience protests. The movement now focused on constraining the U.S. military as much as possible. But with limited public support, such efforts became symbolic at best.

Stymied by the overt celebration of militarism that arose in the wake of the Persian Gulf War, antiwar advocates also had to confront the new world order that arose in late 1991 with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the subsequent end of the Cold War. Although some peace leaders talked of the possibility of a "peace dividend" that would be redistributed out of money saved from reduced military expenditures,

no such bonanza appeared. Nor did the nuclear arms race come to an end, despite a number of highly publicized arms limitations treaties. Instead, the United States was left as the sole global superpower, with no clear sense of its new role in the world, but intent on preserving its dominant global position. Peace activists grew increasingly concerned about the unilateral use of U.S. military power and the continued threat of nuclear proliferation but remained unsure about how to organize and around what issues to take a stand.

In the decade that followed the first Gulf War, the American peace movement focused on advancing a multifaceted vision of a world without violence and war. Groups like the War Resisters League and WILPF joined the anti-globalization protests of the early twenty-first century, lending their expertise as organizers and publicists, as well as working to keep the tradition of nonviolent activism alive. Numerous activists similarly continued their work for social justice, tackling issues as diverse as the death penalty, homelessness, inner-city poverty, racism, and environmental abuse, alongside their work for peace.

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, which killed thousands of Americans in New York City, the Pentagon, and on United Airlines Flight 93, which crashed in Pennsylvania, brought a new sense of urgency to these efforts. Fearing that the War on Terror would lead to civil liberties abuses at home, racial discrimination against Arab immigrants, and military actions abroad, antiwar groups mobilized to prevent new national and international crises. Their voices of dissent received little public or media attention in the year that followed the tragedy of 9/11. But by the winter of 2003, in the face of an impending U.S. war against Iraq, it became impossible to ignore their presence on the political stage. Organized under the auspices of established pacifist groups, as well as new broad-based coalitions like United for Peace, which brought together a wide array of labor, racial justice, anti-globalization, feminist, and faith-based activists, the antiwar movement staged a resurgence in numbers not seen since the days of the Vietnam War. Their efforts culminated in a dramatic weekend of protests in February 2003, when a coordinated series of marches and demonstrations brought more than 10 million people out onto the streets in over 600 cities across the globe. From New York to London to Rome, Istanbul, Australia, and Brazil, citizens of the world said "No" to war. Despite this unprecedented display of opposition to war, the national and international antiwar movement failed to prevent the U.S.-led attack and occupation of Iraq that began in March 2003. Nevertheless, the movement had shown its ability to mobilize a vast and diverse constituency of protest.

In the wake of U.S. military operations in Iraq, and the United States' shift to what many observers describe as a "permanent war mode," peace and antiwar activists are now struggling to marshal the energy of the winter's mobilizations and turn it into a sustained and organized movement against violence, injustice, and war. This will not be an easy task. Despite their recent organizing successes, the activists of 2003, pacifist and non-pacifist alike, have few illusions about their political strength. They recognize that their most pressing challenges are to persist, to make their voices heard, and to broaden and deepen their bases of support as they continue their critique of U.S. military policies and the impact of these policies on people's lives at home and abroad.

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Anti-Preparedness Movement

Anti-preparedness can be defined simply as the movement against U.S. military preparation before its official entry into World War I. Its roots lay in two closely related national debates about the role and nature of the United States. As the crisis in Cuba during the 1890s grew more serious and voices were raised in the United States for action against Spain, the power governing Cuba, a lively public argument broke out for and against war. Anti-imperialists insisted that the democratic tradition of the United States demanded no foreign wars for the creation of an American Empire. They argued that an empire would necessarily destroy democracy. On the other side, Imperialists like Admiral Alfred T. Mahan and Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt (later governor of New York and president of the United States) argued that the United States had earned the right to be a world-class power. The currency of power was a strong military and imperial acquisitions. No clear-cut victory was had by either group, despite the United States' acquisition of the Philippines and Puerto Rico, and the financial guardianship exercised over Cuba as a result of the Platt Amendment.

A second debate was literally fought out inside the United States over the nature of the country. Large corporations came to dominate the American economy in the 1890s and beyond, while citizens, notably workers faced with enormous corporate power, fought to uphold what they considered their individual democratic rights as laid out in the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights in the face of corporate power. Neither of these public debates was resolved when war was declared in Europe in August 1914. Indeed, strife had reached such a level between workers and bosses that it truly became "class warfare" across the nation. So serious was it that a presidential committee, the U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations, conducted hearings from 1913 through 1914 to investigate causes and remedies.

From mid-1914, businessmen such as J.P. Morgan and others who had lost monies since the beginning of hostilities in Europe joined forces with politicians like ex-President Theodore Roosevelt in an attempt to protect their interests. Although Roosevelt and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge (R-MA) championed the idea of protecting America's vital interests rather than business profitability, they eagerly accepted business support. The preparedness faction believed that President Woodrow Wilson had a moral obligation to increase military preparedness. Oddly enough, the first anti-preparedness advocate was President Wilson. In speeches during 1914, a midterm election year, he consistently advocated that the cost of building the military which his opponents wanted would draw America into the European conflict that had nothing to do with the United States, and so the nation would be forced to choose sides. If the United States became involved, according to Wilson, it would lose the status of friendship with some European nations and it would no longer be a disinterested party in their conflict.

In reality, Wilson believed that the war would change global structures both politically and economically, but his reasons for remaining on the sidelines in 1914 were based on domestic American politics. The United States in 1914 was in many aspects a nation of immigrants. In most major cities, anywhere between 60 percent and 85 percent of inhabitants were either foreign-born themselves or had at least one parent born abroad. The majority of first-generation immigrants in that year were from central, southern, and eastern European countries where the war had broken out and raged. President Wilson had little desire to confront the issues surrounding immigrant loyalty to America at that juncture. He recognized that it would be a long process to create the atmosphere necessary

to have the loyalty of these new immigrants tested on a battlefield in a country in which they still had relatives. He also knew that the majority of Americans were not in favor of creating a large military for two reasons. First were the budget constraints that military preparedness would place on domestic programs, along with a tax increase to fund military spending. The second was that most Americans associated a large military with European despotism and a threat to democratic principles. Beyond the domestic reasons, Wilson used the political reality of 1914 to back his anti-preparedness stance. Democrats in Congress would never vote for military programs over domestic spending, and most conservative Republicans and Progressives agreed. Along with most of the world, Congress believed that this was going to be a short war and it need not impinge on America. In 1914, using the principles that most Americans held, Wilson easily quieted the preparedness voices in America.

A dramatic change in attitude took place within the administration the following year, though it was not expressed publicly. Germany's use of submarines and attacks on American vessels raised some eyebrows and brought questioning from the press, but the majority of Americans still perceived the threat of war to be a European problem. The sinking of the ocean liner *Lusitania* in May, with the loss, among many others, of 128 American citizens, created public outrage that the war was no longer confined to the Europeans. Still, the American public was unwilling to go to war. By late 1915, the British and French governments were out of money. J.P. Morgan, as their representative in the United States, had trouble floating loans to continue their war effort. Aware that the war was inevitable given the situation in Europe with both sides deadlocked, Wilson began the process of preparing the nation to fight. When the politicians ignored Wilson's preparedness program presented to Congress in 1915, the president had to take action himself. He made a series of speeches during the second half of the year emphasizing that there were many Americans who held "alien sympathies"—a direct attack on immigrants with radical political beliefs. He also made references to labor unions which he believed were centers for immigrant radicals who advocated undermining the government. The most radical union of the day was the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). Wilson believed and advocated that these organizations of workers were an actual threat to the nation.

In 1916, Wilson ran for reelection. He used the rhetoric of "Americanism" and patriotism during the campaign in the face of criticism by Roosevelt, Lodge, and others who advocated that the time had come to support the Allies in Europe. Behind the scenes, Wilson worked with the Democrats in Congress to change the long-held antiwar stance of the party. During the Democratic Party Convention and on the campaign trail, he talked of "negotiated peace" in Europe and observed that the United States recognized the rights to self-determination and freedom from aggression for all nations. Wilson also spoke out against the anti-preparedness forces in America, stating that they did not have loyalty to the country. He used the term *disloyalty* to characterize any individual or group that expressed a negative opinion of his leadership. Wilson employed ethnicity as a device to demonstrate the differences between loyal Americans and the disloyal. This type of rhetoric served to increase the anger of unions such as the IWW which believed that American entrance into the war would be an excuse to smash labor unions and give industry a free hand against labor. When the election took place in November, Wilson won by a very narrow margin due to his antiwar stance. The Socialist Party, which had great success in the 1912 election, did not have a large following during the 1916 election because Eugene Debs, the living embodiment of the Socialist Party, refused to run because of ill health. Socialists, radical labor, and political groups largely voted for Wilson because he promised to keep them out of the war.

During the campaign, Wilson had claimed that war was the opposite of peace, while gently nudging the nation toward a more warlike stance through events such as preparedness parades in major cities around the country.

The city of San Francisco was the site of a huge Preparedness Day parade on July 22, 1916. Its purpose was to demonstrate support for the Allies and promote patriotism. More accurately, what actually happened in San Francisco reflected a conflict between conservatives and radicals. The Preparedness Day parade became a focus of the ongoing struggle in the city between workers and management, a microcosm of the national situation. The San Francisco Central Labor Council and the Building Trades Council actively opposed worker participation in this demonstration of patriotism, while city employers de-

manded that their employees take part or be replaced. The radicals set up an anti-preparedness demonstration at Dreamland Rink, a city park, for the evening of the same day.

For workers and radicals, opposition to the preparedness parades was relatively straightforward. They believed preparedness to be a cynical maneuver by big business to hijack patriotism and the nation for their own selfish ends, to crush unionism and worker rights, and to profit from death and injury in war. In San Francisco, such an attitude appeared amply proven by the fact that the Preparedness Day parade was organized by the Chamber of Commerce, an organization dominated by large businesses like Pacific Gas & Electric and United Railways. These businesses had raised $1 million earlier in the year and had revived the city's vigilante heritage with the formation of its Law and Order Committee, the specified goal of both being to rid the city of labor unions. Although the bulk of the energy behind the anti-preparedness movement came from radicals and militant labor, it was also supported by many immigrant and ethnic Americans, especially those who were first-generation Americans, and by veterans of the anti-imperialist and clean government movements of recent history. In San Francisco, these latter people were represented at the Dreamland meeting in speeches by Rudolf Spreckels, a banker, and Fremont Older, publisher of the *San Francisco Bulletin*. Anti-preparedness was a powerful expression of what was believed at root to be a contest between workers and management thinly disguised in Americanism.

The Preparedness Day parade itself went ahead, with thousands of marchers participating more to protect their jobs than through enthusiasm for the cause and thousands also who truly believed in its worth. Rapidly, however, it turned to tragedy. A bomb exploded, killing ten and wounding scores of others. Immediately, five militant city labor unionists were arrested. They included two men later famous as the centerpiece of international campaigns for their release, Warren Billings and Tom Mooney. Radicalism in America was blamed, and the San Francisco Preparedness Day bombing fed into a growing move to tar all dissent in the nation as unpatriotic and anarchistic. Anti-preparedness as a movement was transformed into a series of defense campaigns against government suppression of free speech.

In other cities where preparedness parades were held in 1916, as in Chicago, anti-preparedness demonstrations were held. The following year, as the United States moved ever closer to war, significant labor groups like the Chicago Central Labor Council and the United Hebrew Trades, developed their anti-preparedness and labor defense campaigns, giving large rallies and money to denounce the government and employers' drive to war.

During the first months of 1917, it became apparent from the division within the country over the issue of preparedness and the increasing strength of radical labor and political movements that Wilson had not managed to bring the country to a consensus over the war. The anti-preparedness campaign continued with publication of articles in Socialist, radical, and labor journals, such as the IWW's *Solidarity*, the Socialist New York *Call*, and the Anarchist *Mother Earth*. Rallies were held, keeping the momentum of the movement high. Congress passed a series of laws early in the year dealing with patriotism issues.

First, it passed a law restricting incoming immigrants to those who were literate and to deport those who held political beliefs contrary to the majority in the nation. During the following month, it passed legislation outlawing any bodily threats to the president. Congress outlawed the publication of information that could undermine the success of the U.S. military during war. Although the United States did not declare war on Germany until April 6, 1917, the pieces of legislation passed during this winter session were all aimed at the radicals and labor affiliates.

In March, when the state of Idaho passed a law that banned the IWW from any action in labor negotiations that could be determined as unlawful, the anti-preparedness movement gained strength. The fear was that the Idaho legislation would be the beginning of a national ban on labor negotiations, with claims that the unions were using unlawful means to obtain a contract to the workers' advantage. The federal Justice Department started compiling lists of radicals and union members whom they believed to be alien and disloyal to American interests. Nonetheless, the anti-preparedness forces continued to publish articles and speak out against the government, recognizing that arrest and deportation could be imminent.

The declaration of America's entry into World War I in April 1917 signaled the end of the anti-preparedness campaign. It was replaced by anti-

conscription campaigns. The laws enacted to stop dissent during the preparedness phase of America's involvement with the war were now turned against those who continued to advocate against involvement. For the radicals and labor leaders there was a new fear. They believed that the government was willing to suspend civil liberties and the right to free speech during war. Time would prove their fears justified.

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Antiwar Movement: World War I

American opposition to World War I came primarily from two wings of the peace movement—internationalists and liberal reformers—and developed in two distinct phases—before and after the United States entered the war in April 1917. Internationalist peace organizations worked within the framework of established global political power structures to develop international organizations, arbitration, and laws for securing and maintaining peace without trying to produce fundamental social and economic change. Liberal reformers were composed of a coalition of feminists, social workers, labor lawyers, publicists, journalists, clergy members, and others who formulated their own peace organizations or integrated antiwar efforts within their other progressive causes. Unlike the internationalists, they closely connected the achievement and maintenance of peace with substantial political, social, and economic reform. Before the United States entered the war, the peace movement captured a degree of sympathy from the general public, for many Americans initially wanted their country to stay out of what they saw as a strictly European conflict. The opposition movement against the war collapsed when the United States declared war on Germany on April 6, 1917, as it quickly became unacceptable to publicly voice opposition to the country's war effort. Most peace organizations disbanded, became defunct, or shifted their stance to support the war effort, focusing instead on gaining a quick and equitable peace.

Internationalists

Most internationalist peace organizations started in the first decade and a half of the twentieth century. Increased involvement in the foreign arena tangibly launched the United States as an emerging imperial power. U.S. participation in international affairs—notably the Spanish-American War and the costly Russo-Japanese War—spurred pacifist interest in constructing systems to maintain peace between nations that possessed increasingly powerful armed forces. These circumstances helped peace societies to dramatically increase their membership and influence. No doubt, however, the pacifist movements were slow to develop. The American Peace Society, for example—the largest American peace organization in 1900—grew from a small local society in Boston. The nascent expansion of the United States as an international power led to the rapid growth of the organization. By 1907, the American Peace Society expanded to nine chapters, and by 1914, the organization grew in stature to become a bona fide national organization with thirty-one chapters across the country.

During these prewar years, a range of peace advocates emerged to cut across the political spectrum, ranging from internationalists like the American Society of International Law to feminist Jane Addams to Socialists. However, the internationalists certainly had the most influence, power, and momentum of all peace activists. From 1901 to 1914, Americans formed forty-five new peace organizations. Among the most influential of these were the American Society of International Law, the American Peace Society, and the World Peace Foundation. These groups drew the support and participation of elite men like Andrew Carnegie and Elihu Root. In fact, Carnegie established the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in 1911, which subsidized many of the pacifist organizations and provided the opportunity to engage directly with diplomats and state leaders, often at international conferences and closed meetings. Pacifists typically did not work in public forums or try to gain popular support through rallies and other events, practices pursued by liberal reformers.

In the years before World War I, internationalists tried to maintain peace by setting up a network of global organizations, laws, courts, and conferences providing nations with a framework through which

On August 29, 1914—twenty-six days after the onset of World War I—some 1,500 women conducted a silent peace march down Fifth Avenue in New York City. They favored keeping the United States out of the war. *(Brown Brothers)*

they could peacefully resolve conflicts through negotiation, arbitration, and legal hearings. This approach to promoting peace conflicted with the European system of maintaining a careful balance of power among nations and also required that Americans abandon their hope that isolationism would protect the United States from armed conflict. Two significant examples of peace activist work include participation in the First and Second Hague Peace Conferences in 1899 and 1907. The 1899 conference developed some rules of war and established the permanent Court of Arbitration. The second conference expanded on the war conventions, particularly on rules of neutrality. The work of many internationalist peace advocates before and during World War I laid the conceptual groundwork for the League of Nations and ultimately the United Nations. The League to Enforce Peace, for example, was founded during the war for the primary goal of promoting a postwar international organization.

Differences within the ranks of the internationalist peace movement focused on the degree to which nations should surrender their sovereignty to an international system of institutions and laws. On the conservative end, some felt that a body of laws and rules of arbitration that nations agreed to would be sufficient to maintain peace without substantially impinging on a nation's sovereignty. On the liberal end of the scale, others felt the Western world required nations to give up part of their sovereignty—partic-

As World War I ravaged Europe, women played a major role in trying to end the hostilities. Pictured here is a delegation of the Women's International Committee for Permanent Peace. Jane Addams stands in the front row, second from the left, above the first "E" in "PEACE." *(© National Archives)*

ularly their ability to unilaterally engage another nation with force—in exchange for a collective security system to prevent armed conflict. Despite these differences, all internationalists worked with the assumption that structured international cooperation was needed at some level.

Internationalists maintained a noticeably conservative approach to advocating peace through working closely within the political establishment. They did not connect peace to social causes or class relations, and they did not look to address issues of inequality. The internationalists did not make their calls for peace on moral grounds but rather on practical arguments that modern armed forces made war economically and politically unfeasible. As America industrialized and expanded its global trade, they argued, international peace and stability became increasingly critical to the nation's economy.

The start of World War I in August 1914 seemed to leave many internationalist peace advocates in shock. In the war's first two years, most internationalists abandoned their antiwar stance and supported the Allied cause. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace played a critical role in this shift as it used its financial power to convince a number of peace organizations to back the Allies. Internationalists justified this switch by arguing that Germany had to be defeated before any meaningful long-term peace could be established. In short, they took up a strategy of peace through victory.

The internationalists therefore turned their attention to securing a stable peace after the war. Their

most significant work toward this goal took place when members of the New York Peace Society and other conservative peace activists established the League to Enforce Peace in 1915. Their proposed league was a federation of nations that agreed to use force against any state that refused to submit to international law and arbitration. Under the leadership of former president William Howard Taft, the League to Enforce Peace gained an audience with President Woodrow Wilson in 1916. At that meeting Wilson did not directly endorse the group's proposals, but he did become the first head of state to publicly support a league or association of nations after the war. This marked one of the internationalists' biggest achievements during the war and indicated their focus was not on opposing the war but on developing a postwar peacekeeping infrastructure.

Liberal Reformers

A range of liberal activists from feminists to social workers to reform-minded clergymen along with many peace activists saw the reaction of the established peace societies as weak, timid, and ineffectual. Frustrated by what they saw as the peace societies' refusal to advocate for an immediate end to the war, many liberal reformers—including peace activists frustrated by their leaders—formed several new peace societies after the start of the war. These new organizations differed from the internationalists in that they were generally much more adamant in their demands that the war end immediately and that the United States stay out of the conflict. They also connected the war to many of the social ills affecting America and the world. Their calls for peace became part of their larger moral crusade for social justice and equity, while the internationalists made their calls for peace on the grounds that it was the key to political and economic stability. By 1916, the liberal reform wing of the peace movement had overshadowed the internationalist wing.

Feminist leaders were among the first to organize protests in the United States against the war and connect it to social and political inequalities. Less than a month after fighting started in Europe, leaders of various women's organizations and suffrage movements and independent feminists, such as Fanny Garrison Villard, organized a 1,500-person march in New York City protesting the war. Many of these leaders built on the success of that march to officially formulate in January 1915 the Woman's Peace Party a meeting in Washington, D.C., attended by 3,000 people. The party appointed Jane Addams—founder of Hull-House, social worker, and among the nation's leading feminists—as its chair. It became the premiere women's war opposition group in America, claiming 40,000 members in 1917 before the United States entered the war.

Like other reformers, women's groups tied their opposition to the war to their own causes, women's rights and, specifically, suffrage. Some felt that the war, which the general public associated with male bravery, strength, and courage, would emphasize the differences between the sexes at a time when feminists were trying to demonstrate and achieve their equality. Therefore, protesting the war was a necessary part of their feminist and suffrage work. Addams argued that their protest against the war was a natural extension of the work they had engaged in before 1914. Not only was their opposition to the war a politically necessary move, but it fit within their feminist philosophy and feminine role as well. Although fighting for gender equality, many women's rights activists still subscribed to the prevailing theory that women were more nurturing and sensitive than men and therefore better qualified and more naturally inclined to support peace. This view of women also made it socially acceptable for them to engage in peace activities, which in turn helped them become prominent players in the antiwar movement.

This view of women also gave the feminist peace activists the intellectual backing to argue that the male-dominated internationalist peace organizations were an integral part of the state system that caused the war in the first place. They felt that these groups had aimed too narrowly to only restrict war and not trying to achieve fundamental reform that would bring the world a lasting peace. The Woman's Peace Party and other women's organizations claimed that they were in a better position to gain this lasting peace because of their ability and feminine sensibilities. This position clearly put them at odds intellectually with the internationalists and firmly in the liberal reform wing of the peace movement.

During the first year and a half of the war, women's groups and other liberal peace organizations shared the internationalists' approach of using mediation between nations to achieve peace. Although the older, conservative peace societies looked to use mediation as part of an international structure to maintain peace after the Allies defeated the Central Powers, the newer, reform-minded peace organizations wanted to use mediation to end the war immediately. The International Congress of Women at The Hague and the Neutral Conference for Continuous

Mediation were prominent examples of efforts to mediate a quick end to the war. The International Congress of Women convened in April 1915. Presided over by Jane Addams and attended by American and European delegates, the congress called for an ongoing conference of neutral nations that would lead the negotiation of a peace settlement. The Conference for Continuous Mediation also met at The Hague later the same year. Beset with internal problems, the Conference managed to produce a peace proposal in 1916 that featured mediation. No state leader endorsed either proposal.

In 1916, peace activists began to shift their focus from international mediation to anti-preparedness in the United States. Before America entered the war, a public debate raged over how dramatically, if at all, the United States should increase its armed forces, particularly the Army. During the early years of the war, most Americans wanted to stay out of the conflict. In fact, in 1916 the nation reelected President Woodrow Wilson, who made his pledge to keep the nation out of the war a central tenet of his campaign. Even many preparedness supporters—those who argued that the United States should increase its armaments—wanted the country to stay off the battlefield. They felt that a strong military would prevent America from getting dragged into the war. Many peace activists believed, however, that strengthening the armed forces would do just the opposite. Opposing preparedness became one of the main goals of the liberal peace movement in late 1915 and throughout 1916.

A number of prominent liberal peace activists founded the American Union Against Militarism (AUAM) in November 1915. It quickly became the leading anti-preparedness organization in the country as it fought calls for a draft and increased military spending and became one of the most significant peace organizations of the war. The origins of the AUAM came from the Anti-Preparedness Committee, which was founded by reformers in New York. Within a year, it grew from fifteen to 15,000 members and transformed itself into the AUAM. The organization focused on lobbying and publicly arguing against other organizations that supported preparedness. In particular, the AUAM fought against conscription, dramatic military spending increases, and the Plattsburg movement that encouraged reserve officer training for civilians.

In 1916, the AUAM had striking success in preventing a major armed conflict between the United States and Mexico. While in pursuit of Francisco "Pancho" Villa and his irregular troops, who had killed several Americans in 1916, U.S. and regular Mexican army soldiers exchanged gunfire on June 21, 1916, which cost nine U.S. lives. Much of the press blamed the Mexicans for starting the incident and clamored for full-scale war. President Wilson came close to launching an invasion of the country. The AUAM immediately launched a publicity campaign to prove that the American troops were at least as much at fault as the Mexicans for the incident. The peace organization managed to turn the tide of public opinion, which quickly pressured Wilson to negotiate a settlement with Mexico. The AUAM helped facilitate those negotiations, and the two nations avoided war—although they remained wary of each other. It was a resounding success for the anti-preparedness organization and appeared to provide a model for keeping the United States out of the world war and resolving the horrific conflict. However, it proved infinitely more difficult to negotiate a resolution of the European conflict than the U.S.-Mexico dispute.

The United States Enters the War

Just as the start of the war in 1914 had stunned the older, established peace organizations, America's declaration of war on April 6, 1917, shocked the newer, progressive peace societies and threw them in disarray. Within a few months, most of the progressive peace organizations abandoned their antiwar stance and supported the American war effort. Coherent, organized opposition to the war began to fall apart at the beginning of 1917 with Germany declaring unrestricted U-boat warfare on January 31 and the United States breaking diplomatic relations on February 3. By the fall of that year, it became nearly impossible to make antiwar or anti-U.S. involvement statements without facing the active suppression and occasionally violent wrath of private citizens and public officials. President Wilson, who was sympathetic to the peace activists' cause and who received the support of most activists in the 1916 election, called antiwar efforts treasonous in June 1917. The government formed the Committee on Public Information that publicly hounded those who opposed the war. It also passed the Espionage Act in 1917 and the Sedition Act in 1918, which allowed the government to investigate, harass, and arrest individuals making any remotely antiwar statements.

In this difficult political climate which accepted little political dissension, most liberal peace activists gave their support to the nation's war effort. Only a small number of peace organizations and individual

"I DIDN'T RAISE MY BOY TO BE A SOLDIER"

In the early twentieth century, the United States was emerging as an imperial power, to the great dismay of many Americans who wanted the country to stay out of European wars. Much of the opposition to preparation for World War I was to emerge from pacifists, isolationists, Socialists, and Christian denominations. In 1915, "I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier" became a popular antiwar song.

Ten million soldiers to the war have gone,
Who may never return again.
Ten million mothers' hearts must break,
For the ones who died in vain.
Head bowed down in sorrow in her lonely years,
I heard a mother murmur thro' her tears:

Chorus:
I didn't raise my boy to be a soldier,
I brought him up to be my pride and joy,
Who dares to put a musket on his shoulder,
To shoot some other mother's darling boy?
Let nations arbitrate their future troubles,
It's time to lay the sword and gun away,
There'd be no war today,
If mothers all would say,
I didn't raise my boy to be a soldier.

(Chorus)
What victory can cheer a mother's heart,
When she looks at her blighted home?
What victory can bring her back,
All she cared to call her own?
Let each mother answer in the year to be,
Remember that my boy belongs to me!

(Chorus)

Source: Al Pianadosi and Alfred Bryan, "I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier," Edison Collection, Library of Congress, recording.

activists remained openly opposed to the war, and most Americans viewed these remaining groups as radicals. They only shared their antiwar stance with individual conscientious objectors who refused to join the war effort because of their religious, philosophical, or political beliefs. Antiwar organizations either ceased operations, existed in name only, or shifted politically to the left as Socialists, radicals, far-left reformers, and members of the cultural avant-garde—among the few people to still oppose the war—filled the ranks of the depleted peace societies.

Peace activists who ultimately dropped their direct opposition to America's participation in the conflict exhibited varying degrees of support for the nation's war effort. At one end of the spectrum was Jane Addams who did not agree with America's involvement in the war but did support charities that tended to soldiers' needs. Nor did she directly try to obstruct the country's cause. At the other end of the spectrum was the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, which offered its offices to the government's Committee on Public Information. Peace activists who actively supported the war effort saw the conflict as an opportunity to further their reform aims. Some felt that the war might weaken or even destroy some of the social, economic, and political structures that prevented reform. Others calculated that supporting the war would pay political dividends later. For example, the National American Woman Suffrage Association supported the war effort, and in 1918 President Wilson fully endorsed suffrage, claiming it was essential for the war effort.

The peace activists who became war supporters tried to direct the nation to pursue the war in a just manner and for a fair peace. Many formerly antiwar leaders continued with the work of the prewar internationalists to formulate an international structure to ensure a permanent peace. They also demanded that peace come quickly and that it be based on liberal principles and be fair and reasonable for all sides. In addition, they supported relief efforts for victims of the war in Europe. Peace activists—particularly from the liberal reform wing of the movement—focused on preserving freedoms and equality on the homefront. They argued that the nation's political process must be more representative to allow for a broader spectrum of people to be heard. They also demanded an equitable distribution of war costs in the light of widespread rumors of profiteering by industrialists.

In particular, these activists focused on defending individual liberties, especially the rights of dissenters and conscientious objectors. The National Civil Liberties Bureau—which later became the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)—of the AUAM led this defense of civil liberties. AUAM members founded the Bureau as part of the original organization after the United States entered the war. By October 1917, the Bureau became an independent entity and was boldly defending the rights of those who objected to the war.

The formation of the National Civil Liberties Bureau signaled the demise of the AUAM and symbol-

TYSON CO. THEATRE TICKETS
COHAN'S THEATRE
BOYS ARE STILL BOYS IN GERMANY & FRANCE THEY MUST BE SOLDIERS IN NEW YORK State
NO NATION AT WAR PERMITS MILITARY DRILL IN IT'S SCHOOLS
The "EMPIRE STATE" COMPELS IT
DRUGS

At a demonstration in New York City, antiwar activists protest military drills and conscription as a prelude to American involvement in World War I. *(Brown Brothers)*

ized the internal division that struck many peace organizations in 1917 and 1918. Moderate members left the organization—including one of the founders, Paul Kellogg—when the majority of the AUAM decided to start the Civil Liberties Bureau. Kellogg and others felt that its work to defend conscientious objectors and war dissenters radicalized the AUAM. The remaining members merged with antiwar Socialists and the Emergency Peace Federation to form the People's Council of America for Peace and Democracy, which campaigned for a quick peace settlement, a repeal of conscription, and civil liberties. It steadfastly opposed the war and urged workers in America not to support the war effort. Not surprisingly, a number of federal and local authorities hounded the People's Council throughout the war.

What happened to the AUAM illustrated a pattern throughout the peace movement of moderate activists becoming, at least passive, supporters of America's military campaign. They often left their antiwar organizations or transformed them into war-supporting entities. Meanwhile, those that remained steadfast against the war either took over the peace organizations or started new ones. The composition of the remaining antiwar movement slid to the left as Socialists, members of the Industrial Workers of the World, and radicals replaced liberal reformers who generally worked within the nation's capitalist framework.

The liberal reformers who backed the war had hoped that they would be able to influence how the nation pursued its war aims—defending civil liberties at the home front and ensuring a fair and lasting peace abroad. Their vision of how the United States should conduct the war never materialized. The world war turned out to be one of the worst periods for civil liberties in American history, and the punitive terms of the Treaty of Versailles were obviously disappointing to them. On the other hand, stalwart antiwar activists and political radicals accused these liberal reformers of having no principles because they bowed to societal pressure to support the war. The bitterest criticism of the liberal reformers came from Randolph Bourne, a young intellectual. Bourne claimed that these new war-supporters had sold out their principles for mere expediency. He also rhetorically asked, if the peace activists could not prevent the war, how could they manage it in a way that would produce the reforms they wanted?

The number of conscientious objectors was very small, but they were among the most steadfast opponents to the war. They were not an organized group but rather individual men who refused to fight in the war. The Selective Service Act allowed people from generally recognized religious sects whose religious beliefs prevented them from fighting to claim an exemption from combat duty. This narrow standard excluded people who did not belong to a well-known sect or who objected to fighting on political or philosophical grounds. Local draft boards were primarily responsible for deciding who was eligible for an exemption, and the criteria for making these decisions varied widely from board to board. The claims of an untold number of men for conscientious objector status were turned down.

By the end of the war, the army had officially drafted just under 4,000 conscientious objectors. Approximately 2,600 of them had been assigned to either noncombatant roles in the army or had been furloughed out of the army with assignments for industrial, agricultural, or reconstruction work. At war's end, the army had just over 200 conscientious objectors whom it had not assigned to alternative service. The army court-martialed and imprisoned 450 objectors on whom it did not bestow official conscientious status. Another fifty men were also court-martialed but quickly released. Just over 700 absolutist objectors were in military camps but refused to engage in noncombatant duty because they believed that even this service would help conduct a war they fervently opposed. In comparison, local draft boards had given almost 21,000 men noncombatant status for a variety of other reasons, and an estimated 171,000 people simply evaded the draft.

Most people were conscientious objectors—or at least tried to claim this status—because of either political or philosophical principles, their literal belief in scripture, or a combination of religious, philosophical, and humanitarian beliefs. Of the officially recognized—hence, religious conscientious objectors—half were Mennonites and one-quarter belonged to pacifist sects. Nearly all of the religious objectors had a literal understanding of the Bible.

Several religious denominations, especially the Quakers, Mennonites, and Brethren, organized efforts to try to ensure the civil rights of conscientious objectors, prevent their mistreatment in army camps, and provide any financial assistance they might have needed. Most pacifist churches, such as the Mennonites and the Quakers, held fast to their antiwar beliefs after the United States entered the war. Although these churches were opposed to the war, many felt a moral obligation to provide assistance to those left destitute by the conflict. Members of the Mennonites and Brethren, for example, worked through public charity organizations or founded their own groups, such as the Friends Service Committee. These churches made their sense of obligation to help those hurt by the war an integral part of their antiwar beliefs.

Conclusion

The start of World War I facilitated the emergence of a new generation of peace activists who opposed U.S. involvement while advocating a swift and just peace. Most new peace advocates were liberal reformers. Among other groups, leading figures included labor leaders, social workers, feminists, journalists and writers, and Social Gospel clergy who associated their opposition to the war to their ongoing reform work. As the war continued, liberal reformers became more influential than internationalist peace advocates who, since the end of the nineteenth century, had worked to develop an international system of courts, laws, and arbitration to prevent armed conflict between nations. America's entry into the European conflict in 1917 created disarray in the antiwar movement as many peace activists supported the nation's war effort and a fair and equitable peace while also trying to protect the rights and civil liberties of Americans who still opposed the war. Only a small number of peace organizations maintained a principled antiwar stance, moving to the political left—since only radicals, So-

cialists, and those with an unwavering commitment to opposition to the war or the government's policies remained to fill the breach. These enduring antiwar organizations only shared this stance with individual conscientious objectors and pacifist religious sects.

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World War I and Civil Liberties

The definition of civil liberties in America has changed over time. Civil liberties consist of the first ten amendments of the Constitution, known as the Bill of Rights, and natural rights that have been deemed as individual rights after a prolonged period of usage. Civil liberties occur only in democracies; the Founding Fathers believed that inclusion of the Bill of Rights in the Constitution would protect the individual from encroachments by the state. Changes that occurred during the Progressive Era and World War I significantly altered the way in which the Bill of Rights was interpreted. During this time frame, civil liberties were no longer an abstract question with little case law to make them a reality. In the early years of the twentieth century, the rights of the individual came face to face with the needs of the state as expressed through the leaders of the nation.

America's entrance into World War I on April 6, 1917, was preceded by months in which the legislative branch of government had passed a series of laws that diminished the rights of the individual. Many of the laws passed between mid-1915 and American entrance into the war dealt with the need of the state to prepare for war and to isolate those who voiced dissent against war preparations. Because of the ethnic composition of the immigrants who arrived on American shores during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and the fact that their homelands were now at war, Woodrow Wilson's administration worried over the issue of immigrant loyalty to the United States. The president wanted the support of the whole nation if and when the country declared war against Germany. The other group that presented the Wilson administration with problems over the issue of war was the radicals. Many of the radical labor and political movements of this time were composed of first- and second-generation immigrants. Wilson's administration believed that dissent from the radicals would lead to a groundswell of antigovernment feelings within the nation. During the early months of 1917, the legislators prepared the groundwork for the curtailing of civil rights through legislation pertaining to the immigration of radicals and protection of the president from words or actions that could be interpreted as hostile.

Restrictive Civil Liberties

After war was declared, the issue of restricting civil liberties increased. During the years prior to the war, there were countless struggles with municipalities, states, and federal authorities over civil rights, most especially the Free Speech fights waged by the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). Historians explain the suspension of civil liberties during the war as a necessity inasmuch as the issue of national security became a fundamental concern for the Wilson administration. America's entry into the war changed the discourse of civil liberties from one of conservative interests into a national issue. Shortly after the declaration of war, the congressional conservatives attacked Wilson for his lack of repressive measures when dealing with dissidents, whether it was the leader of the Socialist Party of America (SPA), Eugene Debs, or the social reformer, antiwar voice, Jane Addams. Wilson's response to the congressional criticisms was a proclamation that gave federal agents the right to arrest enemy-aliens, those who wrote or spoke against government policies. The antiwar voices were predominant in both the midwestern and northwestern states. Wilson and his administration wanted to destroy the mechanisms of dissent in the country.

Wilson quickly set up the Committee on Public Information (CPI) with the purpose of creating a national unity of public cooperation against the enemies of the state. One of its main purposes was to maintain multicultural solidarity for the war effort. The CPI quickly assumed a propaganda role, with a simple message that the enemy was everywhere and the good citizen should report any type of un-American behavior to the proper authorities. The CPI's message

was patriotism, and its role was to create consensus thinking about the war and American involvement in it, while asking all loyal Americans to act as a policing mechanism against those who dissented. The CPI was only the first agency created to suppress civil liberties during the war.

Directly after the declaration of war, Wilson created the Civil Service Commission (CSC) to investigate the loyalty of government employees. The CSC was given wide latitude to decide where there was a reasonable doubt of loyalty attached to any person then working for the government and those who applied for positions. This committee lasted until 1921, and many people were fired from federal agencies with no cause shown for the CSC actions.

During the following two years, the legislative branch passed a series of laws that would curtail civil liberties further. Wilson sent Congress the Espionage Act in May of 1917, which dealt with the issues of sabotage and spying for foreign powers, but it extended the powers of the federal government over the rights of free speech and a free press also. The Espionage Act broadened the use of the term *treason,* and it allowed the postmaster general to confiscate all materials that could be interpreted as treasonous under the loosely worded law. The law referred to simply treasonous language; however, with the new version of the Espionage Act it became open to interpretation by the postmaster general. Any newspapers, periodicals, or journals that were sent through the mails became scrutinized for language and content. This was especially applied to German-language and radical publications. The Anarchist Emma Goldman's *Mother Earth* and the Socialists' *The Masses* were two of the journals considered treasonous by the federal government, and their mailing privileges were rescinded. The editors of any publication that fit under this new law were liable to fines and federal imprisonment.

On the heels of the Espionage Act there followed another executive order from the president that directly affected the German population living in America. All German aliens over the age of fourteen had to be registered with the federal government and were barred from living or working in areas of the country that had any military importance. This selected group had to get federal permission to move within the country and were also required to report any change in their employment or living circumstances. These new restrictions affected nearly 600,000 Germans living in the country. Over 2,000 of them were considered national security risks and were accordingly interned.

The second piece of national security legislation passed in 1917 was the Trading with the Enemy Act. Although superficially it dealt with trade to either Germany or Austro-Hungary, it contained a domestic clause that allowed the postmaster general to suspend the mailing privileges of all publications that in his estimation were not in the best interests of the nation. This struck at the heart of the radical and labor movements.

In 1918, two acts were passed that gave the government more power over the individual. The first was the Alien Act, which granted the commissioner of immigration the right to deport any nonnaturalized American suspected of actions or beliefs that were not in agreement with the government. The Alien Act also allowed the government to remove from American shores anyone who spoke openly against the government. For the radical and labor movements whose memberships had a large number of first-generation, nonnaturalized citizens on their roles, this act would destroy their movement's base of support. The last act passed during the war period that curtailed civil liberties was the Sedition Act of 1918. This act placed a sweeping ban on any printed or published language that was disloyal to the government or the military. The penalty was federal prison and a hefty fine.

The laws, viewed benignly, could be interpreted as an attempt to unify the nation in a time of war, but the Wilson administration enforced these laws with a great deal of vigor. Albert S. Burleson, the postmaster general, took to heart the Trading with the Enemy Act and began suppressing mailings of journals in which radical and even those who were native-born Americans criticized the war or the administration. He hated the radical and labor movements, and so their journals and newspapers were suppressed without delay. Former congressman Victor Berger, the editor of *Milwaukee Leader*, a Socialist publication, had his newspaper repressed, but he was also convicted of violation of the 1917 Espionage Act and was not allowed to take his seat after being reelected to Congress in 1918.

The Justice Department vigilantly hunted people who were deemed enemies of the state under these new laws. It prosecuted over 2,000 people under the Espionage Act and nearly 1,000 under the Sedition Act between 1917 and 1919. The most famous case prosecuted under the Espionage Act was that of the Socialist and labor leader Eugene Debs for statements he made at an antiwar rally in Ohio. Debs refused to disavow his statements and took the opportunity in court to avow his Socialist beliefs. He was sentenced

to ten years in a federal prison. The most famous case prosecuted under the Sedition Act was that of the Anarchists Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. The Sedition Act was a more explicit version of the Espionage Act. Goldman and Berkman, neither a naturalized American citizen, had journals that condemned preparedness prior to the war and worked to stop conscription and condemn the government after America entered the war. They were Russian by birth, and after the Bolsheviks overthrew the government of Russia in 1917 and with anti-Russian feelings running high in the government, it was almost inevitable that the two would be tried and convicted for their inflammatory publications. They were the first tried and deported using the Sedition Act.

What occurred during World War I was simply governmental institutions being used to regulate free speech. The entire nation did not agree with the repressive measures being used to counter antigovernment rhetoric; concerned citizens and those who dissented formed organizations to defend the nation from encroachments of and intrusions on civil liberties. A young social worker who refused to register for the draft, Roger Baldwin, formed the National Civil Liberties Bureau in 1917. It was later renamed the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). Its purpose was to defend the right to free speech and free opinions against both governmental and private attempts to rescind those rights.

The Courts and Civil Liberties

During the war years, the U.S. Supreme Court was very reluctant to take on the issue of civil liberties. With the war raging in Europe and following American involvement, the Court moved very slowly to take on appeals such as the convictions of Victor Berger and Eugene Debs. They did reverse Berger's conviction on court procedural grounds, but Berger was still not allowed to take his seat in Congress. As for Eugene Debs, the Court found in 1919 that his conviction should be upheld on the grounds that the speeches he made against the war and draft registration were impediments to the government carrying out its laws. Later that same session, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes would use *Schenck v. United States* (1919), another case of a radical convicted under the Sedition Act which restricted free speech when there were circumstances when the right to free speech presented a "clear and present danger" such as during war. Thus, the Supreme Court sided with the Wilson administration that the war activities were of greater importance than the individual's right to free speech, and therefore the rights articulated in the Constitution could be suspended during certain circumstances. Holmes was criticized for the "clear and present danger" decision by constitutional proponents such as Harvard Law professor Zechariah Chafee and Judge Learned Hand. By mid-1919, during the height of the Red Scare that followed the war, Holmes would become one of the leading Supreme Court voices championing the right to free speech even during times of war.

During these years, when there were complaints that the Justice Department or postmaster general had gone too far in their restriction of civil liberties, the administration did nothing to change the way in which the government was operating. This attitude trickled down to local levels where German Americans were discriminated against. Some states and municipalities outlawed the teaching of German language or German-language books in libraries. German-language books were burned in some places, and other localities forbade the populace to speak German. State and local governments took this opportunity to impose laws similar to the Sedition Act, restricting the rights of radical political groups, especially the Socialists and the Anarchists. They also challenged the right of existence for radical labor movements such as the IWW. The IWW never spoke out against the war because they believed that there was a more urgent war than the one in Europe and that was the war with capitalists. Many states refused to seat Socialists or other political radicals in their state or local legislatures. These different actions were infringements of civil liberties and political repression.

After the Armistice was signed in 1919, there was no immediate change in the government's attitudes toward radical groups within the country. The government continued to use the wartime legislation during the demobilization effort as it feared that there would be social unrest. Although Socialist parties in many states in the South and the Midwest had broken apart, there remained great support in the North and midwestern states. The government did not want a political challenge, and with the creation of the American Communist Party the laws that had been in place during the war were not rescinded. The year 1920 was a terrible year for civil liberties; with the war over, many Americans wanted a return to "normalcy" (a term popularized by Republican presidential candidate Warren G. Harding) as quickly as possible. The country was plagued by labor strikes as the workers who had had not been allowed to negotiate labor con-

tracts during the war believed that the moment had come to allow the workers to share in the profits that were made by big business during the war. The race riots that occurred in over twenty-five cities that year showed the government that the transition from war to peace was not going to be easy.

The Red Scare

Federal officials believed that the problems that plagued the nation emanated from some outside force labeled bolshevism. The United States had troops involved with the civil war that was taking place inside the old Russian Empire, and there was a great deal of concern that the revolution taking place in Russia could be transported abroad. It appeared that many of the nations in Western Europe were infected by revolution in the same way that Russia had been in 1917. The American government did not want revolution in this country, so the continued repression of civil liberties was seen as a necessity. In June a series of mail bombs were sent to government officials and business moguls. The new attorney general, A. Mitchell Palmer, was the recipient of such a bomb. The Justice Department's response was to utilize the same legal means that had been used during the war to suppress civil liberties. These were now turned in earnest against the population. This eighteen-month period, 1919 to mid-1920, is called the "Red Scare." It was a short, difficult time in America as the repression and patriotism that had clashed before and during the war acted the final scene of this era where civil liberties were abrogated. The "Palmer Raids," named after Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, who authorized them, were carried out against political and labor radicals. Their headquarters were raided, literature was confiscated, printing presses were smashed, and members were arrested under the same acts that had been used against aliens during the war. The atmosphere was filled with propaganda, patriotism, and Americanism during this period. The laws utilized to protect American interests during the war were now used in the courts against Americans. Palmer wanted to eliminate radical labor and political movements through use of the wartime legislation. Labor and political activists were arrested and tried on espionage or sedition charges, and the Justice Department used the Immigration Act of 1917 to set aside those individuals who were not naturalized Americans for deportation. The attorney general claimed that many of these people were Communist agents and that their sole purpose in agitation was to bring the American government down. The American people continued to support the government and the programs of repression until early 1920, after the first boatload of detainees was deported. Several factors led to lessening support for this war against Communism; the press and government officials opposed continuation of the civil rights violations; Palmer had overplayed the role of dissidents in America; the fear of Communist revolutions in Western Europe did not materialize; and by early 1920 most radical political and labor movements in America had been destroyed or severely debilitated. By mid-1920, there were many powerful and respected voices who called for investigation into Palmer and the methods he had used. There were also calls for the negation of the wartime legislation and a resumption of civil liberties. This period of repression ended without any fanfare, but it was only the first in a twentieth century filled with civil liberties abuses.

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Antiwar Movement: World War II

Although the American peace movement virtually collapsed following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, it had been strong and vibrant in the period between the two world wars. It was aided by the great disillusionment following World War I, especially after writers focused their literary efforts on exposing the dark side of total warfare. Some of these writings included Henri Barbusses's *Under Fire* (1916), Siegfried Sassoon's *Counter-Attack* (1918), Ernest Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms* (1929), Laurence Stallings's *What Price Glory?* (1924), and Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1929). In addition, the poetry of Wilfred Owen (e.g., "Arms and the Boy") and T.S. Eliot (e.g., "The Waste Land") contributed to the antiwar sentiments.

But after Pearl Harbor, there was a rallying around the flag in which nationalism triumphed over any impulse for peace. Anyone who criticized the war was considered un-American. U.S. Senator Burton K. Wheeler, a staunch isolationist, characterized the national mood when he said, "The only thing now to do is lick hell out of them." Of the radical journals, only the *Call* and the *Progressive* called for nonintervention. The *Christian Century*, on the other hand, declared U.S. participation in the war a "guilty necessity."

Jeannette Rankin, the first woman elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, is remembered for being the only member of Congress to vote against the American declaration of war in both World War I and World War II. Although fifty members of Congress had voted against America's entry into World War I, in 1941 she was the sole dissenting voice. "This time I stood alone," Rankin later recalled. "It was a good deal more difficult than it had been the time before." Actively involved in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Women's Peace Union, and the National Council for the Prevention of War, Rankin spent the 1930s lobbying against a $616-million naval building bill. If her election to Congress in 1941 represented a second wind for her political career, voting against the war signaled the beginning of the end to her office-holding days.

Between 1919 and 1925, the peace movement was characterized by three main groupings: internationalists, pacifists, and liberal reformers. The movement was comprised of feminists, educators, political reformers, liberal Protestants, and progressive activists. By and large, women were the backbone of the peace groups. Internationalists were associated with the League of Free Nations Association (founded in 1918) and the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association (founded in 1923), the latter of which in 1929 became the League of Nations Association and still later, following World War II, the United Nations Association of the United States of America. Pacifists were represented by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (founded in 1919) and the War Resisters League (founded in 1923). Liberal reformers rallied around the National Council for Prevention of War (founded in 1921) and the National Conference on the Cause and Cure of War (founded in 1924).

Peace advocates found credence in the Kellogg-Briand Pact, which was initially signed by the world's major powers on August 27, 1928. Formally known as the Pact of Paris, Kellogg-Briand went beyond the naval disarmament agreements by outlawing war as an instrument of foreign policy. Named after Frank Kellogg, the U.S. secretary of state under President Calvin Coolidge, and Aristide Briand, the French foreign minister, the treaty was supported by those Americans who desired isolationism. Although forty-seven countries, including the United States, were signatories to Kellogg-Briand, the pact lacked bona fide enforcement mechanisms. Nonetheless, peace supporters would cite Kellogg-Briand for political justification long after the treaty was null and void.

The high-water mark of the American peace

LET US THROW WAR BILL HR 1776 OVERBOARD
Oppose War Bill 1776
IF YOU DONT LIKE WAR Do Something ABOUT IT
Congressmen AND Senators VOTE AGAINST 1776
ANOTHER BOSTON TEA PARTY KILL HR1776
CHARITY BEGINS AT HOME

On February 25, 1941, members of the Massachusetts Woman's Political Club protested at the White House against the Lend-Lease Act, which provided military support to Great Britain in the early years of World War II. Antiwar sentiment drew wide support in the 1920s and 1930s but collapsed virtually overnight following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. *(Brown Brothers)*

movement for the first half of the twentieth century was 1921 with the establishment of the National Council for Prevention of War (NCPW). Founded in Washington, D.C., by representatives of seventeen national peace organizations, the NCPW was active in every state. Its executive secretary, Frederick J. Libby, decided to devote his life to the cause of peace after touring Europe in the aftermath of World War I. The NCPW supported international agreements for the reduction of armaments, advocated a progressive world organization, and worked toward a global system of education for peace. Its *News Bulletin* (1921–1934) and *Peace Action* (1934–1968) kept readers informed about peace issues. In 1936, when the NCPW was at or near its peak, the *Peace Action* had a circulation of 25,000. As World War II neared, the NCPW lobbied for neutrality legislation and the requirement for a war referendum.

The American League Against War and Fascism, formed in New York City in the autumn of 1933, had as its primary mission the protection of the Soviet Union. According to its manifesto, "Serious struggle against war involves rallying all forces around this peace policy, and opposing all attempts to weaken or destroy the Soviet Union." Although it was a Communist-front organization, it attracted many people who were not Communists, including Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party, Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union, A.J. Muste of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, and the the-

ologian Reinhold Niebuhr. In November 1937, the organization changed its name to the American League for Peace and Democracy.

In February 1938, Norman Thomas opened his "Keep America Out of War" campaign, offering the Left a non-Communist antiwar front. Three months later, he helped establish the Keep America Out of War Congress, which received support from the National Council for Prevention of War. Thomas's slogan was, "The maximum American cooperation for peace; the maximum isolation from war." After Pearl Harbor, the group officially disbanded but was reincarnated as the Provisional Committee Toward a Democratic Peace, taking on a role similar to the People's Council for Peace and Democracy of World War I. The Provisional Committee championed civil rights at home and advocated a more equitable distribution of the war costs. It also stressed the need for a just and lasting peace after World War II.

The America First Committee was formed in 1940 with the purpose of preventing the United States from repeating the mistakes that led to World War I. Charles Lindbergh, Chester Bowles, and Stuart Chase were some of the well-known figures of this organization. Lindbergh, who accepted a medal from Adolf Hitler in 1938, was forced to resign his commission in the U.S. Air Corps Reserve because of what was seen as his pro-German stance. After America's entry into the war, however, Lindbergh served as a consultant for the aircraft industry and even went on missions in the Pacific on behalf of the U.S. Air Force.

Beginning in June 1943, the peace movement had a moderate resurgence. Dave Dellinger, a Socialist, founded the People's Now Committee with the objective of the immediate end of the war. In July of that year, George W. Hartmann of the War Resisters League and Quaker Dorothy Hutchinson organized the Peace Now Movement (PNM) as a conservative counterpart to Dellinger's group. Hartmann and Hutchinson attempted to tap into the America First constituency, but consequently existing peace groups shunned their efforts. In its statement of purpose, the PNM called on the United States to formulate "fair and reasonable" peace terms. The Friends Committee on National Legislation was founded in November to lobby Washington for war relief, civil liberties, and racial justice. Similarly, pacifists such as A.J. Muste and Evan Thomas focused their energies on organizing relief services for war refugees and the families of imprisoned conscientious objectors, while at the same time denouncing the internment of Japanese Americans and the saturation bombing of civilian populations.

Although the peace movement floundered after Pearl Harbor and lost even more momentum after the Holocaust came to public light, pacifists were emboldened. The Fellowship of Reconciliation and the War Resisters League (WRL) actually thrived. Between 1939 and 1945, the WRL, for example, grew from 900 to 2,300 active members, with an income that increased from $5,000 to $20,000. Of the 10 million males ordered to report for military induction, 42,973 were classified as conscientious objectors. A total of 6,086 were imprisoned during the war.

A number of prominent Protestant clergymen maintained their pacifist stance, including Harry Emerson Fosdick, Methodist Bishop Paul B. Kern, and Episcopal Bishops Walter Mitchell and W. Appleton Lawrence. Three out of four Quakers and three out five Mennonites chose conscientious objector status. Jehovah's Witnesses constituted the largest dissent group during World War II, refusing military induction as well as participation in the Civilian Public Service. Consequently, many were imprisoned. As a political force, they were not very strong because they remained aloof from other objectors and pacifists. Jehovah's Witnesses were less against war than they were against being controlled by the government. Although there was the Association of Catholic Conscientious Objectors (founded in 1940) and a chapter of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in Rockaway, New York—that was comprised mainly of Jewish members—very few pacifists were representative of the Catholic and Jewish faiths.

Roger Chapman

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Antiwar Movement: Vietnam War

The Vietnam War—America's longest war—left much of Southeast Asia in ruins and divided Americans more than any other event in the nation's history since the Civil War. As the war unfolded on the other side of the globe—with horrific results—at home it gave rise to one of the most resilient, widespread, and diverse social protest movements. The antiwar movement began as a small series of protests, organized mostly by seasoned Old Left activists. Early antiwar actions were often discouraging affairs for planners and participants alike. They received scant media attention and were often overshadowed by even larger pro-war demonstrations.

But years of persistent organizing transformed various scattered actions into a cohesive, mass, nationwide movement, with respectable adherents and a solid base of popular support. By the late 1960s and early 1970s, an increasing number of antiwar actions became more localized, grassroots efforts, as national antiwar coalitions fragmented, then regrouped into new entities, only to split again. Still, the movement would remain a potent force well into the 1970s. Within its ranks were senators and representatives, homemakers, college and high school students, civil rights activists, Maoists, countercultural youths, poets, Vietnam veterans, clergy, business executives, blue-collar workers, scientists, professors, African Americans, Latinos, soldiers and veterans, pacifists, draft resisters, and others.

The movement drew support from hundreds of organizations, but no single group dominated it. Thus, it was far from monolithic. Within its ranks, liberal Democrats vied with Trotskyists. Student militants sometimes split with their seasoned elders. Leaders debated tactics, while ordinary participants created protest signs and banners that reflected their own personal concerns about the war. Countercultural youths who felt a natural rapport with the goals and aims of the movement drifted in and out of marches, while clean-cut supporters of Senator Eugene McCarthy (D-MN) turned their attention from Democratic Party campaigning to organizing the 1969 Moratorium protests. The killing of four students at Kent State University in Ohio and two students at Jackson State in Mississippi days later in May 1970 further intensified the divisions in American society and left the movement reeling but continuing. Vietnam veterans reenergized the movement when they marched on Washington in April 1971, briefly lobbied members of Congress, and then threw away their medals, ribbons, citations, and other military items on the steps of the nation's Capitol.

Amid all of the national convulsions of the late 1960s and early 1970s, the antiwar movement ground on, ebbing in the early 1970s but never disappearing until the Vietnam War itself ended with the defeat of South Vietnam and the United States at the end of April 1975. But the antiwar movement was not—as some scholars and authors have insisted—simply the result of a generational split between baby boomers and their parents. It was deeper, more complex, and more widespread than that. It cut across virtually all lines, including class, race, gender, and age. Although students played a vital role in the movement, particularly early on, they never dominated it the way that the movement's detractors have suggested. In 1973, a political scientist who studied the era concluded, "No case can be made for the popular proposition that 'youth' was in revolt over the war. . . . The poll data argue that although some young people may have been deeply opposed to the war, 'youth' as a whole was generally more supportive of the war than older people." The antiwar movement was, observed historians Charles DeBenedetti and Charles Chatfield, "a typically American reform effort—a voluntary crusade attracting adherents and impelling them to act out of a felt personal responsibility for social wrongs."

Events in Vietnam

During the 1950s and early 1960s, U.S. involvement in Vietnam deepened at an incremental, yet steady,

pace. It began with the Truman and Eisenhower administrations supporting the French war effort, eventually financing 80 percent of it by the early 1950s. With the end of the French war in the spring of 1954, U.S. officials reevaluated and revised America's Indochina policy. After 1954, U.S. officials supported and financed the newly created South Vietnamese government under the leadership of the autocratic president, Ngo Dinh Diem. In 1961, under the newly elected Kennedy administration, the number of U.S. military personnel and advisers in Vietnam escalated sharply, surpassing 16,000 by the end of 1963. Kennedy hoped this increase, coupled with his favored policy of training South Vietnamese soldiers and indigenous ethnic people in rural areas in low-intensity counterinsurgency warfare, would bolster the vulnerable South Vietnamese government. But years of nepotism and repressive policies left the Diem regime even more vulnerable in 1963 than it had been at the time of its inception in 1954. Exacerbating matters for Diem was a press corps of highly talented young journalists, including David Halberstam, Peter Arnett, and Neil Sheehan, whose dispatches often illuminated the rampant corruption in the Saigon regime. With the tacit approval of the Kennedy administration and America's ambassador to Vietnam, Henry Cabot Lodge, Diem's generals staged a coup on November 2, 1963, ousting the unpopular leader. The generals assassinated Diem and his brother, Ngo Dinh Nhu, head of the security forces in South Vietnam. Three weeks later, Kennedy himself would be shot and killed in a motorcade in Dallas, Texas.

President Lyndon Johnson continued following a trajectory set by Dwight Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy, steadily increasing the number of advisers and personnel in Vietnam. Reacting to the potent legacy of McCarthyism, Johnson feared his reputation would not withstand the disaster of "losing" South Vietnam to the Communists. Republican accusations that President Harry Truman had "lost" China to the Communists were still fresh in his mind. Johnson also feared that failing to act in Vietnam would undermine his "Great Society," the most ambitious federal aid programs since the New Deal. In early August 1964, Johnson went on national television, claiming that two U.S. naval destroyers—the USS *Maddox* and USS *C. Turner Joy*—had been attacked by North Vietnamese PT boats. Johnson claimed that two separate attacks had occurred (most historians dispute the second one) but neglected to tell the American public that the two destroyers were involved in a larger U.S.-backed covert effort to destabilize Communist North Vietnam. Johnson, claiming the attack was an act of Vietnamese Communist belligerence, went before Congress asking for far-reaching powers to take whatever steps necessary—even military force—to repel attacks against U.S. forces and to protect Southeast Asia from Communist aggression. His so-called Tonkin Gulf resolution passed the Senate with only two dissenting votes (Senators Ernest Gruening [D-AK] and Wayne Morse [D-OR], who would go on to achieve heroic status in the antiwar movement) and moved unanimously through the House of Representatives. In February 1965, following a Viet Cong attack on Pleiku that killed nine and wounded more than 100 Americans, Johnson authorized massive air strikes over Vietnam, dubbed "Operation Rolling Thunder." By the end of 1965, nearly 200,000 marines and army troops would arrive in Vietnam.

The Birth of a Movement

Antiwar organizers wasted no time in responding to Johnson's resolution. Even before the Tonkin Gulf resolution, an incipient antiwar movement struggled for support. When South Vietnamese president Ngo Dinh Diem cracked down on Buddhist opposition in the spring and summer of 1963, small antiwar protests occurred in New York and other major cities, demanding an end to U.S. aid to the Diem regime. On December 19, 1964, more than 1,500 people braved the frigid winds of New York to hear antiwar speeches delivered by A.J. Muste, A. Philip Randolph, and Norman Thomas. Smaller demonstrations took place in San Francisco, Minneapolis, Miami, Austin, Philadelphia, Chicago, Washington, D.C., Boston, and Cleveland. These early protests were sponsored and organized by the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) and the War Resisters League (WRL), two pacifist groups with long histories. The American chapter of FOR, a religious interfaith pacifist organization headquartered in New York, was founded in 1915. FOR had resisted U.S. military participation in both world wars and called for nuclear disarmament during the Cold War. In 1963, FOR had been at the forefront of monitoring the repression of Buddhists by the Saigon regime, and the organization sponsored antiwar protests immediately after the Tonkin Gulf resolution. The WRL, a more radical and confrontational group than FOR, was founded in 1923. During World War II, it supported conscientious objectors and war tax resisters, and in the Cold War, it sponsored civil disobedience against civil defense drills and nonpayment of taxes used for weapons spending. In a bold move

Flashing the two-finger peace sign, antiwar protesters gather in Berkeley, California, in 1969. Following the emergence of the Free Speech Movement at the college campus in 1964, Berkeley remained one of the centers of the student protest movement. *(© Underwood Photo Archives, Inc.)*

against escalation in Vietnam, the WRL sponsored a demonstration in New York City on May 16, 1964, at which twelve men burned their draft cards. Other pacifists played a crucial role in the early period, including a group of influential nonviolent radicals—among them, Dave Dellinger, A.J. Muste, and Staughton Lynd—all activists, as well as editors at the radical monthly *Liberation* magazine. Eventually, other Old Left radicals—Trotskyists in the Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party members, and a variety of independent progressives—would also contribute significantly to the antiwar coalition of the 1960s and early 1970s.

The early antiwar movement owed much to these pacifists and old left enclaves. But other important influences shaped the movement as well. Even before the first antiwar protests, the civil rights movement had already prompted President Lyndon Johnson to begin dismantling repressive Jim Crow institutions in the South. The nonviolent Southern freedom struggle helped define the tactics and agenda of the antiwar movement and furnished it with a steady stream of seasoned organizers. Similarly, the Berkeley Free Speech Movement (FSM) in the fall of 1964 also inspired antiwar activists. The FSM culminated in a semester-long confrontation that pitted a coalition of students, their faculty supporters, and various Bay Area activists against University of California admin-

istrators who had banned student political tables near the UC Berkeley campus.

Finally, the burgeoning New Left also influenced the antiwar movement. The New Left, emerging during an era when liberalism flourished across America, appealed to primarily young activists. These radicals were, in the words of sociologist and New Left adherent Richard Flacks, "disaffected from all 'established radicalisms,' " and "self-consciously sought to provide political direction, theoretical coherence and organization continuity to the student movement." The main New Left group of the 1960s, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), had grown out of the Old Left League for Industrial Democracy in 1960. By June 1962, a group of sixty SDSers gathered at an American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) camp in the woods at Port Huron, on the southern shore of Lake Huron and drafted a sweeping manifesto, the Port Huron Statement. The statement condemned militarism, fanatical anti-Communism, the arms race, racism, excessive corporate power, and public apathy. It called for a politics of "authenticity," which involved more personal empowerment, a deeper interconnectedness, and greater grassroots control of political institutions, dubbed "participatory democracy."

SDS organized the first major antiwar action, a march of 25,000 people in Washington, D.C., on April 15, 1965. On that beautiful spring day, with cherry blossoms in full bloom, the huge crowd gathered at Washington Monument and listened to speeches by the venerable radical journalist I.F. Stone, civil rights activist Bob Moses, Alaska senator Ernest Gruening, and SDS president Paul Potter. Joan Baez, Phil Ochs, and Judy Collins provided the music. Then the huge crowd marched to the nation's Capitol to deliver an antiwar petition. It was, at that time, the largest antiwar demonstration in American history. The march generated headlines across the country and seemed to herald the birth of a new movement. It greatly enhanced the prestige of SDS, which, despite its huge influence on the early antiwar movement, would shortly thereafter abdicate its role as a "single-issue" antiwar organization at its June convention in Kewadin, Michigan. It was an unfortunate move, one that many SDSers would later regret. The decision briefly created a vacuum that other antiwar groups wasted no time in filling.

From its outset, the antiwar movement was strikingly diverse. Just as Walt Whitman said that America was not one nation, but a "teeming nation of nations," so the antiwar movement consisted of many different struggles, each with different aims and tactics that unfolded in communities across the country. Numerous organizations emerged, some lasting only briefly, others enduring through the war's duration. Tactics and strategies varied widely, depending on the participants. Despite a shared conviction within the movement that the Vietnam War was immoral and unjust, and a shared urgency that it had to be ended as soon as possible, it was often difficult to find the cement to coalesce the disparate antiwar forces.

1965: The Year of Vietnam

The array of protests throughout the very busy year 1965 reflected the breadth and diversity of the movement. Prior to SDS's highly successful April 15 march, the radical pacifist Committee for Nonviolent Action (CNVA)—a small group of antinuclear activists around since the 1950s—declared 1965 "the Year of Vietnam." CNVA organized pickets and civil disobedience in various locales on February 7. Meantime, students and faculty at the University of Michigan busily organized the first teach-in on the Vietnam War, held in March 1965. The Michigan teach-in, which offered the war's critics in academe an opportunity to speak out against it, attracted an audience of thousands and inspired countless other teach-ins on campuses across the nation. Other protesters resorted to more desperate acts. On March 16, eighty-two-year-old Alice Herz, a widow who had fled Nazism in Germany, set herself afire in the streets of Detroit. "I choose the illuminating death of a Buddhist to protest against a great country trying to wipe out a small country for no reason," she wrote, referring to Buddhist protesters who immolated themselves in protest against the Saigon regime. Later, she would be joined by Baltimore Quaker Norman Morrison, who set himself on fire in November near the Pentagon, and Catholic activist Roger LaPorte, who immolated himself near the United Nations building.

Most antiwar protesters chose more conventional ways of expressing opposition to the war, listening to speakers at rallies and participating in marches. For the first few years of the antiwar movement, large pro-war demonstrations often overshadowed antiwar gatherings. In many cases, the pro-war counter-demonstrators carried signs denouncing Communism and "peaceniks," and they often spent more time in the media spotlight than the war's foes. "Love it or leave it" and "Go back to Hanoi" were familiar refrains. But the pro-war rallies rarely deterred determined antiwar activists. Following SDS's April 15 event, waves of protests—many spontaneous, local,

and grassroots in nature—continued across the country. The year's activities culminated with an equally successful Thanksgiving antiwar march sponsored by the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE). Throughout the year, new antiwar groups emerged in cities and towns across the country, some headquartered in elaborate offices with telephones and filing cabinets, others based in people's homes and apartments and linked to the outside world by P.O. box. By the end of 1965, there were over thirty different antiwar organizations, each sponsoring events and planning various activities. The following year, 1966, has been characterized by contemporary observers at the time, and historians in more recent years, as a period of slackening and slowdown within the antiwar movement. Fewer demonstrations generated headlines, and the movement seemed to lose its momentum. But a great deal of significant, behind-the-scenes coalition building occurred that year.

Building a National Coalition: The Spring Mobilization

The first national coalition of significance was the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The "Spring MOBE," as it was called, grew out of a two-day meeting in Cleveland, Ohio, in September 1966, organized by the Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy, the intercollegiate faculty group that had organized the first campus teach-ins. Originally called the November 8 Mobilization Committee, the group later renamed itself the Spring Mobilization Committee and functioned as an ad hoc national group whose purposes were to forge a coalition of existing peace groups and begin planning national demonstrations for April 15, 1967, in New York and San Francisco. A.J. Muste, a lifelong pacifist and radical activist, became the group's chairman. By this time, Muste, a revered elder father figure of the movement, was in his early eighties and a familiar sight at many early demonstrations, with his lanky frame, trademark hat, narrow tie, and overcoat. Born in the Netherlands in 1885, Muste came to America at age six and had a long history of involvement in a wide variety of progressive causes. In the Great Depression, he briefly embraced Trotskyism but returned to radical Christian pacifism. He remained a devoted antiwar and antinuclear activist during World War II and the Cold War, and maintained ties with the civil rights movement.

Widely regarded as the "founding father" of the antiwar movement and admired by even his harshest critics, Muste was an effective coalition builder whose warm personality lured the finest activists of the era into the fold. He envisioned a unifying, umbrella organization that could bring together the diverse elements of the peace movement. But the aging Muste never lived to see the event he worked so hard to plan. He died of a stroke in February 1967, at age eighty-two. Organizers mourned his loss and soon discovered that keeping the Spring Mobilization together without him would be a difficult task. Liberals affiliated with SANE demanded a purge of Communists and Trotskyists from the coalition. Radical pacifists, such as Dave Dellinger, advocated widespread civil disobedience to protest the war. Activists associated with the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), under the guidance of veteran SWPer Fred Halstead, showed grim determination in exerting their influence in the movement, demonstrating an uncanny stamina at meetings.

But the end result of their hard work, the April 15, 1967, Spring Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam, was a triumph. Over a quarter of a million people assembled at Sheep Meadow in New York City's Central Park, and the gigantic throng marched to the United Nations Building, carrying antiwar signs and banners. The event's success owed much to a rousing antiwar speech delivered by Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. at the United Nations Building.

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and the Antiwar Movement

Since 1965, King had had serious misgivings about the war, but in public he remained silent about the matter, fearing he would alienate liberal supporters in high places. Moreover, King felt uneasy about the presence of Communists and other radicals in the leadership of the antiwar movement. Moderate civil rights leaders, such as Roy Wilkins and Bayard Rustin, counseled him against condemning the war publicly. However, younger and more militant African Americans, many of them gravitating toward "black power," were losing faith in King as a result of his silence regarding the war. King's own close associate, Reverend James Bevel, repeatedly advised King to speak out against the war or risk losing his prestige. By 1967, with 380,000 soldiers in Vietnam and no end to the war in sight, King's opposition to the war eclipsed his concerns about the antiwar movement. On April 4, 1967, he delivered an impassioned condemnation of the war at Riverside Church in New York City. In the speech, he concluded, "I would never

again raise my voice against the violence of the oppressed in the ghettos without having first spoken clearly to the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today—my own government."

King's speech two weeks later at the massive April 15 Spring Mobilization march elevated the prestige of the antiwar movement to new heights. By 1967, the antiwar movement had evolved from a series of peripheral and scattered actions to a mass protest movement. After April 15, the media and policymakers began taking the movement seriously. New antiwar groups appeared, greater varieties of dissent flowered, and in Washington, D.C., congressional doves took bolder stands against the escalating war in Southeast Asia. Six months later, organizers of the Spring Mobilization planned an equally successful event, the October 21 March on the Pentagon. One hundred thousand peaceful protesters, including GI's and veterans, clergy, minorities, and countercultural peaceniks, listened to speakers at the Lincoln Memorial. Then 35,000 marched to the Pentagon, where spirited youths placed flowers in the rifle barrels of military police.

The antiwar movement entered its renaissance, but it would remain a diverse "movement of movements," more difficult than ever to coalesce. Women, GI's and veterans, draft resisters, students, and minorities all formed key segments in the movement.

Women and the Movement

From the outset, women played an instrumental role in the antiwar movement. Women from all walks of life became active participants. One of the first petition drives against the war was launched by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). The WILPF, one of the oldest peace groups in America, grew out of the Woman's Peace Party, founded in 1915 by several Progressive women, including social reformer Jane Addams. It remained a formidable antiwar network during the 1960s, planning several events and maintaining chapters across the United States. A much newer organization, Women's Strike for Peace (WSP), held its founding convention in Ann Arbor, Michigan, in 1962, with a far-reaching agenda to end the nuclear arms race. When the Vietnam War began, WSP leaders switched the group's focus to antiwar organizing. Across America, WSP members went door-to-door collecting signatures for petitions, mailed protest letters to policymakers, staged public rallies at city halls, and encouraged neighbors to resist the war. The group's March on the Pentagon in February 1967 generated much media attention.

Other women's groups had a strong impact. In March 1967, a gathering of fifteen women from Beverly Hills, California, launched Another Mother for Peace (AMP), which began in March 1967 by selling 200,000 antiwar Mother's Day cards to citizens to send to their member of Congress. The group grew rapidly, thanks to celebrity endorsements from liberal celebrities such as Paul Newman and Debbie Reynolds, and eventually it emerged as a powerful antiwar lobbying group. AMP provided support to Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo when they released the Pentagon Papers to the *New York Times* and other media outlets.

Women role models were numerous in the antiwar movement. Perhaps the most effective and highly visible organizer was Norma Becker, a New York public school teacher, single mother of two, and veteran of various civil rights struggles. Becker was a cofounder and coordinator of the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee, a coalition of several New York antiwar groups that organized the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade held on March 26, 1966. The parade drew 50,000 participants and was one of the success stories of the early antiwar movement. Becker would remain a key leader in the movement until the end of the war, assuming important high-level positions in the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (also known as "the MOBE," the successor to the Spring Mobilization) and various draft resistance programs. Becker and other women would always be instrumental in the flourishing struggle against the war, and the rise of feminism in the late 1960s and early 1970s strengthened their position as leaders and contributors to the movement.

The Religious Community

Religious opposition remained strong throughout the entire war. The interfaith Fellowship of Reconciliation organized the earliest antiwar actions, immediately following the Tonkin Gulf incidents and resolution. FOR sent fact-finding teams to South Vietnam to probe human rights abuses and eventually revealed the Saigon regime's torture of prisoners in cramped "tiger cages." FOR's executive secretary, Alfred Hassler, actively promoted an interfaith dialogue between Americans and Vietnamese, bringing the renowned Vietnamese Buddhist monk, poet, and activist Thich Nhat Hanh to the United States to speak in 1966 as part of a FOR-sponsored tour.

FOR inspired other religious figures to speak and

act against the war. William Sloane Coffin, chaplain of Yale University, emerged as one of the most eloquent antiwar spokespersons of the era and participated actively in demonstrations and civil disobedience. Along with Dr. John Bennett, president of Union Theological Seminary, and Rabbi Abraham Heschel of the Jewish Theological Seminary, Coffin cofounded Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam (CALCAV), an interfaith antiwar organization. Under the astute leadership of Richard Fernandez, CALCAV grew rapidly in the late 1960s and early 1970s, attracting thousands of religious dissenters from across the country. The most famous religious resisters were Catholic radicals Daniel and Philip Berrigan. The Berrigan brothers and seven other Catholic activists made headlines on May 17, 1968, when they broke into a draft board office in Catonsville, Maryland, stole 300 draft files, and set them on fire in the parking lot with homemade napalm.

Students and the Movement

In 1959, a few years before SDS's rise to prominence, the Student Peace Union (SPU) formed at the University of Chicago, founded by pacifists, liberals, and ban-the-bomb activists. By the next year, it had twelve chapters in the Midwest, and in the summer of 1962 the SPU could boast 2,000 members. At the beginning of the war, the SPU, along with FOR and WRL, shifted its attention to antiwar organizing. The SPU tapped into a rich source of activism—the student body of America's higher education system—which would eventually furnish a steady stream of recruits to the antiwar movement. The growth of higher education, which was owing largely to huge government expenditures, meant an unprecedented number of Americans attended universities in the 1960s. The number of students enrolled in colleges and universities climbed from 3.2 million in 1960 to 7.5 million in 1970. Few American students embraced radicalism in the mid-1960s. A *Newsweek* poll of 800 university students conducted in the spring of 1965 found that 90 percent expressed confidence in higher education, corporations, and the federal government, while 80 percent were pleased with college life and expressed confidence in organized religion and the military. Despite widespread conformity on campuses, students formed an important cornerstone of the antiwar movement. They organized the waves of teach-ins in 1965 and 1966. They committed civil disobedience against napalm manufacturer Dow Chemical at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1967. And in May 1970, many Americans were shocked and dismayed by the news of the war coming home when the Ohio National Guard opened fire on students, killing four at the Kent State University campus.

Most accounts of the era downplay the importance of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SMC), likely because of the influence that the Trotskyist SWP exerted over the organization. But it was the SMC—not SDS—which drew significant numbers of students into the antiwar movement on college campuses across the nation. The SMC originated at a national student antiwar conference held in Chicago, December 28–30, 1966. The SMC operated all over the country and remained active through much of the antiwar movement, organizing several successful protests involving university and high school students and GI's.

Meanwhile, liberal college students campaigned for dovish political candidates, especially Minnesota senator Eugene McCarthy when he ran as an antiwar presidential candidate in 1968. Calling themselves "clean for Gene" (to disassociate themselves from countercultural hippies), students flooded into New Hampshire for the primaries and worked many long hours for the campaign. Even though McCarthy lost to Johnson in the primaries, the race was so close that President Johnson announced in March 1968 that he would not seek office again. Many of these young, idealistic liberal students would go on to organize the Moratoriums, a series of protests—candlelight vigils, church services, marches, and other events—held across America beginning in the fall of 1969.

Later in the antiwar movement, President Richard Nixon would single out antiwar students for attack. Nixon repeatedly claimed that the movement was dominated by students, "spoiled bums blowing up campuses," he called them. A highly publicized clash between "hard hat" construction workers and peaceful student demonstrators in lower Manhattan on May 8, 1970, proved a coup for the Nixon administration. A crowd of 200 angry workers descended on the students and began pummeling them with fists, crowbars, and wrenches, leaving seventy youths bloodied and dazed. Nixon used the event as an opportunity to reemphasize that the so-called silent majority was fed up with protesters and countercultural youths.

The Counterculture

The misconception that America's "war at home" was simply a youth protest movement grew out of the highly visible presence of young, countercultural men and women at events. The colorful, psychedelic youth

BOB DYLAN (1941–)

Bob Dylan was born in Duluth, Minnesota, as Robert Zimmerman on May 24, 1941, but grew up in the small town of Hibbing, Minnesota. Dylan learned guitar at the age of ten and the autoharp and harmonica at fifteen. While attending the University of Minnesota, he began performing under the name Bob Dylan and soon dropped out of school. He moved to New York City by early 1961, determined to meet his musical hero, Woody Guthrie, who was bedridden with Huntington's chorea, and to join the burgeoning folk music scene there.

In New York, Dylan became part of the Greenwich Village folk music scene, playing coffeehouses and spending time with musicians like Joan Baez, Phil Ochs, and Tom Paxton. Influenced by Huddie Ledbetter, Bo Diddley, Hank Williams, and Woody Guthrie, Dylan had a profound effect on folk and rock music. Though his earliest circulating recordings date from 1958, his first commercial release was in 1962 and instantly changed popular music. As a lyricist, he captured the cynicism, anger, and alienation of American youth, which reverberated in his harsh vocal delivery and insistent guitar-harmonica accompaniment. Among his many songs of social protest are "Blowin' in the Wind" and "The Times They Are A-Changin'." Dylan's style has evolved from folk ("Don't Think Twice"), to folk-rock ("Highway 61 Revisited"), to country blues ("Country Pie"). His decision to perform with an electric rock-and-roll band in 1965 at the Newport Folk Festival outraged his fans but further influenced popular music. Enigmatic and reclusive, he published an autobiography, *Bob Dylan*, *Self-Portrait* (1970), and a novel, *Tarantula* (1971).

Dylan is unquestionably one of the towering figures of late-twentieth-century popular music, mixing folk, country, blues, and rock on over forty albums. Although Dylan was an influential pop figure during the youth movement of the 1960s, his first number one hit, "Knocking on Heaven's Door," didn't come until 1973. During the 1980s, he toured extensively and recorded with other artists on several albums. In the 1990s, his songs found a new audience and more acclaim from the music industry: in 1991, he was given a Lifetime Achievement Grammy Award; his 1997 album, *Time Out of Mind*, won three Grammys; and in 2001 Dylan won the Academy Award for Best Song for his "Things Have Changed," from the movie *Wonder Boys* (2000).

James G. Lewis

culture of the 1960s frequently overlapped with the antiwar movement. The "hippies"—as the *San Francisco Chronicle* dubbed them in 1965—rarely proved to be committed activists. Young people with long hair and psychedelic clothing followed drug guru Timothy Leary's advice and began dropping out, living communally among enclaves of kindred spirits in the Haight-Ashbury District of San Francisco, the East Village of New York, and other communities. Their rejection of the dominant culture and all things associated with it, including the Vietnam War, resulted in a natural affinity with the antiwar movement. Some 1960s bohemians were far more political than others. Early in the movement, antiwar folk singers such as Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, Phil Ochs, and Judy Collins appealed to youthful protesters, inspiring many to become involved. In the mid-1960s, the New York Workshop in Nonviolence founded the enduring antiwar periodical *WIN* magazine, a favorite periodical of countercultural antiwar activists.

The earliest heavily publicized wedding of the movement and the new youth culture occurred at the January 14, 1967, "Human Be-In" at Golden Gate Park in San Francisco, a four-hour "Pow Wow" of rock music, Allen Ginsberg chants, and an antiwar speech by activist Jerry Rubin. Janis Joplin performed, as did Jefferson Airplane and the Grateful Dead. Twenty thousand attended. Later that year, "Human Be-In" speaker Jerry Rubin teamed up with SNCC activist Abbie Hoffman, *Realist* publisher and editor Paul Krassner, and other youths to form the madcap, irreverent anarchical Youth International Party, or the Yippies. Not so much a formal organization as a concept, the Yippies attempted to bridge the antiwar movement and the counterculture, with mixed, though often amusing, results. Whether tossing one-dollar bills from the balcony of the New York Stock Exchange and watching traders scramble for them, or attempting to levitate the Pentagon at the October 21, 1967, demonstration, the Yippies always added much-needed humor to the proceedings. Thanks to the Yippies and other vibrant countercultural groups, such as the Diggers, a radical, theatrical collective, the rebellious youth styles of the era heavily colored the antiwar movement by the late 1960s and early 1970s.

African Americans and Chicanos

Despite pervasive antiwar sentiment in the black community, the antiwar movement attracted few committed antiwar organizers. Even before the war, the militant Muslim Malcolm X linked the U.S. government policies in Indochina with the repression of Af-

rican Americans at home. A few years later, in January 1967, Reverend James Bevel of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference—Dr. King's group—became national chairman of the Spring Mobilization. Another close associate of King's, Reverend Ralph Abernathy, remained closely aligned to the antiwar movement throughout the 1960s. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), whose sit-ins, civil disobedience, and voter registration had been highly successful in the South, was the first civil rights movement to condemn U.S. policy in Vietnam when it issued an antiwar statement in January 1966. When heavyweight champion Muhammad Ali refused induction, he was stripped of his crown and sentenced to a maximum penalty of five years in jail and $10,000 in fines. Ali's decision energized African Americans, particularly youths, who applauded his antiwar statement: "No Viet Cong ever called me a nigger." Various "black power" luminaries—including Stokely Carmichael and SNCC chairman H. Rap Brown—spoke at antiwar rallies. A 1970 study by journalist Wallace Terry found that widespread antiwar and black power sentiment existed among black GI's in Vietnam. But many black power militants felt estranged from the predominantly white antiwar leaders, who seemed to be ignoring problems in the black community. "We're not inside the peace movement," wrote SNCC leader Ivanhoe Donaldson, echoing the sentiment of other militants. "It's basically all-white. There's no way to relate to that."

Like African Americans, Chicanos (Americans of Mexican descent) often participated in antiwar activities but did not necessarily feel at home in the movement. Many Chicano activists worked in Chicano rights groups, such as La Raza Unida and the Brown Berets. But Chicanos also organized some highly publicized antiwar events. Denver activists founded the Chicano Moratorium Committee, which conducted its first demonstration on February 28, 1970, in East Los Angeles. Five thousand attended, despite heavy rain. Other Chicano Moratorium protests occurred across California, as well Texas, New Mexico, and Colorado. On August 29, 1970, the Chicano Moratorium held its biggest demonstration in Los Angeles. Twenty thousand people showed up. Clashes occurred between police and Chicano protesters. In a shootout at a local tavern, Los Angeles police shot and killed Ruben Salazar, popular columnist for the *Los Angeles Times.* By 1971, Chicano protest shifted away from the war and more toward issues having to do with community organizing and "brown pride." Although few Chicanos rose to positions of prominence and authority in the antiwar movement, their presence left an indelible mark.

Antiwar Policymakers

"I like to believe that the people in the long run are going to do more to promote peace than our governments," said President Dwight Eisenhower in 1959. "I think the people want peace so much that one of these days government had better get out of their way and let them have it." In the 1960s and 1970s, dovish politicians not only followed Eisenhower's advice, but they took the next step and actively supported the antiwar movement. U.S. undersecretary of state George Ball had opposed U.S. involvement in Vietnam from the time he joined the Kennedy administration in 1961. But his was a lone voice, and few in official Washington shared his concerns. Senator J. William Fulbright (D-AR), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, emboldened many political doves when he conducted a series of televised Senate hearings critical of the war in January and February 1966. Fulbright had supported the Tonkin Gulf Resolution but gradually turned against the war the following year. His hearings enabled the war's moderate opponents, such as George Kennan, architect of the containment policy, and Lieutenant General James Gavin, to criticize the war from a respectable platform.

The Vietnam War caused deep divisions within the Democratic Party, often splitting the party in half. Senators Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy (D-NY) ran for the presidency in 1968 on antiwar platforms. Kennedy's campaign was cut short by the assassin's bullet on June 5, 1968, and McCarthy's campaign floundered after Vice President Hubert Humphrey entered the race. But antiwar protesters targeted Humphrey during the 1968 Chicago Democratic National Convention for his pro-war position. During the convention, an antiwar platform drafted by Democratic doves was narrowly defeated. Four years later, George McGovern, the Democratic Party's 1972 presidential candidate, ran as an outspoken peace candidate. By this time, the Democratic Party opposed the war, and many politicians spoke at antiwar events. In addition, a growing number of Republicans, including Senator Mark Hatfield (R-OR), Representative Paul McCloskey (R-CA), and Senator George Aiken (R-VT), strenuously opposed the war in and out of the halls of Congress.

The Draft

In 1966, General Lewis B. Hershey, director of the Selective Service, stepped up the draft call from less than 10,000 to more than 30,000 per month, to meet the growing demand for troops in Vietnam. Hershey also supported draft deferments for university students, whom he regarded as "socially useful" members of society. The draft was widely unpopular among the nation's youth, and it became a lightning rod for antiwar protests. An antidraft movement was already under way before Hershey's decision. In May 1964, twelve men had burned their draft cards in an anticonscription protest. During the October 1965 Days of International Protest in New York City, pacifists organized a gathering at the Whitehall Street Induction Center, where one of the speakers, David Miller, a Catholic Worker activist, decided to burn his draft card instead of speak. The crowd of 500 applauded him. Miller was the first person to publicly burn a draft card since Congress had passed a law the previous summer making the act a felony. Miller's act touched off other draft card burnings. Of all the tactics employed by antiwar activists, draft card burning was one of the most controversial. Beginning with David Miller's defiant draft card burning in 1965, the media frequently spotlighted the draft card burners, and conservatives called for strict punishments against them. When Bruce Dancis and other activists at Cornell University burned draft cards in the spring of 1966, their actions generated a great deal of publicity and sparked similar protests elsewhere. Draft card burning divided the antiwar movement. Many liberal doves, as well as members of the Socialist Workers' Party, whose organization opposed civil disobedience, condemned draft card burning. Radical pacifists such as Dave Dellinger and Brad Lyttle supported and actively encouraged draft card burning as an important, symbolic form of resistance. Draft card burning hit a peak in 1967 and began to decline in the years that followed, as anti-draft organizers began to advocate the less dramatic approach of draft card "turn-ins," where young men simply returned their draft cards to authorities.

The first sizable antidraft demonstration occurred at the Spring Mobilization protest on April 15, 1967. Before the march, 175 men gathered in Sheep Meadow in Central Park and burned their draft cards in an action organized by antidraft organizer Bruce Dancis and a handful of Cornell students. Demonstrators held their flaming cards high as crowds of onlookers clapped.

On March 8, 1967, antiwar activist David Harris and a group of his friends met in Palo Alto, California, and founded a group they called "The Resistance." They planned a series of demonstrations where young men could proclaim their independence and return their draft cards to the U.S. government. Across the country, activists opened local offices of the resistance and participated in the planning by recruiting draft resisters in their area. On October 3, 1967, more than 1,500 men returned their draft cards in the first "turn-in" demonstration planned by the Resistance. Two weeks later—October 17, 1967—3,000 protesters confronted a phalanx of club-wielding police in an antidraft protest at the Oakland induction center. The event, sponsored by several Bay Area antiwar organizations, quickly deteriorated into a violent melee, despite the efforts of Harris and other pacifists to keep it peaceful. Still, most antidraft protests remained nonviolent. Building on the success of its first "turn-in," the Resistance organized others, including one on December 4, where 475 participated, and April 3, 1968, which drew 630 draft resisters. David Harris ultimately went to prison for organizing the Resistance. Author Tom Wells noted that "the Resistance contributed to a grass-roots movement of more than half a million young men who violated Selective Service laws."

Thousands of draft resisters left the United States, settling in Sweden, Great Britain, Mexico, Canada, and elsewhere. The largest recipient of these young expatriates was Canada because culturally, it had much in common with the United States, and yet it provided a safe haven for young men fleeing the draft. During the Vietnam War, approximately 50,000 Americans—many young men and women opposed to the war—moved to Canada. In 1968, American draft resisters in Canada founded numerous antiwar organizations, the most influential being Amex, an antidraft organization. Amex published a newspaper of the same name, which went out to draft resisters across the country. The expanding Canadian anti–Vietnam War movement attracted numerous American expatriates, who brought a sense of urgency to planning protest activities. On college campuses from British Columbia to the maritime provinces, the new immigrants marched, spoke out, and organized.

Back in the United States, Dr. Curtis Tarr replaced General Hershey as head of Selective Service in 1969, and he looked for ways to quell the mass antidraft movement, as well as widespread allegations that the government was singling out the poor for the draft. He introduced a random lottery and scaled back de-

ferments, which Nixon ultimately revoked in 1971. By that time, however, the draft had slowed substantially, thus removing much of the wind from the sails of the antidraft movement.

GI's and Veterans

Reflecting the wider sentiments of the American public in 1965, most soldiers and veterans supported America's Vietnam policies. But a few bold ones turned against the war. In November 1966, Lieutenant Henry Howe was arrested and later court-martialed for attending an antiwar protest at Texas Western College. The following year, Captain Howard Levy, a U.S. Army physician, refused to train Special Forces medics bound for Vietnam. He was court-martialed and convicted, and served twenty-seven months in prison. In Fort Hood, Texas, three privates—Dennis Mora, James Johnson, and David Samas—refused orders to go to Vietnam in June 1966. "We want no part of the extermination," the so-called Fort Hood Three declared. Several antiwar activists came to the defense of Levy and the Fort Hood Three, planning demonstrations and generating much media attention. Like Captain Levy, the Fort Hood Three would each spend two years in prison. But their resistance emboldened the antiwar leaders, who were encouraged that dissent was finally making its way into the military.

Near military bases, activists opened up coffeehouses for antiwar GI's. In 1967, Fred Gardner, a reservist and former *Harvard Crimson* editor, opened the doors of the first GI coffeehouse, the UFO, in Columbia, South Carolina. He then traveled to Texas to open the Oleo Strut, a GI coffeehouse a few miles from Fort Hood. Despite harassment and persecution from military authorities and local police, nineteen coffeehouses were operating by 1970. Along with coffeehouses, GI underground newspapers helped spread antiwar sentiments through the military. GI activist David Cortright described the underground GI papers as "often short-lived and appearing in the form of barely readable mimeographed sheets." Two early GI underground papers were *FTA* at Fort Knox, Kentucky, and *Fatigue Press* at Fort Hood, Texas. Eventually, papers with such titles as *Open Sights*, *The Ally*, and *Left Face* could be found on military bases all over the United States and Vietnam.

Veterans also became involved in greater numbers as the war dragged on in Vietnam. In September 1965, U.S. Army Special Forces Sgt. Donald Duncan, who had trained soldiers in Vietnam, refused a promotion and resigned from the army to become involved with the antiwar movement. Duncan used his unique status as an ex–Green Beret to legitimize his resistance against the war. He became an editor at the radical periodical *Ramparts* and remained constantly in demand as a speaker at antiwar protests throughout the 1960s and 1970s.

In June 1967, six veterans who marched at the Spring Mobilization in New York founded Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW). By the early 1970s, VVAW boasted 30,000 members, with chapters in every state of the union and Vietnam. The organization's first national demonstration, Operation RAW (Rapid American Withdrawal) in September 1970, was a highly publicized march of more than 150 Vietnam veterans from Morristown, New Jersey, to Valley Forge, Pennsylvania. VVAW conducted the Winter Soldier war crimes hearings in January and February 1971, attracting little media attention. But the organization next staged perhaps the most profoundly moving protest of the entire antiwar movement, Operation Dewey Canyon III (the title spoofed Operation Dewey Canyon II, code name for the U.S. military's "limited incursion" into Laos in February 1971). Well over a thousand veterans came to Washington, D.C., in April 1971 for a week of lobbying, guerrilla street theater, and marches. The week climaxed on Thursday with a powerful televised speech by VVAWer (and future U.S. senator) John Kerry, denouncing the war before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Then, the following day, Friday, April 23, 1971, perhaps as many as 1,500 veterans lined up on the steps of the nation's Capitol (surrounded by a makeshift wood and barbed-wire wall in preparation for the tumultuous upcoming May Day demonstrations). One by one, the veterans threw their medals, citations, ribbons, and other symbols of war, many of them making short and memorable statements, while network news cameras whirred and newspaper still cameras clicked. Images of the demonstration were played and replayed on television and in newspapers, searing it into the collective psyche of the American public.

The GI and veterans movement would flourish in the early 1970s, becoming arguably the most vibrant and active segment of the later antiwar movement. In June 1971, an alarmed Marine Corps Colonel Robert D. Heinl Jr. acknowledged in the respected *Armed Forces Journal* that the numerous GI and veterans protest movements had resulted in a crisis of morale in the U.S. military.

Members of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War march in Washington, D.C. *(© Underwood Photo Archives, Inc.)*

The Peak of the Antiwar Movement

The antiwar movement reached its zenith between 1968 and 1971. In these years, the movement had matured and had become increasingly decentralized. If the early years were characterized by national protests, planned by unified coalitions, in heavily populated cities such as New York, Washington, D.C., and San Francisco, the later years witnessed a more localized flowering of the movement, in communities across the country. This trend was accelerated by the fall 1969 Moratorium, a series of nationwide protests, some occurring in small towns in places like Kansas and Georgia, which had never had protests before.

1968

A year of trauma and upheaval, 1968 began with the Communist Tet Offensive in Vietnam at the end of January, and the intensity never subsided. The Tet Offensive was huge, as desperate North Vietnamese Army and Viet Cong soldiers battered virtually every major city and district capital in South Vietnam, surprising American commanders and their South Vietnamese allies. Like a sleeping giant suddenly awakened, U.S. forces struck back with unprecedented ferocity, pummeling rural and urban areas from the air and battling Communist forces on the ground. Scenes from the bloody battles—including unforgettable footage of South Vietnamese police chief

Nguyen Loc Loan assassinating a bound and unarmed Viet Cong prisoner—were played and replayed on American television sets. Most Americans had believed President Johnson's promises in late 1967 that the war was going in America's favor and would soon end. Although Tet ended in disaster for the Communists, it rattled the confidence of the American public and greatly enhanced the prestige of the antiwar movement.

But the assassinations of Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in April and Senator Robert Kennedy in June (while campaigning for president on an antiwar platform) left the movement reeling and many activists dispirited. In April, radical students seized control of Columbia University in New York, which intensified the highly charged atmosphere. Many of the students were SDSers and outspoken antiwar militants. The tense takeover ended in late April when police forcefully evicted protesters from campus buildings, beating students and innocent bystanders in front of television cameras. As the mood of the country grew more polemical, a tiny but vocal minority of activists embraced violence and political extremism. These radicals had grown impatient with traditional methods of protest, which failed to reverse—much less end—the Vietnam War, and they vowed to "bring the war home." Beginning in 1968, militant revolutionary sects began attracting handfuls of antiwar activists. Between January 1969 and April 1970, 40,000 bombing incidents or bomb threats occurred, damaging $21 million in property and killing forty-three people. Police and federal agents never learned the identity of most of the perpetrators.

Demonstrations occurred frequently in 1968, but most of them remained peaceful. The antiwar movement reached a feverish climax in August in Chicago, during the Democratic National Convention. After the April 15, 1967, marches, the Spring Mobilization had again changed its name—this time to the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, or MOBE for short. The MOBE and several other organizations spent months planning protests for the Democratic National Convention, scheduled for August 21–26, 1968. Chicago's crusty mayor and political boss, Richard Daley, learned of the protests and responded by filling Chicago's streets with 12,000 uniformed and heavily armed police officers, and kept 6,000 Illinois National Guardsmen stationed nearby on standby. MOBE organizers Dave Dellinger, Tom Hayden, and Rennie Davis hoped the coalition would inspire antiwar Democrats to revolt against the prowar faction of the party, ideally in the streets. The Yippies planned a "Festival of Life," which they envisioned would include rock music, drugs, skinny dipping, and their own presidential candidate, a pig called "Pigasus."

Chicago 1968 assumed a historical significance beyond the actual events that occurred during the convention, due largely to the heavily televised drama coming out of the city each day. Delegates clashed with each other on the convention floor. At night, phalanxes of police, with clubs swinging, charged into crowds of taunting protesters. The streets were filled with smoke and blood. The Yippies' "Festival of Life" was poorly attended but heavily covered by the media. The MOBE's huge rally in Grant Park and many marches deteriorated into pandemonium. Young activists climbed atop statues and waved the National Liberation Front flag, provoking more police charges. True to their word, activists were bringing the war home, and in the process, the Democratic Party itself unraveled, shaking public confidence in the party's nominee, Hubert Humphrey.

After Richard Nixon's narrow presidential victory over Humphrey in November 1968, eight organizers of the Chicago Democratic National Convention protests were indicted on charges of conspiracy and crossing state lines with intent to commit riot. The trial of the Chicago Eight—later the Chicago Seven (defendant Bobby Seale was removed from the trial when he refused to cooperate, even after being bound and gagged)—proved to be heavily publicized high drama. Beginning in August 1969, the trial quickly deteriorated into a courtroom free-for-all, with the presiding judge, Julius Hoffman, exchanging insults and epithets with the defendants. The trial lasted four months. The seven defendants were found not guilty of conspiracy but were convicted of intent to riot and sentenced to five years in prison. A federal appeals court later overturned the charges against the defendants.

The Moratorium

The events in Chicago, coupled with Richard Nixon's victory in November, left many activists feeling dispirited and weary. Newly elected president Richard Nixon had promised that he had a "secret plan" to end the war in Vietnam, but he waited until July to reveal that he planned a gradual withdrawal of U.S. forces from Southeast Asia. During that time, movement activists regrouped and planned more events. After Chicago, antiwar activists worked tirelessly to mount the largest, most ambitious protest of the antiwar movement, the Moratorium. The head of the

National Guardsmen spray tear gas at antiwar demonstrators at Kent State University in Ohio, on May 4, 1970. The demonstration—sparked by President Richard Nixon's announcement that the Vietnam War would be expanded into Cambodia—led to the deadliest moment of the peace movement when Guardsmen opened fire on students, killing four and injuring nine. *(© Underwood Photo Archives, Inc.)*

Moratorium, Sam Brown, who had organized young volunteers for Senator Eugene McCarthy's 1968 presidential campaign, proposed a day of actions across the nation, where Americans took the day off school or work to protest the war. The Moratorium also drew support from the more radical wing of the peace movement. Co-sponsoring the fall events was the MOBE, by now re-christened "the New MOBE." The SWP-backed Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) also contributed significantly to organizing events around the country.

The October 15, 1969, Moratorium proved enormously successful. An estimated 2 million citizens participated in events across the country. They marched, listened to speeches, distributed pamphlets, read the names of Americans and Vietnamese killed in the war, showed films, attended church services, and conducted candlelight vigils. Church bells pealed for the dead. Millions of middle-class Americans who had never before protested in their lives wore black armbands to signify their unhappiness with the war. In Boston, more than 100,000 flooded the Common for the largest demonstration in that city's history. A second Moratorium in mid-November drew even more participants. During the groundswell of protest, newspapers across the country began publishing a series of reports, written by journalist Seymour Hersh, about a massacre in the Vietnamese hamlet of My Lai. On March 16, 1968—almost a year and a half before the story broke in America—Army Lt. William Calley Jr. and a number of his men herded 500 Vietnamese civilians together—men, women, and children—and systematically slaughtered them. My Lai fueled antiwar sentiment. So did a photo spread that fall in *Life* magazine, reminiscent of a high school yearbook, showing row after row of American soldiers killed in one week in Vietnam.

Cambodia and the War at Home

President Nixon was disturbed by the numerous media revelations about the conduct of the war throughout 1969. Particularly troubling to him was a story that first appeared in the *New York Times* in June reporting that the U.S. government was conducting a secret bombing campaign of Cambodia. Nixon had broadened the scope of the bombing to wipe out enemy sanctuaries in Cambodia and to destabilize the Communist Khmer Rouge guerrillas within its borders. At the end of April 1970, President Nixon made a televised speech announcing that he was sending American troops into Cambodia to destroy Vietnamese Communist positions in the country. The announcement immediately touched off a wave of protests at colleges and universities across the nation. Antiwar actions spread to 350 campuses, and some of them would remain closed for the rest of the year. On Monday, May 4, 1970—following a weekend of protest at Kent State University in Ohio, where an ROTC building was burned to the ground—Ohio National Guardsmen opened fire on a crowd of more than 1,000 students, killing four and injuring nine. Nine days later—on the evening of May 13—police opened fire on protesters at Jackson State in Mississippi, killing two students in the dorms. Both incidents, especially the more highly publicized Kent State, sent shock waves through the antiwar movement and undermined the momentum of the spring student strike movement. By the fall, most campuses would return to business as usual, but the traumatized nation would never be the same.

Locking arms in solidarity, veterans of the Vietnam War demonstrate on the steps of the Supreme Court Building in Washington, D.C., on April 22, 1971. The next day many publicly tossed away their war medals, a powerful symbolic action that galvanized the peace movement. *(© Underwood Photo Archives, Inc.)*

The Last Hurrah

The movement enjoyed a spectacular revival in the spring of 1971. A flurry of highly publicized protests occurred, starting in April, indicating the continued power of the antiwar movement. VVAW's "Operation Dewey Canyon III," a week of protest activity in Washington, D.C., April 19–23, 1971, involving more than a thousand Vietnam veterans, represented a huge coup for the movement. The medal-throwing ceremony on Friday, April 23, made countless headlines and dominated the network nightly news. The next day, April 24, between a half million and three quarters of a million people attended the largest demonstration in the history of the antiwar movement. A week later, thousands of protesters swept into the nation's capital for the May Day protests. During the numerous scattered actions, a record number of activists were arrested for civil disobedience. Crowds swept through the city, disrupting traffic, trashing neighborhoods, interrupting government offices, and generally wreaking havoc. Numerous scuffles broke out between police and demonstrators. On May 3 alone, Washington police arrested 7,000 people. Numerous other actions followed throughout 1971, with military and veteran dissent now dominating the antiwar agenda.

A powerful boost to the movement came in June 1971, when Defense Department "whiz kid" Daniel Ellsberg, onetime National Security Council operative, senior liaison officer to the U.S. Embassy in Vietnam, ex-Marine, and former Cold Warrior, leaked the Pentagon Papers to the *New York Times*. The Pentagon Papers, a forty-seven-volume, 7,000-page study of the Vietnam War (from 1945 to 1968) was commissioned by Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara. Compiling the study involved the combined efforts of thirty-six Defense Department analysts, including Ellsberg and Harvard professor and Defense Department of-

ficial Leslie Gelb. In addition to the *New York Times*, portions of the study appeared in the *Washington Post* and the *Boston Globe*. News of the released documents provoked a furor among conservatives who wanted to see Ellsberg convicted of treason, while antiwar activists felt vindicated by the findings of the massive study. The Pentagon Papers revealed a lengthy and systematic pattern of lies and deceit extending to the highest levels of government. The Justice Department tried to halt publication of the Pentagon Papers, and the leak upset President Nixon, who believed it would undermine his policymaking abilities in Vietnam. The leak prompted a secret organization called "the Plumbers"—a shady group of Nixon administration supporters sometimes called the Committee to Reelect the President (CREEP)—to break into the offices of Ellsberg's psychiatrist, Dr. Lewis Fielding, and steal Ellsberg's files. Nixon's obsession with leaks eventually led to the burglary at the Watergate office complex on June 17, 1972. Nixon's "plumbers" broke into the Democratic Party headquarters looking for files linking Democratic presidential candidate George McGovern with antiwar organizations and leaders. The burglars were caught, and slowly the extent of Nixon's involvement in the various break-ins, wiretaps, and other dirty tricks became known. The Impeach Nixon campaign of 1973 and 1974 grew largely out of the efforts of antiwar organizers.

Decline of the Antiwar Movement

When used to refer to the tumultuous protest movements of the period, the term "the 1960s" is a misnomer. Most of the protest movements of the era spilled into the 1970s, and the antiwar movement was no exception. It flourished until the early 1970s. Even throughout 1972, organizers could still mobilize significant demonstrations. At the Republican National Convention, thousands of protesters flooded into Miami to, as the posters for the event declared, "confront Nixon at Miami Beach." Various groups were busily planning a Counter-Inaugural demonstration, which occurred in Washington, D.C., on January 20, 1973, and attracted an impressive 100,000 participants. But the mass movement phase of the antiwar movement was effectively over after the 1973 Counter-Inaugural demonstration.

Decline did not come suddenly, and it occurred for many reasons. President Nixon's policy of "Vietnamization"—that is, replacing American combat forces with South Vietnamese soldiers—undermined the momentum of the movement. Gradually, Nixon withdrew U.S. forces while stepping up the air war. In June 1969, Nixon told Americans that he was withdrawing 25,000 of the 543,000 soldiers from Vietnam. The policy continued over the next few years, with painful slowness, but steadiness. Troop levels plummeted to 340,000 by the end of 1970 and then dropped to 156,000 at the beginning of 1972. By this time, most of the U.S. troops were used for support purposes, to bolster the vulnerable Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN). Nixon continued the air war, pushing it to its most intense and concentrated extremes in 1972 and 1973, and pledged his support to the Thieu regime in South Vietnam. The Saigon government continued to enjoy billions of dollars in aid in 1973 and 1974, but because the flow of American body bags coming home from Vietnam had now slowed to almost a halt, antiwar sentiment ebbed substantially.

The gradual withdrawal of troops from Vietnam increased public confidence in Nixon so that the president enjoyed a hugely lopsided victory over his opponent, antiwar South Dakota Democrat George McGovern, in the 1972 presidential elections. In the fall, Nixon launched Operation Linebacker, an intense bombing campaign over North Vietnam designed to pressure the North Vietnamese to sign the Peace Accords in Paris. The bombing stirred antiwar sentiment around the world, including in the United States. The recently formed Indochina Peace Campaign (IPC), founded by Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden, lobbied and organized some effective antiwar campaigns. But when Vietnamese and American leaders put pen to paper at the Paris Agreements in January 1973, formally ending the war in Vietnam, they effectively eliminated the raison d'être of the antiwar movement. Many antiwar organizations folded immediately; a few held out until 1975. In sporadic, local actions, people gathered to protest U.S. aid to the Thieu regime in South Vietnam and to halt the bombing of Cambodia.

But the movement suffered even before the Paris Peace Accords. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, Nixon's paranoia, coupled with the repressive surveillance and harassment campaigns against the movement carried out by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and other federal and local law agencies, had a chilling effect on dissent. The Internal Revenue Service audited prominent antiwar activists, the FBI sent undercover agents provocateurs into the movement to encourage violence, and federal agents tapped telephones, photographed participants, and hounded their families and places of employment. "The surveillance was far more extensive than generally known," noted historian Terry Anderson.

Sectarian infighting within the movement also contributed to its demise. In some cases, liberals and radicals could not work together. Other times, internecine battles erupted over such insignificant matters as appropriate slogans for marches, or the order of speakers at a rally. In the early 1970s, the national coalition split in two, at a time when unity was needed the most. The two organizations—the SWP-dominated National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and the radical pacifist People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ)—were simply fragments of the once mighty MOBE. Extremist revolutionary sects—always infinitesimal in number—also damaged the movement's credibility. Marchers who insisted on carrying Viet Cong flags and chanting "Ho-Ho-Ho Chi Minh" hindered the movement's ability to reach out to a large segment of the American public.

Ultimately, however, the antiwar movement left a profoundly indelible impact on America. It changed Vietnam policy, limiting America's options and military involvement in Southeast Asia, as movement chroniclers Tom Wells, Melvin Small, Thomas Powers, and others have demonstrated. It introduced new forms of dissent into the arena of America democracy. An alliance of many different groups emerged and challenged the U.S. war effort in Vietnam, with a scope and tenacity unprecedented in the history of American social protest movements. It ushered in an epic struggle over what sort of nation the United States ought to be, and it inspired other protest efforts in the process. In the end, the efforts of countless antiwar activists—in thousands of different communities across the United States—diminished American militarism, while at the same time greatly enhanced the nation's democratic traditions.

Andrew Hunt

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Draft Resisters in Canada During the Vietnam War

One of the specters of the war in Vietnam and the attendant "War at Home" in the United States was the image of the young draft resister migrating to Canada to avoid military service. Throughout the late 1960s and early 1970s, the popular press was filled with stories about "draft dodgers" who had abandoned family, friends, and country for exile in the United States' northern neighbor. These press articles told a common tale of intergenerational rupture, separation, and estrangement generated by America's military involvement in Southeast Asia. Yet decades after the fall of Saigon, and President Jimmy Carter's 1977 blanket amnesty, the migration of thousands of young men, women, and families to Canada has become only a footnote in the history of the Vietnam era.

It is estimated that between 30,000 and 100,000 Americans went to Canada between 1965 and 1975. Sociologist Renee Kasinsky puts the figure at 40,000 based on her estimates of the number of draft-aged American males who entered Canada as landed immigrants between 1965 and 1975. This number, however, tells only part of the story. Along with the draft-aged men went thousands of women who made the journey into exile as girl friends, wives, and as expatriates in their own right, with their own political reasons for migrating. Determining how many Americans stayed in Canada after the granting of amnesty in 1977 is even more difficult than calculating how many made the initial move across the border.

Going to Canada did not endear draft resisters to the organized movement against the draft in the United States. The leadership of the so-called Resistance articulated a strategy of noncompliance and noncooperation with the Selective Service and local draft boards. In their view, massive civil disobedience would force the government to take an even harder line against draft resisters, in effect criminalizing an entire generation of young American men. This in turn would create a moral and political crisis, which would make the continuance of the draft impossible. Noncooperation was a strategy that demanded all draft-aged men risk criminal prosecution and imprisonment. Making the journey across the border was a rejection of this strategy. The young men who came to Canada did so for many different reasons; some went as a political act, some because they did not want to go to jail, others because it just seemed like the easiest way to avoid military service. Although the reasons for coming to Canada were subjective, many resisters felt that crossing the border was a way of rejecting the United States, American imperialism, and the corrosive political and cultural climate of the late 1960s.

For the Canadian government, the migration of thousands of young, middle-class, and educated draft resisters was a windfall. Draft resisters, after all, were the very type of immigrant that the Canadian government deemed ideal for its increasingly communications- and technology-oriented society. In addition, the government reaped an important symbolic benefit in allowing draft resisters entry in that it demonstrated Canadian independence from the United States, and by default, opposition to the war in Vietnam. This independence had its limits, however, as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police monitored and shared intelligence on draft resisters with the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the United States. Nor were all young Americans resisting U.S. militarism afforded easy entry into Canada. U.S. deserters, many who were working-class, African American, or who had little or no postsecondary education did not experience a warm welcome. In many cases, their status was in doubt, and on numerous occasions border officials actively sought to deny deserters entry.

The antidraft movement in Canada emerged out of the nascent student movement and as such was part of the Canadian New Left. The Student Union

for Peace Action (SUPA), a broadly based student group in the tradition of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), was among the first Canadian groups to offer aid and assistance to the growing numbers of young Americans who were drifting across the border to avoid the Selective Service draft. In 1966, SUPA produced the first pamphlet, *Escape to Freedom,* written by draft-resister Richard Paterak, that gave advice to Americans interested in coming to Canada. In addition to publishing the pamphlet and distributing it in the United States through SDS chapters, SUPA made room in their offices to counsel and support the growing numbers of young Americans arriving in Toronto. Another draft resister, Mark Satin, was hired to coordinate SUPA's antidraft program and to develop more comprehensive information on the practical and legal aspects of migration to Canada. Along with other SUPA staff in 1967, Satin compiled *The Manual for Draft-Age Immigration into Canada*, a book that would become the bible for thousands of Americans who made the move north.

SUPA's initial antidraft efforts would also grow and expand, becoming a separate organization, the Toronto Anti-Draft Programme (TADP), in late 1966. TADP would be the largest and longest lasting of the antidraft organizations in Canada. Over the years, it would offer draft resisters and deserters from the U.S. military assistance in finding housing, employment, and help in adjusting to life in a foreign, if relatively familiar, country. In addition to the TADP, many other groups aided draft resisters and military deserters. These included among others, the Union of American Exiles, the American Deserters Committee, the Montreal Council to Aid War Resisters, and Red, White and Black, to name only a few. Most major Canadian cities had at least one organization that provided assistance, support, and draft counseling to the steady flow of young Americans. In addition to the student movement, Canadian church groups were a major source of funding and volunteers for antidraft organizations. The Canadian Friends Committee (the Quakers), the United Church, Mennonite Central Committee, Canadian Council of Churches, and other religious groups were deeply involved in aiding resisters and working and supporting the peace movement in Canada.

Out of one of these resister organizations emerged *AMEX,* a newspaper dedicated to the political and social concerns of American expatriates in Canada. As a newspaper, *AMEX* followed in the tradition of the alternative and underground press of the late 1960s that provided a forum for debate, connections, and expressions of dissent rather than a pseudoprofessional journalism. In its early years of publication, *AMEX* argued that draft resisters should assimilate into Canadian society, that they should learn about Canadian history, read Canadian literature, and reject the American past. In tone and spirit, the contributors to *AMEX* were advocates of English Canadian Nationalism, a movement that sought to limit and reduce American political power and influence in Canada. For some draft resisters, Canadian Nationalism was an important vehicle to express opposition to U.S. imperialism and to make a political commitment to their homeland. Yet as the 1970s progressed, *AMEX* shifted its focus away from advocating assimilation into Canada to the campaign for amnesty in the United States. Long-time *AMEX* editor and pro-amnesty advocate Jack Colhoun, noted that the ascendancy of the pro-amnesty group within the newspaper was due in large part to the fact that the Canadian nationalist elements had drifted away from involvement in resistance politics to involvement in a range of other political activities.

As a group, the young Americans who came to Canada were participants in the larger youth and countercultures that blossomed in Canadian cities during the late 1960s and early 1970s. In Vancouver, draft resisters were a significant part of the hippie scene in the city's west end and artsy Kitsilano neighborhood. In Toronto, draft resisters were a significant presence at the Rochdale College, Toronto's experiment in alternative higher education, as well as in the bohemian neighborhood along Baldwin Street. As Americans settled in the social spaces of Canada's largest cities, they also became involved in a wide variety of political and cultural movements. American expatriates would play key roles in a wide variety of movements such as the Canadian labor movement, the women's movement, the urban reform movement, the lesbian and gay movement, and the alternative school movement. In some cases, these Americans brought with them activist politics honed on U.S. college campuses and through involvement in the civil rights movement and in antiwar activities during the 1960s. For others, however, coming to Canada was part of a process of politicalization that saw them become more active in causes and social movements as a result of leaving the United States.

The status of draft resister was resolved in 1977 when then-President Jimmy Carter provided a blanket amnesty, thus allowing American resisters to repatriate themselves. Though many resisters returned, thousands stayed behind, becoming a significant part of Canadian civil society over the last decades of the

twentieth and the first years of the twenty-first century.

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Antiwar Movement
Twenty-First Century

In the aftermath of the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, a new and vibrant antiwar movement took shape in the United States, protesting U.S. military intervention first in Afghanistan and then in Iraq. Unlike the movement against the Vietnam War in the 1960s and 1970s, the new antiwar movement was very diverse, bringing together people of all ages and a range of political viewpoints and affiliations. As renowned progressive analyst Noam Chomsky stated, "Antiwar opposition here has been completely without precedent in scale and commitment."

Compared with the antiwar movements of earlier decades, the movement of the early 2000s consolidated rapidly. Although the September 11 attacks and the resulting increase in nationalism and conservative sentiment temporarily sidetracked the global justice movement, the infrastructure developed by the movement laid the groundwork for much early antiwar organizing. Whereas the initial protests against the Vietnam War in the early 1960s drew at most hundreds of demonstrators and numbers did not reach the hundreds of thousands until the war was well under way, early twenty-first-century demonstrations drew hundreds of thousands in the United States and millions worldwide before the Iraq War of 2003 had begun. The protest movement against the Vietnam War developed over a period of more than a decade, while the Iraq antiwar movement emerged almost instantly. And it was not only activists who were moving at a more rapid pace. The active phase of the United States' military engagement lasted less than two months, given the government's understanding that the American people would no longer tolerate a long war involving multiple U.S. casualties.

Diverse Issues, Diverse Participation

As previously noted, the contemporary antiwar movement has brought together a wide range of participants, ranging from left organizations to global and social justice activists to moderates and even some conservatives. This classification is for discussion purposes only. Many individuals and groups belong to more than one coalition, and the major coalitions frequently endorse each other's actions and jointly sponsor demonstrations.

Cadre-Initiated Coalitions

As happened during the Vietnam War, some of the earliest opposition to the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq came from the far left and from those already heavily involved in activism. Left cadre organizations quickly drew upon their ability to rapidly mobilize members and widely publicize events. International Act Now to Stop War and End Racism (ANSWER) formed on September 14, just days after the terrorist attacks in New York City and Washington, D.C. While ANSWER is officially a coalition, including groups such as the Free Palestine Alliance, the Muslim Student Association of the U.S. and Canada, and the Kensington Welfare Rights Union, it is closely affiliated with the International Action Center (IAC) and the Workers World Party (WWP).

Not in Our Name (NION), a large coalition endorsed by many individuals and groups, is associated with Refuse and Resist, which in turn is affiliated with the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP). Formed in March 2002, NION played a key role in antiwar organizing, especially on the East Coast, including a major demonstration on October 6 of that year. NION also initiated an antiwar statement signed by more than 100 celebrities, including Jane Fonda, Martin Luther King III, Tony Kushner, Gloria Steinem, and Alice Walker (published as an ad in the *New York Times,* the *Los Angeles Times,* and dozens of other papers), as well as a Pledge of Resistance reading in part: "Not in our name will you wage endless war; there can be no

Antiwar demonstrators near the United Nations in New York City were among the hundreds of thousands who gathered worldwide on February 15, 2003, to protest the threatened U.S. invasion of Iraq. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

more deaths, no more transfusions of blood for oil. . . . We pledge to make common cause with the people of the world to bring about justice, freedom and peace. Another world is possible and we pledge to make it real."

The International Socialist Organization (ISO) was heavily involved in mobilizing against U.S. intervention in Afghanistan in the wake of September 11 and—though not as visible as ANSWER or NION—continued to organize against the war in Iraq.

Global and Social Justice Activists

Although their decentralized, consensus-based process did not allow them to mobilize as quickly as ANSWER, local peace groups and global justice activists also began networking and organizing immediately after September 11. In New York City in particular, veteran activists and ordinary citizens (including family and friends of people killed in the World Trade Center attacks) came together to proclaim, "Our grief is not a cry for war." Utilizing electronic mailing lists, websites, independent media centers, and other infrastructure developed in the course of organizing against the World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank, global justice activists mobilized large numbers of protesters in the United States and worldwide, forming antiwar groups in cities and towns across the country.

Although the large coalitions focused on mass rallies, many global and social justice activists favored direct action. Among the most active groups in this tradition were Direct Action to Stop the War (DASW) in the San Francisco Bay Area and the M27 Coalition in New York City. Many—but not all—direct action proponents identified politically as Anarchists or anti-authoritarians, and most mass protests included features familiar from global justice actions. These groups were organized on a consensus model, with no paid staff or formal fund-raising.

Peace and social justice organizers formed United for Peace and Justice (UPJ) in October 2002. According to the coalition's unity statement, UPJ opposes the Bush administration's "drive to expand U.S. control over other nations and strip us of our rights at home" and "its use of war and racism to concentrate power in the hands of the few, at home and abroad." The coalition includes activists working on human rights, feminist, antiracist, civil rights, environmental, and antipoverty issues. Although initially it was particularly strong in New York City, UPJ came to include more than 600 participating groups from around the country, including Black Voices for Peace, Global Exchange, and the Institute for Policy Studies. UPJ is more participatory and directly democratic than the cadre groups, and embraces multiple tactics. The coalition came to effectively occupy a "middle ground" between the cadre organizations and direct action proponents, and the more mainstream antiwar activists.

In addition, many preexisting organizations such as the War Resisters League, the American Friends Service Committee, and Veterans for Peace were active in organizing against the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, often joining new coalitions such as UPJ. The National Network to End the War Against Iraq, a broad yet less widely known coalition comprised of some 150 peace and justice, student, and faith-based organizations throughout the country, was formed in 1999 to end "the illegal, unjust, and inhumane war being waged against the people of Iraq." Unlike the more moderate coalitions discussed below, the network opposed sanctions as well as military action, and multilateral as well as unilateral intervention. Similarly, Voices in the Wilderness, formed in 1996, also opposed sanctions against Iraq and in September 2002 organized an Iraq Peace Team to "witness, understand, and expose the situation of the civilian population of Iraq."

The Mainstream

As war with Iraq loomed closer, several progressive organizations and national advocacy groups came together in the fall of 2002 to form Keep America Safe: Win Without War (WWW), a coalition that explicitly spoke to the mainstream. Its members supported the U.S. government's goal of removing Saddam Hussein from power but favored sanctions, weapons inspections, and multinational efforts under the auspices of the United Nations rather than unilateral U.S. military intervention. "We are patriotic Americans who share the belief that Saddam Hussein cannot be allowed to possess weapons of mass destruction," read a WWW statement. "But we believe that a pre-emptive military invasion of Iraq will harm American national interests." Member groups ranged from progressive to conservative, but tended to be moderate liberals. Among these were the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the National Council of Churches, the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF), the National Organization for Women (NOW), Physicians for Social Responsibility, the Sierra Club, and Working Assets. Among the more conservative was Business Leaders for Sensible Priorities, a group of Republican business executives who published an open letter to President Bush in the *Wall Street Journal* in January 2003 reading in part, "You are waltzing blindfolded into what may well be a catastrophe. . . . War is the most extreme action a society can take. It can only be unleashed after exploring every other road. You have not explored all the roads."

Religious activists of all denominations were well represented within the antiwar movement, many motivated by faith-based principles of nonviolence. Along with a range of traditionally liberal Christian groups, pagan activists (prominently represented in the global justice movement) were active participants. Muslim and Arab individuals and organizations joined antiwar coalitions in unprecedented numbers, responding to scapegoating and attacks on their civil liberties in the wake of September 11. Jewish activists—a traditionally progressive constituency—also opposed the war in Iraq but decried the anti-Semitism that developed among some factions of the antiwar movement as the issue of U.S. military intervention in the Middle East became linked with the Israel/Palestine conflict. While extremists on one side voiced frank hatred of Israel and the Jewish people, those on the other branded any criticism of the actions or policies of the Israel state as expressions of anti-Semitism.

Although activists have utilized computer networking for the past decade, the contemporary antiwar movement has witnessed the explosion of a new type of Internet-based organizing. The most prominent online organization is MoveOn.org, which was formed in September 1998 by Joan Blades and Wes Boyd, two Silicon Valley entrepreneurs seeking to oppose the impeachment of former president Bill Clinton. Relying on a network of some 2 million online activists worldwide, MoveOn seeks to "bring ordinary people back into politics," circumventing the in-

Carrying a poster mocking President George W. Bush, Gary Wallinga (right) and Judy Dorn protest the possible war against Iraq, in St. Cloud, Minnesota, on February 15, 2003. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

fluence of big money and big media. The group broadened its scope to include issues such as campaign finance reform, sensible energy policy, and judicial nominations. The MoveOn Peace campaign began as 911Peace.org, an online petition started by Eli Pariser calling for a peaceful response to the September 11 terrorist attacks. After the two efforts merged, MoveOn rapidly raised hundreds of thousands of dollars in small increments for antiwar television, radio, and billboard ads, coordinated some 6,000 candlelight vigils worldwide, and raised money for humanitarian relief in Iraq.

Labor

In contrast to its position during the Vietnam War, sections of the organized labor movement came out against unilateral U.S. military action in Iraq, forming U.S. Labor Against the War (USLAW). In part, this shift can be traced to organized labor's decreased faith in the federal government's willingness or ability to support a decent standard of living for working people. Following the lead of several local labor councils, in February 2003 the largest U.S.-organized labor federation, the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), passed a statement opposing war in Iraq, claiming that President Bush had not made a compelling case for unilateral action against Saddam Hussein without the broad support of international allies. Various local unions were active participants in antiwar demonstrations, with teachers and healthcare workers, for example, protesting the vast amounts of money being spent on war rather than social services. Said USLAW's Bob Muehlenkamp, "Unions can no longer afford to talk about jobs and benefits without addressing issues of war and peace."

Students and Youth

Unlike the Vietnam War movement, which began (and is still often regarded) as largely a student and youth phenomenon, the contemporary antiwar movement is much more multigenerational. Yet university, community college, and high school students, as well as nonstudent youth activists, remained prominent participants. The National Student and Youth Peace Coalition organized a large antiwar rally in Washington, D.C., in April 2002. The Campus Antiwar Network was founded at two conferences in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco in January 2003 and soon counted members at more than 100 schools. Student global justice groups such as United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS) and Students Transforming and Resisting Corporations (STARC), emerging out of the resurgent student activism of the 1990s, saw resisting U.S. militarism as part of their global activist agenda. Campaigns to remove ROTC/JROTC and military recruiters from campuses—popular in the 1980s before the federal government passed legislation denying funding to schools that did not welcome the military—experienced a new revival.

Perhaps because of the lack of a draft and the greater economic challenges facing today's students, antiwar sentiment was not as widespread as it was during the Vietnam era. On some campuses there was a sort of role reversal, with professors—many of whom had been students themselves during the Vietnam War days—taking the lead in protesting the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. The new movement included people of all ages, and media coverage of the mass protests in early 2003 often noted the participation of families with children, as well as older peace and social justice activists. Once the war in Iraq began in March 2003, the most prominent disruptions took place on the streets rather than on the campuses.

People of Color and Women

Although polls consistently showed that African Americans and Latinos were more likely to oppose war compared with whites, people of color have not been well represented at mass antiwar protests. Chicana activist Elizabeth (Betita) Martinez noted that people of color face more challenges to make ends meet and have more to lose when they protest government policies (especially if they are immigrants). Many activists of color felt that white activists failed to recognize and respond to the continuing war at home against communities of color, and some also criticized white antiwar activists for failing to take leadership from people of color. In addition, blacks make up a disproportionate share of people in the military, and some African Americans hesitated to appear as if they did not support U.S. troops. Even so, many people of color found ample reason to oppose war. In the words of former member of Congress Walter E. Fauntroy (D-DC), an African American, "We know that every bomb that explodes is robbing our children and their families of five things: income, education, health care, housing, and justice." In cities such as Washington, D.C., African-American groups, including Black Voices for Peace, played a prominent role in antiwar organizing. In Oakland, New York City, and elsewhere, youth of color were active in efforts to tie war abroad with social and economic justice struggles at home.

The contemporary antiwar movement is perhaps more demographically diverse than any other in our history, having benefited from identity-based organizing in the 1970s through the 1990s.

The current movement includes a roughly equal representation of women and men, and many even believe women make up a majority of its leadership. Nationwide polls taken during the run-up to the war in Iraq consistently showed that women were less likely than men to support military intervention. During the war in Afghanistan, some women were conflicted as the oppression of women under the Taliban

Dressed in skeleton masks and star-spangled top hats, members of the group Americans Against War march in Paris, France, on March 15, 2003. France was one of the leading nations opposed to the U.S.-Iraq War. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

regime garnered widespread media attention. But by the time of the Iraq War, many women had taken the position that unilateral U.S. military action would not improve the lives of women and children in Iraq. Women have been active participants in all facets of the movement, and in addition some have formed women-focused groups such as CODEPINK: Women for Peace, a grassroots peace and social justice group seeking social change through creative protest and nonviolent direct action. Another woman-led effort, the Lysistrata Project, organized more than 700 readings in March 2003 of the Greek play by Aristophanes in which the women of Athens and Sparta withhold sex from their men until they make peace.

Cultural Voices

The Vietnam War protests initially were closely associated with the youth counterculture, but the contemporary antiwar movement is not linked to a specific cultural style. On the grassroots level, groups such as Art and Revolution and Reclaim the Streets—best known for their prominent role in the global justice movement—added music, art, and puppets to mass antiwar demonstrations. On the popular culture front, many musicians spoke out against the war in Iraq. Thurston Moore of the alternative rock group Sonic Youth developed an Internet website called Protest-records.com offering free downloads of antiwar songs. Musicians protesting the war encompassed all ages and many musical styles: Harry Belafonte, the Beastie Boys, Chumbawamba, Mos Def, Zack de la Rocha of Rage Against the Machine, Michael Franti and Spearhead, Lenny Kravitz, Cat Power, Boots Riley of the Coup, Pete Seeger, Russell Simmons, Bruce Springsteen, and Eddie Vedder of Pearl Jam. Perhaps most famously, Natalie Maines of the country rock band the Dixie Chicks ignited a storm of controversy when she told London concert-goers that she was em-

barrassed that President Bush hailed from her home state of Texas.

Actors Janeane Garofalo, Danny Glover, Dustin Hoffman, Edward Norton, Sean Penn, Tim Robbins, Susan Sarandon, and Martin Sheen spoke out against the war, in some cases risking their careers. The Baseball Hall of Fame canceled a ceremony celebrating the anniversary of Robbins's baseball movie, *Bull Durham*, while a United Way chapter in Tampa, Florida, scrapped a charity event featuring Sarandon after receiving complaints about her antiwar stance. Behind the cameras, directors Spike Lee and Martin Scorsese voiced their opposition to war, while iconoclast Michael Moore made antiwar comments during the Academy Awards ceremony. More than 100 musicians, actors, writers, and others joined Artists United to Win Without War (affiliated with WWW), which aims to encourage public debate and activate citizens through use of the media.

A Brief Chronology

In the days immediately following September 11, 2001, activists began to organize against anticipated U.S. retaliation against the Taliban, known sponsors of the Al-Qaeda terrorist network. ANSWER formed mere days after the terrorist attacks, as did local groups in several cities. Activists decried the U.S. rush to war as well as the crackdown on civil liberties at home (including the hastily passed USA PATRIOT Act, which, among other things, removes restrictions on wiretapping and online surveillance without probable cause), stepped up registration and detention of immigrants, and attacks against Arabs and Muslims. The first large antiwar protests took place in late September and October of that year. A march called by ANSWER on September 29 brought out an estimated 20,000 people in Washington, D.C., and 10,000 in San Francisco. Some 10,000 attended a protest organized by the New York Peace and Justice Coalition on October 7.

In April 2002, the National Student and Youth Peace Coalition and ANSWER both held rallies in Washington, D.C., coinciding with antiglobalization protests against the IMF and World Bank. The National Coalition for Peace and Justice and the Emergency National Network first came together for the D.C. demonstrations. ANSWER publicized its rally as a pro-Palestinian demonstration (following a recent Israeli incursion into the Jenin refugee camp and several West Bank towns), a focus the other groups declined to adopt.

As antiwar sentiment grew, more than 150 cities and towns passed antiwar resolutions. Although the movement experienced a lull in the summer of 2002, it quickly revived as the Bush administration threatened military intervention in Iraq. By the fall of 2002 and the winter of 2003, activists in the United States and around the world had mobilized antiwar demonstrations larger than any seen since the Vietnam era. On October 6, NION organized a massive rally in New York City, and protests occurred the same day in San Francisco, Seattle, Chicago, and dozens of other cities and towns.

ANSWER called another large demonstration in Washington, D.C., for October 26. Organizers estimated that 100,000 marched around the White House, while 50,000 demonstrated in San Francisco; protests also took place in Berlin, Rotterdam, Barcelona, and several cities in Italy. During the weekend of October 26 representatives from some 50 groups met and formed United for Peace and Justice. A subset of these organizers also started Win Without War.

In the early weeks of 2003, President Bush set firmer deadlines for Saddam Hussein to surrender weapons of mass destruction, and antiwar activists stepped up their organizing. Although the largest mass demonstrations took place in New York City, San Francisco, Washington, D.C., Boston, and Los Angeles, *War Times* newspaper reported antiwar activities in some 2,400 cities and towns across the country. On January 18 ANSWER sponsored a large rally in Washington, D.C., which brought out an estimated 125,000 protesters. A like number marched in San Francisco, and demonstrations also took place in numerous countries around the world, including Argentina, Canada, Egypt, Germany, Italy, Japan, Mexico, the Philippines, Russia, and the United Kingdom.

The most extensive international days of protest took place during February 14–16. In New York City police denied UPJ organizers a permit to march in Manhattan—a denial supported by the federal Department of Justice, citing security concerns. Nevertheless, on February 15 dozens of unpermitted "feeder" marches (among them students, people of color, LGBT people, performing artists, healthcare workers, and educators) departed from various points around the city to converge outside the United Nations for a rally estimated at up to half a million people; tens of thousands attempting to get to the rally site were corralled into pens of police barricades. Marches and rallies took place across the United States, including a rally of some 100,000 in Los An-

geles. The following day, ANSWER, NION, UPJ, and Bay Area United Against War jointly sponsored a march and rally in San Francisco (pushed back a day so as not to conflict with the traditional Chinese New Year's parade), which brought out as many as 250,000 people.

Internationally, 750,000 people rallied in London in what police said was the largest demonstration in British history. In Rome, 1 million demonstrators heard a communiqué from Mexico's Zapatistas read by the mother of Carlo Giuliani, a global justice activist killed by police during protests in Genoa in July 2001. "The attack on Iraq is just one page in the script of terror which the power of money has prepared for the entire planet," proclaimed the statement by Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos. "It is not justice, nor democracy, nor liberty which drives this terror. It is fear. Fear that the entire world will refuse to accept a policeman which tells it what it should do, how it should do it, and when it should do it. . . . Fear that the world will refuse to be treated like plunder. Fear of that human essence which is called rebellion. Fear that the millions of human beings who are mobilizing today throughout the world will be victorious in raising the cause of peace."

Elsewhere 500,000 demonstrated at the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin; 200,000 protested in Sydney; 70,000 turned out in Amsterdam; and 35,000 gathered in Stockholm. In Israel, 2,000 Israelis and Palestinians marched together in Tel Aviv, while 5,000 Turks in Istanbul demanded that their leaders not support the U.S. war, and protesters clashed with police in Athens. In all, an estimated 10 million to 30 million people demonstrated during the weekend in some 900 cities. Long-time antiwar protester David McReynolds said the demonstrations "exceeded anything I can recall in my 73 years," while the *New York Times* acknowledged that there were now two world superpowers: the United States and global public opinion.

Despite the outpouring of antiwar sentiment, President Bush declared that weapons inspections were not sufficient and that Saddam Hussein must abdicate power and leave Iraq. He made it clear that the United States was preparing to act with or without the support of the United Nations. In the run-up to war, activists in the United States and around the world increasingly turned to direct action. A notable example was the group of Westerners who traveled to Iraq to act as "human shields" in an attempt to stave off U.S. bombing.

A national antiwar student strike took place on March 5, with thousands of high school and college students from some 400 schools around the country walking out of class. On March 8 (International Women's Day), thousands of CODEPINK women protested in Washington, D.C., and twenty-five were arrested in front of the White House, ending a months-long peace vigil. In the days leading up to the war, eight antiwar protesters in Seattle were arrested for blocking a highway and disrupting the morning commute, while seven were arrested in Portland, Oregon, for blockading the city's federal building. In Chicago, eleven antiwar activists locked themselves together at the headquarters of Boeing to protest the corporation's production of equipment used by the military. Beginning in mid-March, San Francisco antiwar activists organized by Direct Action to Stop the War (DASW) blocked buildings and intersections in the city's financial district on several occasions, leading to dozens of arrests.

Antiwar protesters also took direct action in other countries. Two activists in Sydney, Australia, scaled the city's famous Opera House to paint "No War" on the building's white sails. Irish protesters painted peace signs on a U.S. navy plane at Shannon International Airport, while British activists repeatedly breached fences and damaged runways at air force bases. In Italy and Turkey antiwar activists blocked trains and trucks carrying U.S. military equipment. In Brazil, dock workers refused to load or unload U.S. and British ships for a day, and the Greenpeace ship *Rainbow Warrior* blockaded a section of a naval base in Spain to prevent a U.S. warship from leaving for the Persian Gulf.

Activists vowed to interrupt "business as usual" if war started, and when President Bush declared on March 19 that the "decapitation" bombing campaign had begun in Iraq, they made good on their pledge. On March 20, antiwar activists sprang into action, implementing the civil disobedience plans they had been formulating over the preceding months. Tens of thousands of protesters, largely mobilized by DASW, "called in sick" and shut down dozens of intersections and corporate, government, and media sites in downtown San Francisco, often locking themselves together to make it more difficult for police to remove them. "They succeeded this morning—they shut the city down," said one harried police chief. "They are moving faster than us. They're highly organized, but they are totally spontaneous." The decentralized, leaderless actions carried out by autonomous affinity groups

resulted in more than 2,000 arrests by the end of the week (although most of the charges were later dropped). In New York City, protesters laid down in Times Square. In Washington, D.C., protesters forced the closure of Potomac River crossings during the morning commute, while in Chicago they shut down Lake Shore Drive during the evening rush hour (resulting in some 500 arrests). Similar disruptions also took place in other cities, including Atlanta, Boston, and Philadelphia, in addition to numerous planned and spontaneous protest rallies from Bangor, Maine, to Fairbanks, Alaska.

Actions continued over the following days and weeks, along with more marches and rallies in numerous cities, including demonstrations by 20,000 in Los Angeles and a quarter million in New York City on March 22. On March 27, New York protesters mobilized by the M27 coalition (made up of members from some thirty-five progressive groups including UPJ) held a "die-in" on Fifth Avenue in front of Rockefeller Center in downtown Manhattan, resulting in some 200 arrests. Other decentralized affinity group actions took place that day throughout the city, including a "die-in" staged by CODEPINK in front of Tiffany's jewelry store and an occupation of the New York University student center.

By the end of March, activists had shifted their strategy away from disruption of traffic, instead focusing on corporations that stood to profit from the war (such as Bechtel, the Carlyle Group, Chevron-Texaco, and Halliburton), media outlets that uncritically supported President Bush's actions (including Fox News and Clear Channel Communications), and military facilities (such as Vandenberg Air Force Base and the Concord Naval Weapons Station, both in northern California).

On April 7, activists from DASW, in conjunction with members of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union, picketed at the Port of Oakland outside the terminals of American Presidential Lines and Stevedoring Services of America, which had received contracts to ship military supplies and run a port in Iraq. Police opened fire on protesters and longshoremen with rubber and wooden bullets and concussion grenades, injuring many and prompting lawsuits and calls for investigation of police misconduct (including one from Amnesty International). It proved to be, according to the *New York Times,* "the most violent [clash] between protesters and authorities anywhere in the country since the start of the war in Iraq."

Surrounded by body bags symbolizing the deaths of soldiers in the U.S.-Iraq War, Zoe Roller and Lola Basque lie down in a "die-in" in San Francisco on April 2, 2003. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

Antiwar protests continued throughout the spring and into the summer, although they grew smaller as the first phase of the war drew to a close. Rallies called by ANSWER in Washington, D.C., San Francisco, Seattle, and other cities on April 12, for example, drew a fraction of the crowds that came out in January and February. Once the war started, President Bush enjoyed an increase in support as the country experienced the common "rally 'round the flag" effect. Even many who opposed the war were concerned about appearing not to support U.S. troops, were pleased that the United States and Britain minimized civilian casualties, and wished for a quick end to the war. After Hussein's regime was toppled, President Bush declared victory on May 1, but U.S. troops continued to play a police role in the country as Iraqi

resistance continued, leading some to label the situation a quagmire in the making. With no weapons of mass destruction found, troop morale declining, and a few more U.S. soldiers being killed each week by Iraqi fighters, President Bush's approval rating slipped as the summer wore on, and there was increasing pressure to bring the troops home.

Causes and Conflicts

With the number of diverse participants comprising the contemporary antiwar movement, various conflicts have come to the fore. The chief causes of contention can be divided into two broad areas: disagreements over strategies and tactics, and debates about the scope of issues that should be part of the movement's agenda.

Organization and Tactics

The debate over tactics among antiwar activists echoed a common theme within the global justice movement, whereby moderate organizers expressed concerns that illegal direct actions (especially those that included property destruction) would discourage the involvement of mainstream participants, including organized labor and religious groups. The cadre groups, as well as moderate antiwar organizations like Win Without War and U.S. Labor Against War, favored large antiwar marches. Indeed, these mass protests were the most visible expressions of antiwar sentiment and provided an opportunity for participation by thousands of people who did not consider themselves "activists." But as President Bush pressed on with his plans for war in Iraq despite a huge international outpouring of dissent, many activists felt that marches and rallies were not enough. They began organizing direct actions aimed at stopping "business as usual," including traffic blockades and attempts to shut down military, corporate, and media targets. Moderate activists argued that this type of direct action alienated the mainstream, while the militants countered that it was necessary to "raise the stakes" and impose real costs on institutions that supported or stood to profit from war. After a round of disruptive direct actions in the days immediately preceding and following the start of the war in Iraq, however, even many radicals came to agree that traffic blockades were angering and alienating citizens (many of whom already opposed the war), and shifted toward more specific targets.

Another debate concerned the level of direct democracy in organizing and decision making. Grassroots activists (many coming out of the global justice movement) favored a more participatory, consensus-based organizing style. On the other side, cadre groups (in particular ANSWER but NION as well) were criticized for their centralized, top-down organizing methods and their lack of transparency. ANSWER was accused of attempting to impose other agendas on the antiwar movement, opportunistically using antiwar organizing to promote party-building, and taking credit for the efforts of other activists. In November 2001, the ISO was accused of attempting to "hijack" student antiwar organizing conferences in Berkeley, Boston, and Chicago. At the same time, large moderate coalitions such as WWW were criticized for relying on traditional top-down organizing, employing professional staff, and focusing on fund-raising, as well as relying too heavily on electoral politics.

The Antiwar Agenda

The diverse constituencies opposed to U.S. wars in Central Asia and the Middle East were motivated by myriad different causes, and many sought to include other issues in their antiwar organizing. Principled pacifists (including religious activists) opposed military intervention and its attendant carnage across the board, while many first-time protesters were motivated solely by opposition to the current war in Iraq. But more seasoned activists coming from other movements typically felt that U.S. militarism was intrinsically connected to other causes they cared about.

In the months after September 11, 2001, the burgeoning antiwar movement broadly agreed on three major issues: stopping the outbreak of war, ending racial scapegoating of Arabs and Muslims, and opposing the crackdown on civil liberties in the United States. Many also added opposition to any U.S. intervention in the Middle East and support for Palestinian liberation, although these issues proved to be more contentious.

The cadre-initiated coalitions, ANSWER and NION, were subject to criticism for promoting an anti-imperialist line (along with less apparently relevant issues such as support for Mumia Abu-Jamal, a former Black Panther who was accused of killing a police officer and for appearing to be anti-American). Whereas Socialist and Communist cadre groups had played a major role in Vietnam-era organizing, many veteran activists recalled how interorganizational conflict over party lines had contributed to the demise of that movement. During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, too, the movement split over support for Hussein, promoted by the International Action Center (ANSWER's parent group). By the late 1990s, cadre-style

organizations had fallen out of favor among grassroots activists, and they were not key players in the global justice movement.

ANSWER had an excellent capacity for mass organizing and was able to activate many volunteers and mobilize huge numbers of people for major marches and rallies in Washington, D.C., New York City, and San Francisco. Many (perhaps most) who participated in antiwar demonstrations were not experienced activists and often knew little of the initiating organizations' background or affiliations—much less agreed with their party lines. Although some refused to participate in protests organized by ANSWER or NION, others felt it was important to support all antiwar protests, regardless of who initiated them. Many agreed with Bob Borosage, co-director of the Campaign for America's Future: "[H]istory shows that protests are organized first by militant, radical fringe parties and then get taken over by more centrist voices as the movement grows. They provide a vessel for people who want to protest."

In the fall of 2002, several critical articles appeared in the press, featuring both "red-baiting" from the right and accusations of authoritarianism from the left. Some argued that the movement would never grow and attract new participants as long as it was associated with extreme positions such as the IAC's support for Slobodan Milosevic and other dictators. (It should be noted, however, that even among the radical fringe there was minimal overt support for the Taliban or Saddam Hussein, comparable to the earlier antiwar movement's support for the Vietnamese National Liberation Front). Todd Gitlin, a former president of Students for a Democratic Society, called ANSWER's prominent role "a gigantic ruination for the antiwar movement," while *LA Weekly* editor Marc Cooper called on "more mature segments of the left" to "step into the forefront of the peace movement and displace those who can only see evil in America."

The cadre groups were not the only ones calling for broad opposition to U.S. imperialism and capitalism. In fact, Anarchists demanded "No war between nations, No peace between classes." The revolutionary wing of the antiwar movement argued that war in Iraq was a first step in the consolidation of the U.S. role as the world's sole superpower, exemplified by the new National Security strategy's "preemptive" strike policy announced by President Bush in September 2002. Such concerns were strengthened by mounting U.S. threats against Syria, Iran, and North Korea. For global justice activists, opposition to U.S. militarism dovetailed with their anticorporate and environmental agenda, especially the belief that war in the Middle East was spurred on largely by the desire for access to oil and lucrative rebuilding contracts for well-connected corporations.

Fearing that such a radical agenda would discourage labor, religious, and minority participation, moderate activists countered with attempts to promote the idea that "peace is patriotic." They emphasized that the majority of people who opposed the war were not anticapitalist, were concerned about terrorism, believed Hussein should be condemned and removed from power (albeit by means other than war), and did not see the United States as a bastion of evil.

While the ANSWER coalition remained small, United for Peace and Justice managed to bring together national organizations and local groups as divergent as Greenpeace and the National Council of Churches. "If we're going to be a force that needs to be listened to by our elected officials, by the media, by power, our movement needs to reflect the population," said UPJ organizer Leslie Cagan. "It needs to be large, it needs to include the people who could be described as mainstream—but that doesn't exclude the people who are sometimes thought of as the fringes."

Some feared that taking on other issues would alienate potential participants, whereas others found that just such a strategy was needed to mobilize underrepresented constituencies such as working people and people of color. Organizers condemned the scapegoating and racial profiling that took place in the wake of September 11, 2001, winning support from Arabs and Muslims. Some felt that President Bush was using fear of terrorism to consolidate power by cracking down on domestic dissent. Antiwar activists and others made connections between the exorbitant cost of war and the lack of financial support for social programs at home. Some went so far as to assert that President Bush was using the war to divert attention from shrinking civil liberties and a failing domestic economy. On tax day, April 15, rather than calling for yet another mass rally, UPJ called for a weekend of local actions, including teach-ins and nonviolent civil disobedience. "We think it's an appropriate time for the peace movement to start focusing on the social justice part of this war," said UPJ's Leslie Cagan. "Where is the money coming from?"

The Future

By the summer of 2003, the antiwar movement increasingly began to look inward and plan for its long-term future. Although activists were disappointed that the movement did not succeed in stopping the war in Iraq, they were encouraged that protests appeared to delay it and heartened by the resurgence of political activism. As military engagement dragged on, many believed that opposition would strengthen, and also emphasized the need to be prepared to counter further U.S. military interventions.

Although many single-issue antiwar protesters pulled back as the war wound down, long-term activists argued for broadening the movement's focus. DASW in San Francisco, comprised largely of global justice activists, expanded its goals to encompass uprooting the system behind the war in Iraq and "the war at home" (including racism, poverty, and corporate globalization), and creating socially just, directly democratic, ecological, peaceful alternatives. UPJ has also broadened its agenda to include global justice issues. However, it remains to be seen to what extent newly mobilized antiwar activists will move on to other issues once the war is over.

ANSWER held an antiwar meeting in May 2003 that drew 800 participants, while UPJ hosted its own organizing conference in June 2003, bringing together more than 500 attendees representing over 300 organizations. The UPJ conference adopted a new structure and put in place a steering committee made up of representatives from national and local antiwar groups (mandated to include a broad spectrum of social groups). Although friction between the major antiwar coalitions remains, activists will continue to come together to express opposition to the continued American military presence in Iraq and future U.S. wars, uniting behind the demand to "Bring the Troops Home Now." Indeed, coalition members and nonaligned activists frustrated with intramovement divisions and conflicting events have called on the large coalitions (in particular UPJ, ANSWER, NION, and USLAW) to find ways to work together.

Meanwhile, Win Without War and MoveOn largely turned their attention to the presidential and local legislative races. Electoral politics proved to be a point of contention among activists, with the more radical element arguing that politicians—Democrats included—cannot be relied upon to oppose war and crackdowns on civil liberties in the name of national security. In fact, only one member of the House of Representatives—Barbara Lee (D-CA), representing Berkeley and Oakland—voted against President Bush's resolution to use the military to pursue the War on Terrorism in the wake of September 11. As the 2004 presidential campaign heated up, several Democratic candidates including Carol Moseley Braun, Howard Dean, Dennis Kucinich, and Al Sharpton came out strongly against the war in Iraq, while the Green Party maintained its clear antiwar stance.

The ultimate duration and outcome of U.S. military intervention in Iraq remains uncertain. Yet it is clear that the contemporary antiwar movement remains active in its opposition to U.S. policy in the Middle East.

Liz Highleyman

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Radical and Poor People's Movements

Introduction

Poverty has been a feature of American life from colonial times to the present. So have the collective struggles of poor people to end their penury. From spontaneous and inchoate riots for bread in early colonial towns to well-organized and disciplined Unemployed Councils in the 1930s, poor people's efforts have taken many forms. Poor people have marched on City Hall and Washington, organized unions, rioted in the streets, sat in at lunch counters and government offices, created settlement houses, taken freedom rides, constructed activist organizations, and formed political parties. Sometimes, poor people's efforts have achieved groundbreaking reforms, such as the labor and antipoverty legislation of the New Deal and Great Society. At other times, poor people's activity has victimized racial and ethnic minorities, as in the riots against Catholics during the economic depression of 1857 or the Civil War draft riots that targeted African Americans. Whatever their form and content, the movements of poor people have demonstrated repeatedly that millions of Americans have been and remain excluded from their United States' unparalleled economic abundance, yet they refuse to accept their fate quietly.

The ebb and flow of poverty in the United States has followed both cyclical and secular trends. Panics, depressions, and recessions have increased the number of the poor, while booms and times of economic stability have pulled numerous people out of penury. In the longer run, industrialization and the penetration of the market economy into more and more aspects of life expanded inequalities of wealth and enlarged the pool of poor people during the nineteenth century. At the same time, industrialization and commercialization created the conditions for poverty's elimination, and the second half of the twentieth century saw an uneven decline in the number of poor people and proportion of this economic demographic in relation to the rich, in no small part due to the movements of poor people.

Movements against poverty have reflected the form they took. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, poor people struggled against the impact of expanding markets. Poor farmers protested against high commodity prices, low crop prices, currency devaluations, railroad monopolies, land speculation, monopolistic grain elevators, usurious banks, debtors' prison, trusts, inattentive political parties, government inaction, and wealth inequality. Urban poor people protested against high prices, debtors' prison, trusts, inattentive political parties, government inaction, and wealth inequality; they also fought against high rents, low wages, long hours, dangerous working conditions, unemployment, and graft. Both urban and rural poor people fought for public education. Their movements included public protests of various kinds, marches, meetings, riots, initiative and referendum campaigns, and political parties. The outlook of most poor people's organizations in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was backward looking, focused on land redistribution as the key to poverty elimination, even among city dwellers. By the end of the nineteenth century, industrialization, urbanization, the commercialization of agriculture, and ubiquitous market relations had made land redistribution irrelevant for most poor people, even farmers. Instead, poor people focused their demands on various forms of government aid; the idea of the welfare state—a government that takes responsibility for the well-being of its citizens—was born. Poor people's movements from the late nineteenth century demanded that the government provide relief aid, tenement elimination and affordable housing, clean water, an end to child labor, unemployment insurance and workmen's compensation, public works to provide employment and services, a minimum wage, and work-hour limits. Later, child care, job training, public transportation, public investment, and universal healthcare were added to the list of demands. Many of these demands were met, as well as an expansion of political and

social rights, such as greater access to political participation and the end of racial, ethnic, and gender exclusion.

In addition to fighting poverty and its associated problems, poor Americans have had to struggle against a pernicious ideology that locates the cause of poverty in individual incapacities. Rather than understanding poverty as the result of social, political, and economic circumstances as well as individual effort, many Americans blame the victims. The poor, they say, are poor because they lack the moral and intellectual capacities to lift themselves out of poverty. In a society that glorifies wealth, poor people are stigmatized as unfit to enjoy the full benefits of citizenship. With few resources to court politicians, finding allies to build the political and cultural clout necessary to tilt public policy in their favor is extremely difficult. In addition, many poor people have accepted the dominant characterization that equates poverty with indolence, stupidity, and amorality. This ideological burden has constituted one of the greatest barriers to the mobilization of poor people. Overcoming it has required that poor people find a way to universalize their plight and put forth an argument based on identifiable rights—the right to a minimum wage or unemployment relief—to justify their demands and win sympathy from nonpoor Americans.

Poverty has been an equal opportunity scourge in America. Certain ethnic and racial groups, and women, have suffered disproportionately, but no group has completely escaped the ills of economic destitution. Despite the common notion that poor people are predominantly nonwhite, the bulk of the poverty-stricken has been and is, in fact, white. The movements of poor people have reflected the country's racial and ethnic diversity. Rarely, however, have racial and ethnic groups fought their poverty side by side. More often, movements against poverty have foundered on the shoals of racism and sexism. For a time, Southern black and white farmers fought together in the Populist Party, but the party eventually collapsed in a wave of racist reaction that perpetuated Jim Crow throughout the South. Communists were more successful in uniting black and white unemployed people in the 1930s, but black people were excluded from many of the New Deal programs aimed at eliminating poverty. Thus, for the most part, poor people's movements have been racially and ethnically exclusive.

Where they have not included people of color or ethnic minorities, white poor people's movements have at best ignored and at worst targeted them. For example, the Equal Rights Party in New York in the 1830s largely ignored African-American citizens in its antimonopoly campaigns against high prices, but later bread, meat, rent, and fuel rioters often attacked Catholics and African Americans who supposedly stole from white poor people. Never have the all-too-often spasms of violence against nonwhite people done anything to eliminate white people's poverty. The movements of poor people of color, on the other hand, have done much to improve the conditions of all Americans. These movements have usually been part of larger movements against exclusion from political, economic, and social participation. Puerto Ricans in the Young Lords in the 1960s fought police brutality, racist hiring practices, and poverty. The political mobilization of freed slaves after the Civil War led to the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment, expanding the rights of all Americans. The War on Poverty grew out of the civil rights movement of African Americans, but the massive elimination of poverty achieved by the program aided the poor of all races and ethnicities.

The achievements of poor people's movements are many, but so, too, are the failures. Despite the efforts of so many dedicated people for so long, poverty remains a serious problem in the United States. At the turn of the twenty-first century, it is a growing problem, made worse by the glorification of business and the increasing hostility to the welfare state. The poor of today do not suffer the same afflictions as the poor of a century ago. Still, the poor suffer not only deprivation and humiliation, but also disease, mental illness, and shorter life expectancy. If the past is any guide, the contradiction between America's abundance and the persistence of its poverty will revive poor people's movements. For while the past has proven that economic growth can reduce poverty, it has also demonstrated that only an organized political movement can eliminate it.

Aaron Brenner

Poor People's Movements

Perhaps the greatest truism in American history is that the United States from colonial times has been a very rich and abundant country with large numbers of poor people. During the 1700s and 1800s, the existence of an impoverished class was largely covered up in a popular ideology that glorified the prosperous, self-reliant "yeoman farmers" and enterprising mechanics, the democratic producing masses, and the independent, sober, and thrifty common man. Poor people's movements in the antebellum period both developed in response to the increase in economic insecurity and poverty that accompanied early industrialization and sought through land reform, free public education, and other reforms to make real the vision of a society where no one had to be poor.

Pre–Civil War Era

The antebellum history of indentured servitude and slavery went against the popular ideology of a middle class, as did the ravages of industrialization through the nineteenth century. Wealth in natural resources meant little for those without the tools or capital to make use of those resources. Antebellum movements of workers against imprisonment for debt, in support of "hard currency," and for free land often drew their support from those who found themselves paid in valueless currency, made to pay exorbitant rents in expanding urban areas, and beset by periodic economic crises, called depressions and recessions in the twentieth century, which sometimes drove them into destitution.

Cities like New York, whose population rose from 130,000 in 1820 to 1 million in 1860 and 4 million in 1900, became centers of the visible poor, living in slum neighborhoods that were repositories of periodic epidemics and rioting. With the disappearance of property qualifications for white male suffrage after the 1820s, political radicals sought to lead movements of the poor. One such movement was the Equal Rights Party, popularly called Locofocos, in New York, which campaigned on a program of antimonopoly price reductions of "bread, meat, rent and fuel" in the depression of 1837. Riots such as the Locofoco flour riot against high prices were common, although riots of the poor in the mid-nineteenth century often took the form of "native" Protestants attacking "immigrant" Catholics seen as taking jobs. Such riots fueled the anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic Know-Nothing movement of the 1850s, whose xenophobic anti-Catholic message became an important force in national politics by pitting nativist Protestant whites against new Catholic immigrants. The Know-Nothings briefly competed with the new antislavery reform-oriented Republican Party to challenge the Democrats before the Civil War.

The depression of 1857, which gave impetus to the Republicans, led to major slum riots in New York, a mass demonstration of the unemployed in front of the Wall Street Stock Exchange, attacks on police stations, and the use of U.S. Marines to oust rioters who had briefly occupied City Hall, demanding work and food.

The Civil War, which brought price inflation and conscription, also heightened strikes and riots among the poor, in both the Union and the Confederacy. In 1863, bread riots among the poor took place in the Confederate capital, Richmond, Virginia, and in Mobile, Alabama, along with antidraft riots in a number of Southern cities. Confederate law gave draft exemptions to large slaveholders.

In the more widely industrialized North, strikes of workers were common, and army troops were often used to suppress these strikes, particularly when they were against munitions or transportation facilities. Although these strikes cannot be seen as poor people's protests, they were responses to the forging of an industrial working class under wartime conditions and a harbinger of postwar labor struggles.

Civil War Draft Riot

Perhaps the most important riot of the poor in the nineteenth century, which highlighted the social and ethnic divisions of the American poor, was the New York City draft riot of 1863. Just as big slaveholders were exempt from the Confederate draft if they chose to be, wealthy men in the Republic could purchase an exemption for $300. In July 1863, shortly after the great Union victory at Gettysburg, a mob of predominantly Irish immigrant labors attacked the new army recruiting station in New York and went on to loot homes of the wealthy, and hunt and kill all free blacks they could find, sometimes hanging or burning the victims, sometimes drowning them in the Hudson and East rivers, until Union troops returning from Gettysburg suppressed the riot.

Smaller "draft" riots with a similar social composition took place in Boston, Newark, New Jersey, and other cities. Although the riots were spontaneous rather than inspired by Confederate agents, as many abolitionists and supporters of the Republic contended, they were essentially a "war of the poor against the poor." The spirit of these riots would reappear in the postbellum period in various ways, primarily in "race riots" of poor whites against blacks. In addition, the mobilization of poor white communities in Boston, Philadelphia, and other cities against school integration in the second half of the twentieth century reflected the hostility of the white working class toward desegregation in urban areas, while middle-class suburbanites retained racially segregated schools.

Industrialization and Working-Class Protest

The pattern of spontaneous strikes by workers and rioting among the poor continued in the postwar period, as rapid industrialization and mass immigration produced larger cities, slums, and depressions. In the long depression of the 1870s, the unemployed held demonstrations demanding relief in Chicago, New York, and other cities, and often joined solidarity demonstrations for strikes, most importantly in the Great Railroad Strike of 1877, the first nationwide industrial strike. During the depression, the press used the term *tramp* to demonize the wandering unemployed, and some handguns were advertised as "tramp specials." Widespread looting by the poor and armed clashes by workers with police and state militias followed until President Rutherford B. Hayes used federal troops, which had recently been withdrawn from the South, to suppress the strike.

Symbolically, Hayes's actions represented the abandonment of nearly 4 million impoverished former slaves in the South and the concentration of federal military force against workers and the poor in the North and marginalized native peoples in the West, who were soon to be in the "reservation stage" of Indian removal.

Many members of the working poor, especially women and immigrants, flocked to the Knights of Labor, which accepted unskilled workers, women, and minorities, in the postwar period. On May 1, 1886, a new labor organization, the American Federation of Labor (AFL), whose leaders were influenced by the growing European Socialist movement, called for strikes throughout the country in support of the eight-hour day, which the Knights also took up.

In solidarity with one of the strikes at the McCormick Harvester Company in Chicago, a large crowd of workers and the poor gathered on May 4, 1886, in Haymarket Square. When police marched against the demonstration, a bomb was hurled at them, and a bloody riot ensued. Eight organizers of the demonstration, who had no proven connection with the bomb thrower (who was never found), were tried for murder. Despite international protests that included English writers William Morris and George Bernard Shaw, four were executed. When the Illinois Supreme Court refused to hear the appeal of the eight Haymarket defendants, Shaw wrote with characteristic sarcasm, "If the world must lose eight of its people, it can better afford to lose eight members of the Illinois Supreme Court."

Poverty Reduction as a Social Cause

In 1886, Henry George, the author of *Progress and Poverty* (1879) (an enormously popular work that asked why there was so much more visible poverty in a period of unprecedented economic growth and technological advance), ran a strong race for mayor of New York, finishing second, ahead of Republican Theodore Roosevelt, as the candidate of New York's labor unions. In *Progress and Poverty* and in his subsequent career as a reformer, George saw mass poverty as the result of the huge increase in land values that accompanied an industrialization that compelled both workers and small businessmen to pay usurious rents to a class of landlords who produced nothing and invested in nothing productive. George's solution to poverty and inequality was a "single tax"—essentially a progressive tax on land—that would take away the

"unearned increment" that the marketplace had given landlords. With the proceeds from the single tax, George proposed to fund public works that would provide jobs for the unemployed and other social improvements.

Rural Poverty and the Populist Movement

The existence of mass urban poverty spawned a powerful literature in the 1880s and 1890s, both realist and utopian, including such works as William Dean Howells's *A Hazard of New Fortunes* (1890), Stephen Crane's *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets* (1893), Edward Bellamy's Socialist utopia, *Looking Backward* (1888), and Ignatius Donnelly's capitalist dystopia, *Caesar's Column* (1891). However, the most important political movement that arose in the period, Populism, addressed the rural social dislocation and poverty created by the new boom-bust national economy, which saw agricultural production expand enormously in response to greatly increased urban markets, the "transportation revolution" represented by the railroads, and great advances in agricultural technologies. However, farmers saw the prices of their crops drop while the costs of farm implements, transportation, and grain storage increased sharply, reducing large numbers to tenants and, in the South particularly, sharecroppers and farm laborers.

To fight against this downturn, western and southern farmers in the 1880s formed farmers' alliances, which attempted to form farm distribution cooperatives and crop insurance plans, and made various legislative proposals, including public ownership of railroads and grain storage facilities and currency expansion ("free silver") to assist debtors. The alliances sent thousands of circuit-riding lecturers through the countryside to mobilize farmers and were a movement much more of small indebted farmers fighting against a commercializing agriculture that drove them into debt than of those already poor. Nonetheless, the movement became the center for campaigns against monopoly, the trusts, and the banks.

The alliance campaigns were an important part of the background to passage of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act in 1890; however, the failure of the alliances to influence the Democratic and Republican parties through pressure-group politics led to the creation of the People's (Populist) Party at Omaha in 1892. The preamble to the party's platform, written by Ignatius Donnelly, summed up the rage of the new poor of industrial America: "We meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political, and material ruin . . . the newspapers are subsidized or muzzled; public opinion silenced; business prostrate, our homes covered with mortgages, labor impoverished, and the land concentrated in the hands of capitalists . . . the fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes. . . . From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice we breed two classes—paupers and millionaires."

Although the Populists' message appeared apocalyptic, the onset of major industrial depression in 1893 gave it great force. Unable to make much headway in the rapidly industrializing core regions of the country, the Northeast and the Mississippi Valley Middle West, the Populist Party gained power briefly in the 1890s in plains states like Kansas and mountain states like Colorado. In the South, where white farmers belonged to a Southern Alliance and blacks to a Colored Farmers' Alliance, Populists fought fierce battles against the post-Reconstruction Democratic Party, which represented the interests of landlord planters and merchants and cotton factors who held the notes of the tenants and croppers. In the South, the struggle between Populists and those they called Bourbon Democrats—the white upper class—assumed the character of an open class struggle, as the conservative Democrats used heightened racist appeals, mass disenfranchisement of blacks and, to a much lesser extent, poor whites, and outright terrorist violence to suppress the Populist movement. For the Populists, the plantation owners and farmer slaveholders controlling the Democratic Party were equivalent to the Bourbon kings and aristocrats ruling France before the French Revolution.

The Populists had few practical programs for northern labor and the urban poor beyond antimonopoly rhetoric and a call for greater democracy, thus limiting the possibility that they would become a mass Farmer-Labor party replacing one of the two major parties. The decision of party leaders to form a coalition with the Democrats in 1896, supporting the candidacy of William Jennings Bryan, who mixed Populist and evangelical rhetoric with a narrow focus on the Populist program of currency expansion, doomed the party in two ways. Bryan led the Populists down to defeat with him and coopted an important part of their style and in a watered-down form some of their issues. Repressed in the South, many Populists joined the Democrats, acquiescing in white supremacy and seeking to represent poor white interests in what was now a one-party region. In the West, some Populists became active in the new Socialist

LOOKING BACKWARD
EDWARD BELLAMY (1888)

Edward Bellamy, a nineteenth-century utopian Socialist, originally published Looking Backward, 2000–1887 *in 1888, from which the following passage is excerpted. The work predicts that in the future all of the world's social ills will be abolished, including war, class divisions, crime, and mental illness.*

As to the final outcome of the labor troubles, which was the phrase by which the movement I have described was most commonly referred to, the opinions of the people of my class differed according to individual temperament. The sanguine argued very forcibly that it was in the very nature of things impossible that the new hopes of the workingmen could be satisfied, simply because the world had not the wherewithal to satisfy them. It was only because the masses worked very hard and lived on short commons that the race did not starve outright, and no considerable improvement in their condition was possible while the world, as a whole, remained so poor. It was not the capitalists whom the laboring men were contending with, these maintained, but the iron-bound environment of humanity, and it was merely a question of the thickness of their skulls when they would discover the fact and make up their minds to endure what they could not cure.

The less sanguine admitted all this. Of course the workingmen's aspirations were impossible of fulfillment for natural reasons, but there were grounds to fear that they would not discover this fact until they had made a sad mess of society.

They had the votes and the power to do so if they pleased, and their leaders meant they should. Some of these desponding observers went so far as to predict an impending social cataclysm. Humanity, they argued, having climbed to the top round of the ladder of civilization, was about to take a header into chaos, after which it would doubtless pick itself up, turn round, and begin to climb again. Repeated experiences of this sort in historic and prehistoric times possibly accounted for the puzzling bumps on the human cranium. Human history, like all great movements, was cyclical, and returned to the point of beginning. The idea of indefinite progress in a right line was no chimera of the imagination, with no analogue in nature. The parabola of a comet was perhaps a yet better illustration of the career of humanity. Tending upward and sunward from the aphelion of barbarism, the race attained the perihelion of civilization only to plunge downward once more to its nether goal in the regions of chaos.

This, of course, was an extreme opinion, but I remember serious men among my acquaintances who, in discussing the signs of the times, adopted a very similar tone. It was no doubt the common opinion of thoughtful men that society was approaching a critical period which might result in great changes. The labor troubles, their causes, course, and cure, took lead of all other topics in the public prints, and in serious conversation.

The nervous tension of the public mind could not have been more strikingly illustrated than it was by the alarm resulting from the talk of a small band of men who called themselves anarchists, and proposed to terrify the American people into adopting their ideas by threats of violence, as if a mighty nation which had but just put down a rebellion of half its own numbers, in order to maintain its political system, were likely to adopt a new social system out of fear.

As one of the wealthy, with a large stake in the existing order of things, I naturally shared the apprehensions of my class. The particular grievance I had against the working classes at the time of which I write, on account of the effect of their strikes in postponing my wedded bliss, no doubt lent a special animosity to my feeling toward them.

Source: Edward Bellamy. *Looking Backward, 2000–1887* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1926).

movement, particularly after the formation of the Socialist Party of America (SPA) in 1901.

MOVEMENTS OF THE UNEMPLOYED

As the depression of the 1890s deepened in 1894, Jacob Coxey, a radical greenbacker and champion of public works for the unemployed, caught press attention by leading an "industrial army," a march of the unemployed from Ohio to Washington. Other "industrial armies" (the concept was derived from Bellamy's *Looking Backward*) also marched on Washington, including an army of Polish immigrants from Chicago. Often the armies were greeted enthusiastically by unionized workers, as was Coxey's at Homestead, Pennsylvania, scene of the great steel strike against Andrew Carnegie and his lieutenant Henry Clay Frick

two years before. But the marches also produced many clashes with local police, especially in the West, and often dissipated because of a combination of police harassment and lack of food and other provisions. Coxey, riding a white horse, made it to Washington and led his army of 500 strong to the capital steps, only to see the police break up his demonstration and arrest him for trespassing. Other industrial armies from around the country suffered similar fates when they reached Washington. In August 1894, police authorities destroyed Coxey's campsite, which served as the center for all the protests, driving away more than 1,200 demonstrators.

Although Coxey was vilified in the press and largely forgotten, his march would live on in the much larger Bonus March of World War I veterans in 1932, to which the Hoover administration would respond much as Grover Cleveland had in 1894. In addition, Coxey would outlive those who mocked him, passing away in 1951 at the age of 97 and contending with a great deal of justification that New Deal jobs programs like the Works Progress Administration (WPA), the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), and the National Youth Organization (NYO) had vindicated him.

Settlement House Movement

As the twentieth century dawned, both Socialists and non-Socialist reformers addressed the question of poverty. Although it could more accurately be seen as a movement for rather than of poor people, settlement houses in urban slum areas, of which Chicago's Hull House, founded by Jane Addams in 1889, became the best known, provided a variety of social and educational services for the immigrant poor while publicizing the misery of life in the sweatshops and tenements.

Jacob Riis's *How the Other Half Lives* (1890), which used the relatively new medium of photography to chronicle conditions among Lower East Side Jewish immigrants in the 1880s, helped to create a genre that would become a part of early twentieth-century exposé journalism. Popularly called muckraking, these photographic and journalistic profiles focused primarily on political and business corruption. Distinguished photographers Alfred Stieglitz and Lewis Hine would make urban poverty a major theme in their work. Hine particularly was involved in the National Child Labor Committee, which grew as the number of children engaged in work grew. In 1900, the U.S. Census showed that 1.7 million children worked in mills and other manufacturing installations. This was a conservative figure, for parents routinely lied about the ages of the children as reformers began to have some success in northern industrial states in enacting minimum age requirements for workers.

World War I and the Rise of Racism and Ethnocentrism

The pre–World War I era might best be called an era of the discovery of poverty. New "progressive" magazines with predominantly middle-class subscribers regularly gave their readers accounts of urban poverty that was often just one neighborhood and one economic crisis away. Traditionalists continued to blame poverty on the poor, claiming that it was the fault not of society or the nation's economic system but of poor people themselves that they were poor.

First, racism served as both an explanation of poverty and an ideology to oppress the poor. Mounting violence in the South against poor blacks both helped to consolidate the system of segregation and disenfranchisement in the wake of the defeat of populism and served as a foundation for racist ideology and practice throughout the nation. A new generation of southern politicians, simply called demagogues in the northern press, appealed to poor whites with a theatrical politics that mocked the wealthy and incited hatred and violence against blacks.

Politicians like Senator James Vardaman (D-MS), and later Senator Theodore Bilbo (D-MS) and Representative John Rankin (D-MS), Senator Ben "Pitchfork Ben" Tillman (D-SC), and later Senator Ellison DuRant Smith (D-SC) and Senator James Strom Thurmond (R-SC), Senator Hoke Smith (D-GA), former Populist leader Senator Tom Watson (D-GA), and later Georgia governors Eugene Tallmadge and Lester Maddox, preached a politics of inciting the "war of the poor against the poor" in which a huge increase in lynching and the nationally publicized Atlanta race riot of 1906 were the best-known early examples. The spread of lynch law to the North in 1909 led a group of white and black progressives and Socialists to found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Although the NAACP could not be considered a poor people's movement, it nevertheless sought to regain civil rights lost since the end of Reconstruction and to prevent further erosion of the rights of an impoverished people.

In the North, portrayals of the immigrant poor as violent criminals, Anarchists, and Communists served as the backlash against social reformers' attempt to

awaken a social conscience against poverty. The American Protective League lobbied for immigration restriction and encouraged the work of "scientific racists" who portrayed Italian, Greek, Slavic, and Jewish immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe as genetically inferior to Northern Europeans and a menace to the nation's "racial stock" and future. President Woodrow Wilson, whose Democratic Party particularly depended on the votes of new immigrants, spoke disparagingly of "hyphenated Americans" (those who called themselves Irish-Americans, Italian-Americans, etc.), sought to extend segregation to federal offices following his election to the presidency, and praised the racist film *Birth of a Nation*, which glorified the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) of the Reconstruction period, when it was released in 1915.

World War I intensified these trends as conservatives called for 100 percent Americanism and expanded political attacks on progressives, Socialists, and the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). Known as the Wobblies, the IWW was a revolutionary workers organization that organized lumberjacks, miners, garment workers, dockworkers, and other impoverished workers who were seeking to improve wages and working conditions. The KKK also revived and spread rapidly, in both the North and the South, after the war, feeding on the postwar red scare against Socialists, Anarchists, and members of the new Communist Party, as well as the wave of race riots against blacks, particularly returning servicemen, in what was called the red summer of 1919.

Poverty and Inequality in the Post–World War I Era

World War I stimulated a huge expansion of U.S. industry through the implementation of mass production technologies and electrification. The increase in wealth brought the growth of inequality, as the labor movement was thrown back from its wartime highs. For example, the Keating-Owen Child Labor Bill of 1916, outlawing child labor, was declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court (*Hammer v. Dagenhart*, 1918), and the political climate glorified both business and pro-business governments, denounced Communists, and mocked prewar progressives as "tired radicals" whose criticisms of business had been proven wrong by history.

What followed heightened inequality and increased conflicts between whites and blacks, among Protestants, Catholics, and Jews, and between urban and rural populations, along with exacerbating the already deep divisions over social issues such as Prohibition, religion, and personal morality. With the American public deeply divided over social issues and participation in electoral politics declining, conservative Republican administrations were free to pursue policies summed up by President Calvin Coolidge's famous phrase, "the business of America is business. He, who builds a factory, builds a temple. He, who works there, worships there."

This rather religious vision of American public life that linked prosperity to capitalism remained axiomatic in American national politics. In his 1929 inaugural address, President Herbert Hoover issued a statement that his generation of Americans was closer to the eradication of poverty than any generation in history—a contention that would prove wildly erroneous just seven months later, when the stock market crash rapidly accelerated the decline of what was already a stagnating economy. The Hoover administration's commitment to business-as-usual politics intensified what was to become the worst industrial depression of modern history. In the process, the poor became more visible than at any time in U.S. history, constituting at best a large minority and at worst a substantial majority of the population.

Depression and the New Deal

The Great Depression saw a rediscovery of poverty and the creation for the first time in U.S. history of poor people's movements seeking to transform society. At the center of the movements was the Communist Party USA (CPUSA), which in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution represented a new leftist force in the United States, the Socialist Party of America, which under its new leader Norman Thomas remained a significant force, and various radical movements in rural areas drawing upon the experience of populism. Together, these movements influenced the government of Franklin D. Roosevelt, which, in 1932, proclaimed a "New Deal" for the "man at the bottom of the economic heap, to enact major social welfare legislation to provide protections for workers, the unemployed, and the poor generally." In short, the New Deal was a series of government-led economic and social programs created to jump-start the economy.

By the winter of 1930, demonstrations of the unemployed, sometimes spontaneous, often led by Communists and other radicals under such slogans as "Work or Wages" and "Fight—Don't Starve," broke out in front of city halls in Philadelphia, Cleveland, Los Angeles, and other cities. The Communist move-

ment globally declared March 6, 1930, International Unemployment Day, and tens of thousands participated in demonstrations in the United States. In New York, Boston, Milwaukee, and other cities, the demonstrations led to major clashes with the police. In the wake of the demonstrations, the press, which had been downplaying the economic crisis (the term *depression* was at first a euphemism for what had previously been called panics and crises), began to acknowledge the severity of the situation.

The Communist Party and the Poor

Following up on the success of the demonstrations, CPUSA activists organized unemployed councils throughout the country and established a loose national organization, Unemployed Councils USA. The councils organized local campaigns for increased relief and demonstrations against evictions, which often led to violent clashes with police, particularly when council members sought to block the evictions of African Americans in Chicago and other major cities. Nationally, the councils focused on petition drives for a practical reform, unemployment insurance, so much so that American Federation of Labor conservatives, in opposing old age pensions and unemployment insurance at the AFL's 1932 convention, mocked them as "Communist programs."

In response to the press's contention that "nobody was starving," the councils organized "hunger marches," the most famous of which led to a bloody clash with police at the Ford Motor Company at Dearborn, Michigan, in 1931. The following year, Angelo Herndon, a young African-American Communist, was arrested and charged with "attempting to incite insurrection" for leading a multiracial hunger march in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1932. Sentenced in 1933 to twenty years on a Georgia chain gang, Herndon became the focus for civil liberties agitation throughout the country. The result was a 5–4 decision by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1937, which was then retreating from its all-out opposition to New Deal labor and social legislation, which declared the Georgia anti-insurrection law unconstitutional.

Communist organizing among the poor and unemployed stirred others on the left. The Socialist Party, through the Socialist-led mass organization, the League for Industrial Democracy (LID), organized unemployed groups in Chicago, Baltimore, and other cities, often pursuing similar goals—that is, negotiating improved welfare conditions and an end to evictions—as the Communists did, but with less militant tactics. In 1935, Socialists under the leadership of David Lasser established a national organization of the unemployed, the Workers Alliance of America, which was to include many Communists in grassroots campaigns. In spite of the bitter rivalry between the Communist and Socialist parties, the Workers Alliance was to become a sort of informal union representing workers in the New Deal's WPA and a lobby for federal relief and other social programs for the poor.

Communists also sought to mobilize sharecroppers in the Deep South, establishing a Share Croppers Union in 1931, which built a base of strength among impoverished black sharecroppers in Alabama. Socialists organized a Southern Tenant Farmers Union (STFL) under the leadership of H.L. Mitchell, which mobilized predominantly white tenant farmers and fought to reform New Deal agricultural policies, which, given the influence of Southern Democrats, practically favored large landlords and commercial agriculture.

In 1935, left-leaning members of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration's (AAA) legal staff attempted to override the southern plantation owners' policy of replacing black sharecroppers with whites by issuing a ruling from Washington headquarters that the same people had to be kept on the land. In response to landlord policies of removing tenants and croppers along with the acreage reduction for which they received benefit payments, the AAA had issued an order (often violated) that, in order for benefit payments to be received, the same number of people had to be kept on the land. In order to remain in compliance, southern landlords then began to replace blacks with whites, sometimes at a smaller share than blacks had received.

Afraid to alienate powerful conservative forces, including the Southern Democrats and the Cotton Council of the South, AAA administrators fired rebellious legal staffers. Lee Pressman, one of these staffers, went on to become general counsel of the CIO and was regularly attacked by anti–New Deal and antilabor media as a Communist agent seeking to foment industrial strikes to advance Communist political agendas.

Communists also pioneered in campaigns to organize predominantly migrant workers in the Central Valley of California in the middle 1930s. One of these became the center of John Steinbeck's famous early novel, *In Dubious Battle* (1936), which was critical of the growers, the Communist organizers, and the political power structure. Subsequently, many of these Mexican-American migrant workers were replaced by poor white tenant farmers from Oklahoma and Ar-

kansas fleeing the dustbowl in the late 1930s. Their plight drew national attention in James Agee's nonfiction *Now Let Us Praise Famous Men* (1941), John Steinbeck's novel *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939), and the work of WPA photographers and became a symbol of poor people victimized by society.

Campaigning to organize tenants, sharecroppers, and migrant laborers, Communists faced violent repression and were on the whole unsuccessful. Yet, the party influenced subsequent New Deal legislation and provided an important precedent for the later United Farm Workers' union-organizing drives led by Cesar Chavez, which gained widespread public support and won some important victories in the 1960s and 1970s.

Labor Militancy

For a brief period, the struggles of the agricultural workers and the rural poor seemed to be advancing significantly when they were taken up by the left-leaning Food, Tobacco, and Agricultural Workers Union/CIO in the late 1930s. Although the union pursued far more moderate policies than the various sharecroppers' unions and farm labor organizers, it held out the possibility of bringing the substantial resources of the CIO to the task of organizing the rural poor. However, the postwar Taft-Hartley law encouraged national CIO leaders to abandon their southern organizing drive, purge their unions of Communists and other radicals, and expel unions whose members refused to go along with the purges.

Under such slogans as "organize the unorganized" and "black and white, unite and fight," Communist, Socialist, and other unemployed groups supported the strike wave that began in the summer of 1934 and served as a counterweight to employers who sought to use the unemployed as strikebreakers. The demonstrations of Communist-led unemployed councils and the mounting strikes led the National Council of Mayors in the fall of 1934 to call upon the Roosevelt administration to enact national welfare legislation.

Although the legislation would fall far short of what Communists, Socialists, and other militants had been calling for, it represented the most important and far-reaching social legislation in U.S. history. First, the WPA funded a wide variety of public works projects, providing millions of jobs to the unemployed. Conservatives in Congress triumphed by insisting that the WPA pay its workers low "security wages" rather than the prevailing wage in industry. Conservatives also restricted appropriations for the WPA and other New Deal agencies providing jobs (the Public Works Administration and the NYA, which provided both jobs and work study grants for youth), so that, at their peak, some New Deal jobs programs could not reach more than a third of the unemployed. Still, the programs both saved millions of people and enriched the country by building public hospitals, roads, and recreational facilities; establishing federal theater, arts, and music projects; and engaging in other activities for low-income people that private enterprise, even in prosperous times, had considered unprofitable.

The New Deal government saw these jobs programs as temporary. As a long-term solution to poverty, the administration enacted old age pension and unemployment insurance legislation, the latter particularly associated with the campaigns of the Communist-led unemployed councils in 1935. Defined as an attempt to expand the power of labor to confront powerful businesses and corporations and increase workers' purchasing power, the National Labor Relations Act of 1935, in large measure a response to the growing strike wave and the fears that Communist-influenced strikers might create a revolutionary situation if reforms were not enacted, established a National Labor Relations Board to supervise union elections and outlaw unfair labor practices. The Rural Electrification Administration (REA) was also established in 1935 to provide electricity for rural areas too poor to get power from private companies.

The Congress of Industrial Organizations and the Struggle for a Welfare State

In 1935, the formation of the Committee (later Congress) on Industrial Organizations ushered in the organization of large, inclusive industrial unions, including Steel Workers, Auto Workers, and Electrical Workers, who, unlike the AFL, strongly supported social welfare legislation for the working class and poor. President Roosevelt addressed these constituencies when he ran for reelection in 1936, denouncing the "economic royalists" of big business and the "nine old men" of the U.S. Supreme Court, and contrasting what his administration had done for the industrial workers and the poor with the Hoover administration's actions in 1932 and promising to do more.

Roosevelt's great victory further stimulated union-organizing drives, leading to the victory of the United Auto Workers (UAW) in the General Motors Sit-Down Strike in the winter of 1937 and the victory of the Steel Workers in gaining recognition from U.S.

Steel. Subsequent New Deal legislation helped to break down distinctions between urban and rural labor, employed and unemployed, and to establish in a rudimentary way what would later be called a welfare state. Legislation included the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act of 1937, which created the Farm Security Administration, providing loans for family farmers and establishing "sanitary camps" to protect migrant agricultural laborers from exploitation, as well as the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, which established minimum wages, established the forty-hour week, and outlawed child labor.

The administration's commitment in 1935 to provide federal aid for families with dependent children (the Depression had produced widespread desertion by male heads of households in a society that still placed large obstacles, in the best of times, to full-time women workers) and later to subsidize the poor with food vouchers redeemable at stores (the Food Stamp Plan, enacted in 1939) represented the triumph of both the labor and unemployed movements. Although the Depression was not over and unemployment never dropped below 10 percent until the United States approached entry into World War II, American financier Jay Gould's arrogant boast of the 1880s, "I can hire one half of the working class to kill the other half," had finally been shattered by a remarkable coalition of liberals and radicals, labor, and unemployed organizers.

After sixty years of defeats in major strikes, beginning with the railroad strike of 1877, industrial workers had won great victories in the late 1930s. After facing for that same period a Supreme Court and a federal judiciary that routinely declared unconstitutional minimum-wage laws, protective legislation for women, anti–child labor laws, and legislation regulating business on the principle of "freedom of contract," workers and the poor now began to see a judiciary willing to accept government legislation on their behalf.

Opposition to Welfare State Programs

A great backlash from business and conservative forces opposed efforts to build strong welfare state programs. The WPA was vilified as a center of waste and inefficiency, and the industrial unions were condemned as seedbeds of Communist revolution. An informal coalition of Republicans and Southern and other conservative Democrats came into existence by 1938 to oppose New Deal policies, and the recession of 1937–1938 increased their numbers in Congress.

Faced with a congressional committee system that gave great power to anti–New Deal Southern Democrats with seniority garnered from the fact that they did not have to run in competitive elections, Roosevelt made a limited and unsuccessful attempt to oppose anti–New Deal Democrats in the Democratic primaries of 1938. The press, which was overwhelmingly anti–New Deal, called Roosevelt's actions a "purge," comparing them with the great political purges sweeping the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, a member of the conservative coalition, Representative Martin Dies (D-TX), became the leader in 1938 of the new House Un-American Activities Committee, whose stock in trade from its inception was to strike at unions, New Deal agencies, and various advocacy groups as the "Trojan horse," to use Dies's phrase, of Soviet-directed Communist revolutionaries. Another prominent conservative, Senator Harry Byrd (D-VA), led a committee on government appropriations, popularly known as the "economy committee," which sought to expose waste and cut New Deal budgets. Conservative newspapers spread the story that high New Deal official and WPA administrator Harry Hopkins had said, "we will tax and tax, spend and spend, elect and elect," which Hopkins denied, but which became a mantra for conservatives who saw the New Deal as a machine taxing business and the productive middle and upper classes to support radical unions and bribe the undeserving poor to keep them in power.

Even before the U.S. rearmament program began, the conservative coalition scored its first important victory when it eliminated the WPA's federal theater project, which was accused of radical influences and mismanagement in 1939. Once the United States entered the war and Roosevelt, in a highly publicized speech, announced that "Dr. New Deal," necessary to fight the Depression, was now to be replaced by "Dr. Win the War," a politically strengthened congressional conservative coalition eliminated the WPA entirely, struck down the Farm Security Administration, and abolished the Food Stamp Plan (which would be resurrected in the 1960s) on the grounds that they were no longer needed. When the National Resources Planning Board, a major New Deal planning agency, came forward for proposals to establish a comprehensive postwar welfare state, focusing on publicly supported housing, education, transportation, and healthcare, the conservative coalition eliminated the appropriation for the board.

Roosevelt used a number of the board's recommendations to develop his goal for a "second bill of rights," stressing economic and social security, which

he ran on in 1944 and which the press dubbed the "Economic Bill of Rights." However, the increased strength of the conservative coalition, the effect of the war in stimulating a vast expansion of American big business, and the political unreliability of the Democratic Party to advance New Deal goals—represented by the influence of powerful Southern Democrats and urban machines much more interested in local patronage than in social policy—made the realization of these goals very unlikely. Roosevelt's acceptance of Harry Truman, a centrist machine Democrat from Missouri, as a replacement for Vice President Henry A. Wallace on the ticket in 1944 and Truman's accession to the presidency on Roosevelt's death as the war ended inaugurated a new postwar period of conservative politics in which organized labor was contained and the poor became largely invisible once more.

Civil Rights Movement and the War Against Poverty

The civil rights movement was to become the most important force in U.S. society opposing postwar developments. The civil rights movement was often led by middle-class-based groups, black southern ministers, the NAACP, and even more radical groups like the northern-based Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), whose leadership cadre came largely from college students, intellectuals, and professionals. In addition, the movement depended on hundreds of thousands of mostly poor African Americans in the South and many in the North for its achievements. Poor blacks, in the tradition of Mississippi sharecropper Fannie Lou Hamer, who was nearly murdered when she tried to register to vote in the early 1960s, became heroes and heroines of the struggle.

Initially, the developing Cold War political climate set back the struggle for civil rights, as political purges in the unions, arts, sciences, and professions, were spurred on by the Truman administration's establishment of an "Attorney General's list" of subversive organizations in 1947. The Taft-Hartley Act, passed in 1947, made all union officials sign an annual oath that they were not members of the Communist Party, spread through the country, leading to the expulsion of many of the most qualified union organizers. These policies generated a political climate that made advocacy of the rights of workers, the poor, and minorities open to charges of subversion and treason and eliminated many of those who had led the successful struggles for the poor in the 1930s from public life.

Henry Wallace's public career was destroyed by his Progressive Party presidential candidacy in 1948; moreover, his running mate, Senator Glen Taylor (D-ID), was hounded out of the Democratic Party and the Senate in the aftermath of the campaign. The Wallace campaign sought to revive New Deal policies and connect them with civil rights and anti–Cold War positions. Governor Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, candidate of the segregationist National States Rights Party, who ran for president in opposition to the Truman administration's attempt to appeal to African-American and New Deal voters by offering to advance civil rights, was welcomed back into the Democratic fold and became a major leader of southern segregationists in the U.S. Senate within a decade.

This move away from pro–civil rights positions continued in the Democratic Party during the Korean War as the Democrats watered down their party's civil rights plank in 1952 and presidential candidate Adlai Stevenson chose Senator John Sparkman (D-AL), a centrist on most domestic issues and a supporter of segregation, as his running mate

Although the Supreme Court's historic *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) decision overturned the juridical basis of southern segregation and made the federal judiciary the principal governmental ally of the civil rights movement in subsequent struggles, it did not bring about school integration until a mass social movement developed. At Montgomery, Alabama, such a movement launched a boycott against the city's bus system, which lasted over a year, produced as its spokesman the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., and resulted in a victory both in the courts and in the solidarity shown by the African-American population. At the time, the average annual income of black workers in Montgomery was less than $1,000, which made the great majority of those who participated in the bus boycott, laborers, domestics, and the children of laborers and domestics, very poor by U.S. government statistical definitions of poverty.

Indeed, local segregationist elites throughout the South formed White Citizens Councils, which sought to coerce blacks from supporting the civil rights movement by threatening them with loss of jobs and evictions. Ironically, the mechanization of southern agriculture was forcing more and more blacks out of the rural South and, given deeper discriminatory policies against them in southern industry, to the North, so that many poor rural southern blacks had very lit-

tle to lose, save their lives, which a revival and expansion of KKK activity put at risk.

On February 1, 1960, four black college students organized a sit-in at a Woolworth's lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, which sparked a wave of sit-ins that spread to southern stores, movie theaters, churches, and public swimming pools, led to mass arrests by segregationist police, and ultimately involved more than 50,000 people. Although the leaders of the protests were clearly young middle-class activists, the majority of participants were drawn from the segregated black poor. From the sit-ins came a heightened emphasis on direct action and a new slogan, "freedom, now," which rejected the gradualism that both the Eisenhower administration and its Democratic opposition preached and the NAACP and the Urban League, the leading establishment civil rights organizations largely indifferent to the plight of the black poor, had accepted.

The sit-ins saw the creation of the SNCC, made up of militant black and white college students who would interact with hundreds of thousands of poor southern blacks in anti-segregation and community organizing drives and voter registration campaigns in the early 1960s. Initially founded as a support group for civil rights activity with connections to the old Socialist LID and the political action apparatus of the United Automobile Workers Union, the predominantly white and middle-class Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) worked with SNCC, had many members who held joint membership in both organizations, and took the experiences it garnered from the southern-based civil rights movement to create an Economic Research and Action Project (ERAP), which launched community-organizing projects among the urban poor in northern cities in 1964, developing concepts and tactics that would reappear in the Johnson administration's War on Poverty.

The southern civil rights movement, under the leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), was attempting to mobilize poor people to fight a nonviolent war against a violent enemy. The campaign sought to turn national and international public opinion toward compelling the federal government to end a system of segregation that had, in principle, been illegal since the *Brown* decision. The civil rights movement launched a full-fledged boycott against discrimination in public accommodations and employment in a major southern city, the steel city of Birmingham, Alabama. In May 1963, thousands of blacks, mostly young and poor, demonstrated against police dogs, fire hoses, and police beatings, filling the jails and gaining national and global attention. The fact that there were many cities like Birmingham in both the North and the South, where minority workers were essential to the service and industrial economy, convinced northern business leaders to support legislation to end southern segregation.

Government Responses to the Civil Rights Movement

In the early 1960s, the Kennedy administration announced support of legislation to end segregation and sought to channel the energies of young civil rights activists into voter registration drives in the South. The Democratic Party expected this direction would work to its advantage, since segregationist Southern Democrats were now deserting the party in droves. With this in mind, it supported voter registration drives such as Mississippi Freedom Summer, which took place in 1964, after the assassination of President John F. Kennedy and after his successor, Lyndon Johnson, had enacted a comprehensive civil rights bill banning discrimination against minorities and women in public accommodations and employment.

Events in the Mississippi Freedom Summer, the brutal murder of three civil rights activists, two white and one black, further undermined the de facto system of disenfranchisement that had been in existence in much of the Deep South since the end of the nineteenth century. These events, along with the SCLC campaign in 1965 at Selma, Alabama, provided public support for passage of Lyndon Johnson's Voting Rights Act, which became the basis for the restoration to southern blacks of voting rights lost after Reconstruction.

The Great Society

The events of Mississippi Freedom Summer, the close cooperation among middle-class civil rights activists and the African-American poor, along with the realization that the Kennedy and Johnson administrations were using the activists as unsupported cannon fodder while they continued to negotiate with and reward southern segregationists, bred a deep anger and alienation. These feelings exploded when the National Democratic Party, at its Atlantic City Convention in August 1964, refused to seat a delegation from the integrated Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which the civil rights movement had created, over the segregationist regular Democratic Party.

As he prepared to run for the presidency in his own right, Lyndon Johnson had called for the creation in the United States of a "Great Society," a term he used in a speech at the University of Michigan commencement in the spring of 1964, which became a catchphrase for his administration. As an important part of the Great Society, Johnson called for "an unconditional War on Poverty." With establishment liberals like Johnson's running mate, Hubert Humphrey, beginning to use such terms as a "Marshall Plan" for the cities, Johnson in his inaugural address in January 1965 made the war on poverty a high priority, something that no one in American history had ever done, short of Franklin D. Roosevelt's call for a New Deal and his commitment in his second inaugural to policies to elevate the suffering of "one third of the national, ill-housed, ill-clothed, and ill-fed." Never before in U.S. history had the question of poverty and the poor been broached in this way.

In 1964, Johnson had established an Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) under the leadership of Sargent Shriver, brother-in-law of the late John F. Kennedy, to direct an antipoverty campaign. Kennedy had raised the issues of poverty and hunger in the 1960 campaign, focusing his attention on the white rural poor of Appalachia. Although conservative Senator Barry Goldwater (R-AZ) joked that most of the millions whom Kennedy claimed were going hungry were on diets, Kennedy did try to extend benefits under the existing, federally supported Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) welfare system, whose numbers began to grow sharply as the urban poor suffered from suburbanization, "urban renewal," declining public transportation and education systems, and the export of jobs to Taft-Hartley "right to work" states and suburban areas.

In addition, the civil rights movement, which focused on employment issues, in both the North and the South, had connected the campaign against segregation with the struggle against poverty, a point made clear by the 1963 March on Washington, whose official slogan was "Jobs and Freedom."

Building on modest Kennedy administration policies like the Manpower Development and Training Act (1962) and the Community Mental Health Centers Act (1963), which in a limited way established job training and expanded social work services for the poor, the Johnson administration in 1965 in effect created a series of new programs whose purpose was to provide education, healthcare, housing subsidies, job training, everything, as critics on the left noted, but the jobs themselves, to the poor.

The New Deal's food stamp plan was revived and in its early years expanded very liberally to a large number of low-income people, including college students. Although comprehensive national health insurance, which had come out of the New Deal's wartime program and Truman's 1948 presidential campaign, was not realized, the Johnson administration established Medicare, a Social Security–style healthcare for retirees (whose out-of-pocket healthcare expenses had driven many below the poverty line), and a federal-state "Medicaid" program of public healthcare for the poor who passed a means test. The administration also established the Head Start program, providing educational and recreational programs for poor preschoolers, federally supported legal services to the poor, a "model cities" program for rehabilitation of slum areas, a Jobs Corps, along with a number of other job training programs, and a great increase in federal aid to education, some of it targeted to the poor, under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and the Higher Education Act of 1965.

The OEO sought to coordinate a number of these activities at the community level, seeking to ensure that the programs were both democratic and reflected the specific needs of communities through a policy of "maximum feasible participation," that is, the involvement of community activists and organizations in the development of antipoverty programs. As a result, community-based antipoverty organizations sprang up in urban areas throughout the country and became a battleground for a variety of radical activists and patronage-hungry politicians, many of whom were members of African-American and Latino minorities closed out by the existing political machines.

The escalation of the Vietnam War, however, would ultimately undermine the War on Poverty. Johnson, in spite of the enormous victory the liberal Democrats had won in the elections of 1964, which temporarily broke the veto power that the conservative coalition had over progressive initiatives since World War II, now found himself negotiating with his political opponents to limit funding for antipoverty and other Great Society programs in order to maintain congressional support for rapidly rising military expenditures.

The Johnson administration found that this strategy was untenable. The strongest supporters of its antipoverty program, both in mainstream politics and in the activist groups and community-based organizations, were also the strongest opponents of the Vietnam War, which increasingly became the great cause for a new center-left coalition of liberals and radicals.

The bitterest enemies of Johnson's antipoverty program and his administration generally were the most loyal supporters of the Vietnam War escalation, Cold War politics generally, and a social conservatism that demonized welfare and saw the social protest movements of the period as both subversive and perverse.

Unlike Roosevelt, who was able to disappoint radical activists on many issues and still maintain their loyalty and love, Johnson found himself by 1967 hated by the activists whose grassroots support was necessary to both mobilize the poor and educate workers and sections of the middle classes of the need to support a program as ambitious as the Great Society.

As a result, the urban poor experienced what might be seen as a revolution in rising expectations, as the antipoverty program, to take a phrase from one of its early Johnson administration critics, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, was both "oversold and underfunded." What the urban poor did learn by 1965 was that to put down Viet Cong insurgencies against the South Vietnamese and American troops and fight a containment war, the administration was ready to spend very big money. Beginning with the Los Angeles Watts riot of 1965 and continuing in major urban ghetto riots in Detroit and Newark, New Jersey, in 1967, slum dwellers launched their own insurgencies against slumlords, tenements, unsanitary conditions, price-gouging storekeepers selling inferior products, and the long hot summer of life in the ghetto. In the short run, money did pour in to keep the peace, providing jobs particularly for unemployed youth, but the medium-term effects were to escalate white fears of northern urban black violence and to undermine the great success of the civil rights movement five years earlier in turning the violence of the segregationist white power structure against itself.

That these riots, suppressed by police and National Guard units, were not "race riots" in the American sense but, like nineteenth-century uprisings of the white poor, riots of the poor against poverty, meant little to many whites who associated poverty with blacks and were willing to listen to conservative politicians like Richard Nixon. Nixon began to revive his political career with calls for law and order in the streets, self-reliance and accountability among the poor, and the creation of an undefined program of "black capitalism" to replace Great Society programs that were fostering both dependency and unrealistic expectations that led to violence.

Actually, Great Society programs, when compared to New Deal programs, were fostering capitalism, though not necessarily minority capitalism. Storekeepers redeemed food stamps, housing developers were paid "market value" rent subsidies to build housing for the poor, universities and employers received generous government grants for their involvement in administration-supported education and job programs, and the officials of the local antipoverty agencies reaped the greatest benefits from the programs. The Johnson administration's siding with Democratic political machines against community activists helped to turn many community antipoverty agencies into corrupt political machines led by men whom the poor came derisively to call "poverty pimps." Most of all, the establishment of major social programs like Medicaid and section 8 housing benefits to the poor when they were not available to moderate- and low-income people above the poverty line bred resentment and divided lower-income groups.

Yet, by any statistical standard, the Great Society programs, given their limitations and the fact that an administration hostile to them took power in 1969, were remarkably successful in lowering the formal rates of poverty and providing through Affirmative Action–based education and employment programs a large expansion of African American and other minority middle classes.

As the Johnson administration retreated on the war on poverty in order to escalate the war in Vietnam, Martin Luther King Jr. became both an eloquent critic of the Vietnam War and a champion of a real War on Poverty. In 1966, King had led an unsuccessful campaign against de facto segregation and discrimination in Chicago, the leading industrial city of the North.

Here he had challenged the powerful political machine of Johnson's close ally, Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago, who used black ward healers in what was a much more sophisticated power structure. As his alienation from the administration and his fear of where the advocates of black power and violent confrontation were leading the country grew, King devoted his energies to building a poor people's movement, a broad coalition of poor whites, blacks, Latinos, Native Americans, Asian Americans, and others, and planned a great encampment of the poor, a nonviolent super version of Coxey's 1893 march and the 1932 Bonus March to revive the War on Poverty and in effect save the Great Society from itself in 1968.

It was in solidarity with this campaign that King went to Memphis to support a strike of black sanitation workers in April 1968. Following King's assassi-

nation in Memphis, riots of the black poor swept urban areas throughout the country and gave impetus to Nixon's emerging "law and order" presidential campaign. The assassination of Robert F. Kennedy in Los Angeles in June 1968, following his victory in the Democratic presidential primary, removed the only candidate with a program of uniting labor with white and minority low-income groups and youth, thus saving what he saw as his brother's domestic legacy from Lyndon Johnson, who had become his bitterest political enemy.

Kennedy had surprised many who had known him in Washington by his focus on the Bedford-Stuyvesant slum district of New York, his meetings with militant community activists, and his strong identification and support for Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers (UFW). As a senator from New York, Kennedy had also sought to expose the abuses against Native Americans, statistically the poorest group in the nation. At the time of his assassination, he had built a bond with poor blacks, Latinos, Native Americans, and others greater than his brother or any contemporary American politician.

Conservative Backlash

At the Republican National Convention in 1968, Nixon revealed his position on the ghetto riots by choosing Spiro T. Agnew, the governor of Maryland, as his running mate. Agnew was well known for ordering state police to shoot to kill when riots followed the King assassination and berating local civil rights leaders for failing to keep their people "in line." Just as Democrat Adlai Stevenson had called Nixon in 1952 a "white-collar McCarthy," to appeal to the anti-Communist hysteria during the Eisenhower administration, so Agnew was used by Nixon to appeal to those frightened by the ghetto riots and antiwar protests.

Whereas Franklin Roosevelt had appealed to the "forgotten man at the bottom of the economic heap" in 1932, Nixon appealed to a "silent majority" of law-abiding nonprotesters who had been abandoned by "limousine liberals" appealing to lawless elements. Songs like Merle Haggard's "Welfare Cadillac" captured the mood of what analysts called the "white backlash"; that is, the poor, meaning the nonwhite poor, were getting something for nothing at the expense of the hard-working middle classes. The demonstrations at the Democratic Convention in Chicago in August 1968, together with the ensuing massive police repression against the demonstrators, seemed to ensure the end of the Great Society and the defeat of Lyndon Johnson's hand-picked successor, Hubert Humphrey.

Nixon, however, would face great opposition from a wide variety of his opponents—civil rights activists, Great Society liberals, antiwar activists, feminists, environmentalists, and a growing welfare rights movement—leading to the initiation of conservative reform and unprecedented repression to defeat his real and perceived enemies and maintain his power.

Government Repression

The failed promises of the Great Society could be seen most forcefully in the activities of a group that the Nixon administration, through the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and its relationship with state and local police authorities, would search and destroy, the Black Panther Party. Founded in Oakland, California, in 1966 as a revolutionary black power organization, the Panthers, who denounced police brutality, bore arms, and called for the right of armed self-defense and self-determination for black ghettoes, functioned as the far left of the black power and community control movements of the late 1960s. Although they became the most important symbol of "black violence" for the mass media in the period, their political strength was based on practical social welfare programs that they organized for the poor in urban slum areas. These included free clinics, free breakfast programs for hungry children, alternative schools, voluntary sanitation projects, and militant protests against slum landlords and local storekeepers. The Black Panthers also became the model for a variety of other activists among the minority poor, particularly Mexican-American activists in the Southwest who formed the "Brown Berets" (the Panthers' informal uniform was a black beret and a black leather jacket) and the Young Lords Party, a Puerto Rican group.

Founded as a street gang in Chicago in the 1950s, the Young Lords transformed themselves into a militant group working among the Puerto Rican poor through contacts with Black Panther leaders in the mid-1960s. In New York City in particular, the Young Lords emerged as a significant force in protests against police brutality and in the creation of voluntarist social services for the poor. Less confrontational in their style than the Black Panthers, the Lords developed relationships with progressive Catholic clergy (as did the Panthers with some urban African-American ministers) and a number of individuals associated with the Lords, including Pablo Guzman, a young attorney for the New York chapter, Geraldo Ri-

vera, and Juan Gonzalez, went on to long-term careers in New York and national media.

The fate of the Black Panthers was to be quite different. In 1969, Chicago police raided Panther headquarters and killed Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark on information provided by an FBI infiltrator, who had served as head of security for the Chicago Panthers. In Los Angeles, the FBI provoked an armed conflict between Black Panthers and members of a rival organization, the cultural nationalist organization US, led by Ron Karenga. Black Panther leader Bobby Seale was one of the leaders of the Chicago Democratic Convention demonstrations arrested by the Nixon administration and tried in federal court. Because of his protests, Seale was separated from the seven other defendants and bound and gagged. The national leadership of the Black Panther Party was regularly arrested, re-arrested when charges had to be dropped, and either given long prison sentences or forced to flee the country.

Many local leaders were also arrested, tried, and convicted on dubious charges. Others were killed in shootouts with the police, usually under very questionable conditions. By the early 1970s, the group had for all practical purposes been destroyed, although individuals in various parts of the country sought to keep its social welfare activities alive. Today Amnesty International and other international human rights organizations regard those Black Panther leaders who remain in U.S. jails as political prisoners.

Organizing Low-Wage Workers

A significantly more moderate movement of the working poor that enjoyed broad support among liberals and the general labor movement, the UFW under the leadership of Cesar Chavez sought to organize migrant farm workers, mostly Mexican Americans, who were at the very bottom of the economy in terms of incomes and benefits, in California and other parts of the country. The farm workers' grape strikes in California against Gallo Wine and lettuce strikes against Central Valley growers won the support of Senator Robert Kennedy, who brought his great celebrity and influence with liberals to the UFW. Eventually, large numbers were drawn to consumer boycotts and pickets against supermarkets and liquor stores that sold the products harvested by nonunion migrant labor.

After winning important victories in the late 1960s, the farm workers suffered significant defeats in the early 1970s when Teamster leader Frank Fitzsimmons, a Republican and strong supporter of the national Nixon administration and the local Reagan administration in California, joined with growers to launch raids against the UFW, sending goon squads into California to break UFW strikes. Local police and California State police, with the enthusiastic support of Governor Ronald Reagan, arrested many strikers. The election of liberal Democrat Edmond G. (Jerry) Brown as governor of California in 1974 led to significant reforms that partially revived the UFW, although the organization never regained what it had lost, nor did it recover its momentum from the late 1960s. Farm workers today remain generally nonunion and among the most exploited of America's working poor.

Welfare Rights Movement

Through the 1960s, Great Society programs and increased militancy among the poor led to a liberalization of the AFDC federal system, as the federal government encouraged states to provide access to benefits to larger numbers of people. Stirred also by Legal Services attorneys petitioning for such benefits and sociological studies that showed that large numbers of low-income people had been routinely denied benefits to which they were entitled, through a failure to inform them of such benefits, various bureaucratic subterfuges, or simply the social stigma of applying for "welfare," state and local authorities accepted higher numbers of applicants. Whereas only 55 percent of those who applied for welfare received benefits in 1960, the percentage had risen to 70 percent in 1968. Also, the number of applicants grew spectacularly. In 1960, 745,000 families had received benefits. By 1972, the number had risen to 3 million and federal payments for the program had grown from 1 billion in 1970 to 6 billion in 1972.

While this amounted to less than three months of Vietnam War spending, the numbers provided ammunition for conservative politicians, who blamed rising taxes on a corrupt welfare system.

The agitation of the late 1960s led to the formation of a National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO), led by activists and academics who advocated a radical transformation of U.S. public policy for the poor. In early 1966, scholar activists Richard Cloward and Frances Fox Piven joined with George Wiley, a leader of CORE, and other antipoverty activists to found the NWRO, which they envisioned as a national organization that would provide leadership, strategies, and coordination for the struggles of the urban poor.

Led by civil rights veterans skilled in the tactics of nonviolent civil disobedience and dismayed by the nationalist and separatist currents developing in

Renowned scholar Frances Fox Piven was one of the founders of the National Welfare Rights Organization. She has written some of the most influential sociological works on poverty, the unemployed, and poor people's movements. *(Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward Archives)*

CORE, SNCC, and other civil rights groups, the NWRO developed a guerrilla war strategy of mass mobilization to disrupt public institutions (similar to the unemployed councils disruptions of city halls and welfare bureaus in the 1930s) to maximize political pressures through confrontations. Winning over and recruiting activists in existing antipoverty agencies, especially Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), which was seen as a domestic Peace Corps, NWRO groups grew rapidly in the late 1960s and led welfare recipients in sit-ins and other protests against welfare offices, but dissipated quickly.

With an anti-organizational outlook similar to groups historically connected to Anarchist movements and an emphasis on relentless pressure-group politics to achieve reforms, the NWRO groups won many short-range victories in terms of expanding benefits for the poor but had no way to consolidate these victories. Campaigning successfully to educate the poor about "special grants" for supplementary benefits that often existed in the local welfare laws, the NWRO, after gaining many of these increased benefits for welfare recipients, saw welfare departments across the country eliminate them and replace them with flat grants.

Internal leadership conflicts between George Wiley and others over questions of strategy and organization further undermined the NWRO, as did its failure to develop effectively its coalition with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's Poor People's Campaign, which continued with limited effect under Ralph Abernathy's leadership following the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. The NWRO and welfare rights activists generally were also harmed by the anti-welfare rhetoric and policies of the Nixon administration, which expanded benefits for many Great Society programs benefiting middle-class groups while it sought to stigmatize the poor and abolish the OEO.

Under Nixon, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) began to restrict or reverse rights that AFDC families had gained in regard to access to benefits and privacy protections. Conservative politicians, most notably Governor Reagan of California, whose state, together with New York, contained half of the nation's AFDC recipients, launched campaigns to purge the welfare rolls of "cheaters," introduced more stringent eligibility requirements, and reduced appropriations. In 1969, the Nixon administration itself proposed a far-reaching "welfare reform," to replace the AFDC system with a Family Assistance Plan (FAP), which would provide a minimum federal guaranteed income of $1,600 for a family of four (less than a third of what welfare rights activists regarded as a fair minimum income in most of the country).

Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a former Great Society official whose controversial 1965 report attributing poverty largely to the now discredited "social pathologies" of black families, departed the Johnson administration due to this and other criticisms of the Johnson antipoverty program. He later served as an adviser to the Nixon administration, which believed that increased welfare benefits produced greater numbers of dysfunctional families and would only increase expense and dependency rather than permit the poor to "reform" themselves.

Thus, the argument over "welfare reform" said that the existing system was "destroying" the poor by creating a "permanent underclass." The FAP received a wide variety of opposition from southern conservatives, who found the $1,600 standard too high and a potential threat to the southern low-wage structure.

On May 18, 1970, members of the National Welfare Rights Organization stormed the office of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which Secretary Robert Finch had abandoned. Such direct action aimed to raise welfare benefits and mobilize the poor. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

The program's defeat took place in an atmosphere of mounting political backlash against the "undeserving poor," who were increasingly seen as "welfare queens"—minority women bearing children for the sole purpose of gaining welfare benefits and living dissolute lives subsidized by the taxpayers. When George McGovern ran for president in 1972 with a commitment to provide a guaranteed annual income in the form of a "negative income tax" (cash payments of $1,000 per person to low-income people below a certain level, which would have eliminated the welfare bureaucracy and provided a higher level of support for the poor), the Nixon campaign accused him of threatening to place half the nation "on welfare."

As the Nixon administration found itself embroiled in the Watergate crisis after 1972, and the "stagflation" economy combined recession and inflation, the NWRO collapsed of its own internal and philosophical divisions, and movements of the poor, like all other social movements of the 1960s, save perhaps the environmental movement, found themselves in retreat. The huge inflationary wave of 1974 that followed the so-called energy crisis in the aftermath of the Arab-Israeli War of 1973 and the formation of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) led debt-ridden cities to launch draconian cutbacks of social services. The best example was the New York City fiscal crisis of 1975, which led to the creation of a dictatorial New York State Emergency Financial Control Board. The board fired

thousands of city employees and raised the cost of public transportation and access to various city facilities. Not only were the reforms advocated by welfare rights activists not instituted, but the value of public assistance payments to AFDC families in real dollars began to decline steeply from the early 1970s to the program's final elimination in 1996.

The 1950s and 1960s had been good times in terms of the national economy. The 1970s and 1980s were not. In spite of attempts to purge welfare rolls and restrict benefits, the "entitlements" under AFDC had seen the number of families rise from 3 million in 1973 to 11 million in 1980, of which 8 million were children.

Low-income women with dependent children found themselves the primary victims of the retreat from the Great Society and were now also blamed for the "welfare mess" as they sought to support children on reduced public assistance grants. Increasingly, two-income families struggled to keep their heads above water on the installment plan as inflation increased interest rates, while female pink-collar workers were in growing numbers compelled to live on public assistance.

The New Right and the Attack on the Poor

By the 1980s, liberal sociologists and some politicians began to write of the "hyper-segregation" of millions of marginalized minority poor living on public assistance in drug- and crime-infested slums without expectation or hope of ever working in the above-ground economy. Although these contentions were exaggerated in that the majority of the poor remained working poor and the majority of those on public assistance went in and out of employment with the vagaries of the economy and the limits of their skills, the crusade against welfare begun by conservative politicians in the 1970s and made into national policy by the Reagan administration greatly increased the hardships of low-income people. It did this primarily by freezing minimum wages, undermining unions, and eliminating housing subsidies, which created a mass homelessness problem for the first time since the Great Depression and generally made life for the bottom 20 percent of income earners far worse then it had been at any time in the post–World War II era.

In the Reagan years, the "new poor," were largely outside of the political process. The great majority were children, who, unlike the majority of low-income adults who do not vote, were not legally entitled to vote. Indeed, even such moderate political scientists as Walter Dean Burnham noted by the late 1970s that "the massive class skew in electoral participation which is America's chief peculiarity" was growing sharply. By contrast, in Italy, for example, a country with a very strong labor movement and a large working class, 75 percent of people with less than five years of formal education voted.

In the United States, the number was 8 percent. In West European countries, voter participation averaged in excess of 75 percent. In the United States except for presidential elections, the numbers were routinely well below 50 percent, with the nonvoting majority drawn overwhelmingly from low-income people. In the 1980s and 1990s, these trends would continue, producing presidential elections where around 50 percent of the eligible voters voted and off-year congressional elections where the numbers dropped below 40 percent. In state and local elections, the turnouts were even lower, creating elections where the top 20 percent of income earners often constituted a majority.

The top 20 percent of income earners, augmented by members of the religious and socially conservative New Right, constituted the core constituencies of the Reagan administration. The administration in its first term sharply reduced AFDC spending, at a time when the sharpest postwar recession created the highest unemployment since the Great Depression, threw more than 1 million people off AFDC rolls, and reduced benefits for many others. The Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) jobs program, which the Carter administration enacted in December 1973 to deal with mounting unemployment, was eliminated, removing public jobs for 300,000 people.

Huge tax cuts that benefited corporations, upper-income people, and, to a much lesser extent, moderate-income people, combined with a spectacular rise in military spending to produce runaway deficits, which made the United States, which had been the leading creditor nation of the world from 1919 to the 1980s, the leading debtor nation by 1985. In 1986, for example, the deficit was $283 billion, more than the total deficit had been at the end of World War II. Although unemployment subsided after 1982, and inflation by late 1970s standards was relatively low, nearly half the new jobs created paid wages that were below the poverty line for a family of four. Meanwhile, despite declining wages and the growth of poverty, the administration actively opposed public birth control policies and promoted the much ballyhooed revival of the male-headed nuclear family.

In this atmosphere, new advocacy groups for the

poor, especially the homeless, emerged, but no poor people's movement could or did exist where homelessness joined unemployment as a real menace for the working poor. An author rewriting Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, a treatise on poverty in late-nineteenth-century America, at the end of the 1980s might come to the conclusion that the world of 1988 was actively trying to become the world of 1888. Homeless people were once more on the streets in significant numbers, and religious and secular groups were encouraged to develop food banks, shelters, and other voluntary programs to help them get on their feet. In New York City subways, some of the homeless even hawked a newspaper, *Homeless News*, filled with Horatio Alger and Social Darwinist solutions to their plight and chronicles of their success.

Scandals plagued a new generation of robber barons since they made their money largely through mergers and acquisitions, not through creating industrial corporations that produced goods. As forced urban gentrification drove large numbers of low-income people from rental apartments, the Reagan administration sold off or, in some highly publicized cases, leveled federally supported public housing complexes that it claimed were centers of drug addiction and crime. Urban development programs were reserved largely for the middle class, with federal and local government assistance. Meanwhile, local governments promoted expensive housing for affluent people and supported gentrification and commercial development projects in order to increase their tax base in response to federal government cutbacks.

Just as in the Progressive Era, the plight of children, who now constituted more than two-thirds of those officially poor, rather than child laborers as they had a century before, became a major cause for advocates of the poor. Marian Wright Edelman, leader of the Children's Defense Fund, sought to expose the size and effects of child poverty in the mass media and fight against Reagan and Bush administration policies in Congress and the courts.

Advocates for the homeless engaged in demonstrations, acts of guerrilla theater, and lobbying campaigns to increase welfare benefits for the homeless, improve and expand the capacity of public shelters, and, in cities like New York, restore the system of "welfare hotels," the elimination of which had thrown thousands of their inhabitants into the streets. Unlike the Communist movement–influenced unemployed councils of the 1930s or the civil rights movement–influenced welfare rights campaigns of the 1960s and 1970s, there were no movements involving masses of poor people, as conservative political forces sought to roll back the New Deal and what was left of the Great Society in the last two decades of the twentieth century.

Continued Attack Against the Poor: Routinization of Poverty and Inequality

As was true at the end of the nineteenth century, forces seeking to awaken a social conscience and institute reforms concerning poverty competed with anti-immigrant, openly racist groups who blamed economic inequality and stagnation on millions of new non-European immigrants, both documented and undocumented. Of the 20 million new immigrants entering the United States legally since the Hart-Celler Act of 1965 ended the quota system favoring Northern Europeans and largely excluding non-Europeans, about half migrated from Latin America and the Caribbean and a quarter from Africa, Asia, and the Near East.

In states like California, immigrants, both documented and undocumented, became scapegoats for conservative politicians who mounted "English-only" campaigns, opposed bilingual education, campaigned to remove all welfare benefits from undocumented immigrants, and campaigned to sharply restrict benefits for legal immigrants. Patrick Buchanan, a right-wing speech writer in the Nixon and Reagan administrations, made Latino immigrants a central feature in his declaration of a "culture war" against "multiculturalists," minority interest groups, and all others who were undermining the United States as a "European nation" and the principal guardian of Western civilization. In his speeches Buchanan singled out Latinos, saying that in California and the Southwest illegal immigrants named "José" (which he used as a generic epitaph) were taking jobs from American citizens. Buchanan also called for greatly increased border patrols and even suggested the possibility of building an electronic fence across the U.S.-Mexican border to thwart immigrants.

In 1994, anti-immigrant forces successfully passed in a state referendum Proposition 187 in California, which denied illegal immigrants and their children access to public assistance, public education, and healthcare. Calling itself Save Our State (SOS), the petition group, with the support of Governor Pete Wilson and much of the state's conservative Republican establishment, made racist appeals, accusing those who defended the rights of undocumented workers as aiding

and abetting an "illegal alien invasion" that threatened to turn California into a "Third World country."

Although the proposition was challenged in the courts and declared unconstitutional by the California State Supreme Court, the sweeping Republican victory in the 1994 congressional elections led to federal enactment of some of its major provisions. Passed by the Republican-dominated Congress, whose most important leader was the skilled conservative House Speaker Newt Gingrich, and signed into law by President Bill Clinton, the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (1996) increased the border patrol, expanded Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) powers to deport immigrants, and sharply increased penalties for illegal immigration.

The legislation upheld that the government would do everything in its power to keep undocumented immigrants out and restrict legal immigrants, but employers were minimally penalized. In fact, employers could report undocumented workers to the INS when they sought improved wages and working conditions.

Millions of low-income, minority, union, and liberal voters (the core groups of the Democratic Party since the 1930s) hoped that they had put an end to the Reagan-Bush era and its war against labor, civil rights, and the poor when they elected Bill Clinton to the presidency in 1992. Within two years, the Clinton administration sharply alienated these groups and opened the door to the restoration of long-term Republican control of Congress for the first time since the 1920s.

First, Clinton's much-trumpeted call for a national health system was defeated by Republicans in Congress with the support of the insurance companies that controlled the private managed care insurance system. Clinton's attempt to enact an economic stimulus package that would have aided labor and the poor was also defeated. As the administration went from one defeat to another, it was obvious that the president was not able to enact key legislation.

Dismantling the Welfare State

Clinton's failure to promote a progressive social agenda and his support of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) created disillusionment and malaise both within the labor movement and among liberal Democrats. In a campaign filled with attacks on his administration, including references to White House corruption and sex scandals, the Republicans, issuing a conservative manifesto they called a "Contract with America," in 1994 regained control of both houses of Congress for the first time since 1954 in an election where 38 percent of the eligible voters went to the polls.

In his 1992 election campaign, Clinton had made the vague promise to "end welfare as we have known it." While many of those who voted for him assumed he meant a return to Great Society job training and education programs, along with a more tolerant approach to welfare recipients, none of this materialized in the first two years of his administration. When the Republican majority came forward with legislation to eliminate AFDC and put into law the view that welfare was itself a major social problem, not a solution to poverty, Clinton divided his own party and supported them. That the president was running for reelection in August of 1996, when the legislation was signed, may have explained his behavior.

Assaults on the welfare state had permeated the mass media since the Nixon administration, became national policy in the Reagan administration, and after a quarter of a century, served as conventional wisdom in U.S. politics. The poor were still the largest group of nonvoters, and children ineligible to vote were the majority of those receiving AFDC benefits. Also, Clinton knew that those most hostile to welfare reform would not vote against him and bring conservative Republican Bob Dole into the White House.

The term *welfare reform,* used by both the Republican majority and the Clinton administration, covered up what was essentially the first full-fledged removal of a major social guarantee of the New Deal era.

Minimum wages had been frozen in the Reagan-Bush era, but not abolished, as some conservatives had wished. Social Security and unemployment benefits had also been restricted but not eliminated. Unions were weakened tremendously, but the NLRB system remained in place against any attempt to revert to the antilabor abuses that were routine in the pre–New Deal era. Called the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA), the legislation eliminated the AFDC, with its "safety net" concept, and replaced it with a Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF) program, which would provide block grants to states, with a five-year limitation on benefit payments to individuals.

Block grants were used widely in the Reagan administration to undermine federal social programs by both reducing their funding and turning over, in the

On March 23, 1995, police arrest antipoverty leaders—including National Organization for Women president Patricia Ireland (far right)—for protesting welfare reform proposals under consideration by Congress. The proposals were enacted into law in 1996. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

form of the grants, decisions as to the distribution of funds to state authorities. The PRWORA abandoned entirely in theory and practice the AFDC principle that public assistance was part of a "safety net" below which people would not be allowed to fall. The legislation made putting recipients to work as quickly as possible its highest principle, without regard to the value of the work or its effects on workers. Along with the five-year limitation on benefits, recipients were required to find some work within the first two years or lose support. Those who could not find work in the private sector were compelled to work in "workfare" programs for their benefits (without minimum wage protections) in public sector jobs, or be removed from the rolls. Previous rules, which allowed women receiving AFDC benefits to attend college, were removed and replaced with narrow vocational education.

While welfare rolls were reduced sharply to the delight of conservatives and the Clinton administration, researchers by the end of the twentieth century were citing the grim human costs of "welfare reform" for those willing to listen. First, the General Accounting Office of Congress reported that the wages earned by those who had left the welfare system for jobs were on average below the poverty level and, for many, well below that level. Reports also showed that more than 25 percent of those who got jobs soon lost them. Like the old system, but without its security, large numbers of people went on and off TANF hoping that their five years of eligibility would not run out. Many also found their health benefits far more haphazard than under AFDC Medicaid. One news story at the end of the Clinton years highlighted the case of a Brooklyn, New York, woman working at a job in order to keep her health benefits for herself and her

family. Fearing the loss of those benefits if she lost her job, she delayed seeking medical attention and died of a condition that may have been treatable had she sought medical assistance earlier.

"Welfare reform" did spark a revival of organizing among the poor at the end of the twentieth century. While the PRWORA cut off welfare benefits to legal immigrants, the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), under the leadership of the reform-oriented John Sweeney, revived with limited success organizing drives among low-income workers. It also reversed labor's historic opposition to immigration by seeking to organize undocumented workers and actively defending both their rights and the rights of legal immigrants.

Labor also vigorously protested the attempt by many city administrations to replace municipal workers with "workfare" clients. New York, the nation's largest city, was the worst offender in this regard. After the passage of PRWORA, Mayor Rudolph Giuliani removed through attrition and other means 22,000 municipal workers and replaced those in unskilled positions in sanitation, city parks, hospitals, and welfare offices with workfare clients. At the same time, since PRWORA barred benefits for higher education, more than 20,000 recipients formerly under the AFDC system dropped out of the City University of New York. Critics noted that New York paid less than 15 percent of the wage of a full-time unionized municipal employee to workfare workers and no benefits.

Community-based welfare rights groups sprung up throughout the country to resist welfare reform, reviving many of the tactics of the Welfare Rights Organization of the 1960s. Perhaps the most significant was the Philadelphia-based Kensington Welfare Rights Union (KWRU), founded a few years before "welfare reform" by Cheri Honkala, a former "welfare mother" committed to building an alliance between welfare recipients and the labor movement. Using civil rights nonviolent civil disobedience tactics and the disruptions of NWRO groups, KWRU launched a Poor People's Economic Human Rights Campaign, affiliated itself with the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), which has a large female membership, and used sit-ins, tent cities of the poor, and other time-honored tactics and peaceful picketing of welfare offices to publicize their view that public assistance was a human rights issue.

Honkala became a national leader of the Labor Party, a new party founded by progressive trade unionists, which has made a constitutional amendment to establish the right to a job as a major issue. Honkala led a Freedom Bus across the country in 1998 to show increased urban and rural poverty. At the end of the national fact-finding tour, Honkala and KWRU leaders brought the findings, including the accounts of the poor themselves, to the United Nations (UN) to argue that U.S. policy toward the poor constituted a violation of the United Nations' 1948 Charter on Human Rights.

The election of 2000 produced little discussion of poverty or the rights of poor, except in Ralph Nader's Green Party campaign for president, which called for repeal of the Taft-Hartley law and highlighted the disastrous effects of public policy on the nation since the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980. Certainly, the low turnout and the active campaign to keep poor and minority people away from the polls by the Republicans in Florida contributed to George W. Bush's victory in the electoral college, even though he received more than 500,000 fewer votes than Democratic presidential contender Al Gore.

Although millions of potential Nader voters returned to the Democratic fold by election's end, Ralph Nader's nearly 3 million votes represented the most important challenge to establishment politics, raising questions of the rights of labor, minorities, and the environment since Henry Wallace's 1948 campaign. The combined Nader-Gore vote represented a solid victory over the combined Bush-Buchanan vote, however irrelevant that might be in the electoral college.

The crushing defeat of the 2000 Republican ticket in California, a state that pioneered in anti-welfare, anti-immigrant politics for much of the last four decades of the twentieth century, was seen by some as a harbinger of future politics. Latino voters in larger numbers than ever before voted against politicians whose stock in trade had been to scapegoat them as illegal immigrants and the undeserving poor. (In the state's ever-changing political climate, however, Republican Arnold Schwarzenegger was elected governor in the October 2003 recall vote without the majority support of Latinos.)

Although the turnout remained abysmally low, the decisive defeat of the Republican ticket in states like Illinois, Michigan, and New Jersey, and a much greater than usual defeat in New York, suggested that those states that, together, house a majority of those on public assistance, and a disproportionate number of low-income "working poor," had turned sharply

away from the anti–social welfare anti-taxation philosophy that Ronald Reagan made the center of U.S. domestic policy, George Bush faithfully continued, Bill Clinton softened, and George W. Bush has attempted to harden.

Both presidential and congressional majorities for conservative and Republican politics now depend on a new Solid South, along with agricultural, mountain, and Southwestern Taft-Hartley "right to work" states. A labor–poor people's political coalition could perhaps once more make social welfare, social justice, and social equality, into principles and policies at the center of American politics.

The damaging effects of September 11 on the ability to organize and mobilize against poverty are unquantifiable. Large increases in military spending will not likely trickle down to the poor. Moreover, efforts to increase the rights of immigrant workers through organizing low-wage workers from Latin America, China, and South Asia could be halted by the ongoing efforts to significantly expand internal security agencies and reduce the formal rights of noncitizens and those citizens who associate with them. Although the future of the poor people's movement remains uncertain, the poor continue to mobilize to improve their conditions on an everyday basis, which inevitably will lead to a new surge of organizing and militancy in the future.

Norman Markowitz

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Settlement House Movement

An offshoot of Christian Socialist theory and experiments in communitarian approaches to meeting the needs of the urban poor already in operation in Britain, the settlement house movement in the United States was a response to rapid urbanization and industrialization and the changing face of labor at the end of the nineteenth century. The movement thrived from the 1890s through the end of World War I. It provided a foundation for a spectrum of Progressive social reform causes and campaigns primarily designed to better the lives of immigrants, tenement dwellers, and sweatshop and factory workers who increasingly populated American cities.

Theory and Origins

With many exceptions, settlement house movement activists were primarily college-educated reformers of Anglo-American descent; among them were religious men and many able women. In tackling problems like dilapidated and crowded housing, exploitative work conditions, lack of sanitation, and inferior education, they sought to implement improvements through political means and the application of social-scientific methods. Many gained inspiration from the example of Samuel Barnett's Toynbee Hall (which had opened in 1884 in the East End of London) and approached their work with a secularized sense of missionary calling.

In theory, the leaders of the movement embraced the idea of the mutual good and enlivened democracy that could come from native-born middle-class reformers living and interacting among the ethnic immigrant poor. They were keenly interested in replacing older models of charity and philanthropy with models of direct interaction across cultures and classes—an arrangement thought to fulfill the potential of the privileged as much as benefit those they came to serve.

Among the first settlements founded in the United States (in 1889) were Jane Addams's Hull-House in Chicago and the New York College Settlement on the Lower East Side of Manhattan. The New York College Settlement was begun as the first experiment of the College Settlement Association, which had been organized by Vida Scudder and a small group of Smith College alumni and soon involved other graduates of eastern women's schools. By 1893, Lillian Wald's Henry Street Settlement was founded in New York, with a particular emphasis on public health and nursing.

In the next two decades, hundreds of settlement houses and neighborhood agencies were created across the country, but the movement was centered primarily in the cities of the Midwest and Northeast. The National Federation of Settlements (founded in 1911) helped coordinate the movement's direction and concerns.

Settlement Innovations and Services

Influenced by the teaching of John Ruskin, William Morris, and others, several settlements placed an emphasis on the uplifting power of aesthetics and opportunities for self-expression as well as practical matters of achieving greater social equity. The residents of Hull-House, in particular, established a wide range of cultural as well as social programs to help elevate the lives of the primarily Irish, Italian, Greek, Russian, Polish, and eastern European immigrants whom they served. They sponsored ethnic festivals, encouraged appreciation of traditional crafts such as embroidery and weaving, taught pottery making and book arts, and offered studio space to artisans trapped in the daily drudgery of factory production. Musical evenings were offered as neighborhood entertainment, and community theater productions were mounted. Meanwhile, settlement supporters worked for the incorporation of music and the arts into public school curricula.

JANE ADDAMS (1860–1935)

Jane Addams was a leader of the settlement house movement in the United States and a key public proponent of Progressive Era reform. As an intellectual and activist, she helped formulate the Progressive response to urbanization and industrial capitalism. Through her many writings and her work as a negotiator and as a founder and leader of organizations, she influenced public consciousness and created a groundswell of popular support for a multifaceted reform agenda. In the World War I era she became a leading organizer of the international peace movement.

Addams founded Hull-House in Chicago with Ellen Gates Starr in 1889 and directed the settlement until the end of her life. In addition to her local work in education, sanitation, and civic reform, she was a national leader within the suffrage and women's rights movements and an advocate for the labor movement and social justice causes. Among the hundreds of organizations in which she was an officer or had a founding role were the National Women's Trade Union League, the National Federation of Settlements, the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. She was a stalwart, along with her friends Florence Kelley, Julia Lathrop, and other allies, in lobbying campaigns for protective labor legislation, factory and consumer regulation, the living wage and the eight-hour day, children's rights, and juvenile justice.

Many of the programs Addams originally advanced as an activist were codified in the 1920s and 1930s through the professionalization of social work, the passage of state and federal reform legislation, increased gains for unionization and collective bargaining, and the creation of New Deal agencies. They were revisited in the antipoverty programs of the 1960s.

As a champion of cultural pluralism, nonpartisan mediation, and a maternalist brand of feminism, Addams was alternately criticized for being too moderate and too radical. She devoted the last portion of her life to the peace movement, arguing the connection between militarism, poverty, and political repression. Her opposition to intervention by violent means alienated her from many of her former activist colleagues who supported entry by the United States into World War I. Building on her ties in the American Union Against Militarism (later the American Civil Liberties Union) and international networks of suffrage supporters and women reformers, she helped convene and chaired the International Congress of Women at The Hague, which gathered together over 1,500 women from a dozen European countries and the United States in April 1915 in opposition to the war. She subsequently led the delegation from the congress to meet with the heads of warring nations to urge nonviolent resolution. Through this activism was born the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace, which became the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) in 1919. Addams served as its president until her death in 1935. During the 1920s, WILPF strongly supported the principles of international alliance and economic aid manifested in the League of Nations. In explicit recognition of her role in creating an international women's peace movement, Addams was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1931.

Addams was much buoyed in her public career by her decades-long relationship with Hull-House patron and volunteer Mary Rozet Smith. She died of cancer in Chicago in 1935 in the midst of the Depression and was buried in her hometown of Cedarville, Illinois.

Addams's writings include *Democracy and Social Ethics* (1902); *Newer Ideals of Peace* (1907), *Twenty Years at Hull-House* (1910); *Women at the Hague* and *The Overthrow of the War System* (both with others, 1915); *Peace and Bread in Time of War* (1922); and *Why Wars Must Cease* (with others, 1935). Swarthmore College and the University of Illinois, Chicago, hold major collections of her papers, including settlement house and peace movement records. The *Jane Addams Papers* microfilm edition includes those materials as well as others from hundreds of repositories.

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Encouraging literacy, debate, and literary appreciation were other aspects of settlement life. Settlement volunteers organized lending libraries, book clubs, and lecture series. They offered newly arrived immigrants and striking workers literacy courses and English-language training, and they helped facilitate lifelong learning and stimulate political discussion by sponsoring working people's debating societies.

Child welfare, early child development, and education were a special focus of the settlement house movement from its inception. Settlement teachers offered innovative approaches to kindergartens and day care. They opened gymnasiums, led physical education classes, and urged cities to establish playgrounds, parks, and open spaces. They sponsored boys and girls clubs, offered field trips to rural settings and mu-

seums, and ran afternoon and summer arts and recreation programs for children. Parenting skills and family health care were a closely related concern. Settlement workers organized mothers' clubs and taught cooking, sex education, and nutrition classes. Some settlements operated dispensaries (free or low-cost medical clinics) and pharmacies, or helped provide home health and midwifery services, as well as access to job training or work referral services.

Although a majority of settlement services were directed at immigrant neighborhoods, some settlements operated separate branches for black residents. In African-American neighborhoods, community-based social services were implemented through mutual aid societies and neighborhood associations and, later, through such organizations as the National Urban League (founded in New York in 1911), which provided services to migrating workers. The Phyllis Wheatley Settlement in Minneapolis and the White Rose Mission and Industrial Association (founded in New York in 1897 by Victoria Earle Matthews) were created to provide residences for young African-American women entering the city to work. The White Rose Home offered a distinguished lecture series, a kindergarten, and training classes in skills that would gain women jobs in domestic service, which then was the leading job sector for African-American working women. In Atlanta, Lugenia Burns Hope, the founder of the Atlanta Neighborhood Union, was one of the prominent activists in the settlement and municipal reform movements.

Municipal Reform and Labor Activism

Beyond the boundaries of their wards, settlement activists were instrumental in instigating civic reform as well as in supporting organized labor. They helped expose corruption in city politics, develop community gardens, provide sanitation to tenement alleys, improve public health, and monitor safety and work conditions in factories and sweatshops. Settlement houses were used as meeting places for arbitration and union meetings and as clearinghouses for information during strikes, most importantly during general strikes in the needle trades in New York and Chicago in 1909–1911. In coalition with the National Women's Trade Union League (WTUL), the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and other labor organizations, settlement activists and their wealthy patrons (many of whom were also supporters of the suffrage movement) helped provide legal aid and food relief as well as a middle-class presence on the picket lines, in the jails, and in the courtrooms. Leading women labor organizers like Mary Elisabeth Dreier, Margaret Dreier Robins, Leonora O'Reilly, and Mary Kenney O'Sullivan all had close ties to the settlement movement, and many were also advocates of feminist causes.

Broader Reform

Settlement movement members were deeply involved outside their own cities as leaders in the wider social justice movements of their day. Beyond the labor and public health movements, they helped foster the suffrage and temperance movements, consumers' rights, and, increasingly in the World War I era, the international peace movement. Founding and working within reform organizations like the National Consumers League, the National Child Labor Committee, the Immigrants Protective League, the Juvenile Protective Association, and the WTUL, they helped mount anti-vice and anti-prostitution campaigns, supported protective labor legislation (including restrictions on work hours and child labor), and were primary advocates for juvenile justice, penal reform, and pure food and drug laws, as well as vocal critics of civic corruption—all functions that earned them the title of "civic housekeepers." Others, especially those who worked closely with the labor movement or who had emerged primarily out of the Anarchist and Socialist movements, were dedicated to a more militant and radicalized brand of social change.

Transitions, Limitations, and Decline

Although many settlements still exist in modern form as neighborhood centers and community-based anti-poverty agencies, the settlement movement as a whole began to decline markedly in the 1920s.

In many ways, the movement was phased out by its own success. Many of the kinds of social services and educational, investigatory, and regulatory functions first provided by settlement workers—or created through their political lobbying and support—were superseded by the routinizing of city services and the burgeoning of a social welfare state. Reforms once pioneered through the settlements were absorbed into the formal operations of governmental agencies (such as the U.S. Children's Bureau, created in 1912), incorporated into public school systems, or legalized through federal and state legislation (such as the Sheppard-Towner Act, passed in 1921). During Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration, many settlement

innovations were bureaucratized in the programs of the New Deal.

The social conservatism of many of the old-elite leadership of the settlement movement and an essential blindness to the negative economic consequences of many of their programs—from protective legislation to housing codes—sometimes proved a barrier between activists and the working poor they sought to benefit. Top-down policies that movement leaders advocated also sometimes crossed the line between social reform and social control. Established leaders failed to adequately delegate or yield internal positions of power to immigrant women within the hierarchies of settlement leadership, and their settlement microcosms did not reflect the very kind of ethnic diversity at top levels that they theoretically championed in society at large. The settlement movement failed to meet the needs of a changing city population; namely, to adequately extend its vision of democracy from ethnicity and cultural pluralism to race. Despite the presence of some settlements in African-American neighborhoods, and the overlap between the movement and such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the national movement was effectively segregated, to the virtual exclusion of African-American concerns, and local agencies were often so poorly funded that they were short-lived.

Just as frustration with the prescribed roles and relations of women helped foster the power of the settlement movement, so did wider opportunities for middle-class and working women help signal its decline. The advent of coeducation, the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment granting women the vote, the rise of social work as salaried labor, the opportunity for some positions of responsibility in city and federal bureaucracies and within union leadership, and a renewed social emphasis on marriage attracted potential residents to other options and made low-paid or volunteer work and collective living appear less desirable. As Judith Ann Trolander has pointed out, as social work was professionalized, settlement work also changed in nature, becoming increasingly clinical and masculinized. The original emphasis on children was lost, as was the milieu of communalism and alternative lifestyle. Neighbors instead became clients. Immigration restriction, racial violence and polarization, and the social consequences of World War I with its antipacifism and the breakdown of alliances between liberals and the American Left also took its toll. Private systems of funding broke down. And generations changed. The proper Victorian behavior and elitist ideas of aesthetic uplift manifested among many of the old-school settlement house leaders distanced them from young working girls for whom dance halls, theaters, and other sources of mass entertainment were among the joys of life. Working people and the poor began increasingly to speak for themselves. The movement's original leaders grew elderly, and the focus of advocacy changed for many of them from local and national to international concerns.

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The Unemployed Organize

When the U.S. stock market crashed on "Black Thursday," October 29, 1929, few people would have predicted that the economy would remain stagnant for another twelve years or that a second world war would be responsible for reinvigorating U.S. industry and the economy. The years between Black Thursday and the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, marked the beginning and end of the period referred to as the Great Depression. Some of the most significant economic policies, including Social Security and unemployment insurance, were implemented during this decade under President Franklin D. Roosevelt's (1933–1945) New Deal initiatives. By the time the United States declared war on Japan and officially entered World War II, the government had assumed the role of caretaker of its citizenry to a degree unthinkable prior to the stock market crash. After having weathered the 1930s, the majority of U.S. citizens believed that the government should provide a safety net for its citizens so that great numbers of them would never again suffer long-term unemployment, homelessness, and starvation.

Sheer desperation forced most people to change their minds about governmental intervention. It took many years of debate, discussion, and protest, however, for the people to agree that Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal policies were necessary. Prior to the onset of the Depression, Presidents Calvin Coolidge (1923–1929) and Herbert Hoover (1929–1933) and the majority of the presidents before them subscribed to the theory of laissez-faire economics, albeit in different ways and to different degrees. Supply, they thought, would adjust to demand, and vice versa; the federal government should not directly intervene in the economy even in times of crisis. Even two years into the Depression, President Hoover advised people to do their best to weather the current period of instability. Eventually, the market would balance itself. In a statement representative of Hoover and his advisers' thinking, historian Franklin Folsom in *Impatient Armies of the Poor: The Story of Collective Action of the Unemployed, 1808–1942* (1991) writes that Charles W. Schwab, chairman of the board of Bethlehem Steel, advised people in 1931 to "Just grin, keep on working, stop worrying about the future and go ahead as best you can. We always have a way of living through hard times."

Private Charity and Government Relief

Government relief was, for Hoover, simply out of the question. Private charities, which had for generations provided food, shelter, and clothing for the needy in times of distress, should continue to carry the burden of providing relief. Even though private agencies were quickly overwhelmed, Hoover refused to commit federal resources to provide relief to the poor. He believed that doing so, even temporarily, would set a dangerous precedent. Citizens would quickly become dependent on the government dole and lose not only their motivation to work but also their competitive spirit. Competition and innovation were, for Hoover, the hallmarks of American industry. He refused to authorize government relief payments because he believed dependence on the dole would dampen that spirit and create a lethargic and hopeless citizenry. Eventually, even Hoover conceded that some amount of governmental intervention was unavoidable. He did not, however, authorize Congress to devote monies to feeding, clothing, or providing shelter for the growing numbers of homeless in the United States. Instead, and in line with his philosophy, Hoover created the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to prevent further bank closures. Voters thought he offered too little too late. Roosevelt won the election of 1932 by promising Americans a "New Deal" and by offering people hope that the government would indeed

On March 8, 1933, the Emergency Unemployed Relief Fund distributed $27,000 to 1,300 desperate men in New York. *(Brown Brothers)*

intervene and that their dire situations would improve as a result.

By the time Roosevelt took office in 1933, the United States had suffered through three years of economic depression. Although Roosevelt disliked the idea of increased government intervention, unlike Hoover, he believed desperate circumstances required desperate measures and he took action. As governor of New York, he had committed state funds to help relieve suffering, and he intended to continue to do so with federal funds as president. The U.S. government, according to Roosevelt, had an obligation to intervene. Furthermore, developments worldwide suggested to him and his advisers that government intervention might prevent radical political movements from gaining a foothold among the more desperate of the population. Extremists on the left and the right had supplanted ruling bodies in Russia, Germany, and Italy during the 1910s and 1920s. If the U.S. government wanted to prevent revolutionary movements or Fascist dictatorships from gaining a foothold, it needed to provide some reason for its people to remain loyal. Roosevelt's fears were not unfounded. In the months after the stock market crashed, Communists, Socialists, and other radical groups gained popularity, especially among the desperate unemployed whose numbers grew at an alarming rate between 1929 and 1933.

The economic collapse of the 1930s witnessed the largest percentage of unemployed, and the largest cor-

responding movement of the unemployed, in U.S. history. During 1933, the worst year of the Depression, the first year of Roosevelt's presidency, the unemployment rate reached just over 25 percent. Even those lucky enough to find a job often worked less than full time. Widespread unemployment and underemployment created what historian Irving Bernstein calls a society "adrift." People who grew up during the Depression remembered moving "all of the sudden" to follow leads on jobs, because they were evicted from their apartments, or because they lost their homes. Men left their wives and children for months at a time to find work. Many men and women traveled by freight train creating the popular image of the wandering "hobo." Eviction and foreclosure caused people to take any available shelter. One woman recalled that she and her family lived in a garage for seven years. Others were not as lucky. A number of squatter settlements derisively labeled "Hoovervilles" in honor of then president Herbert Hoover emerged as increasing numbers of people lost their jobs and were evicted. One survivor of the Depression described a Hooverville in Oklahoma City that measured ten miles square. People, she recalled, lived in rusted-out car bodies, made shacks out of orange crates, and lived in holes in the ground. Others remembered constant hunger and the threat of starvation; hospitals routinely treated people who fainted from hunger. In order to escape the bitter cold of the winter months, still others migrated to southern states to avoid the freezing temperatures.

Unemployed Activism

People coped with the Depression in a number of ways. While many moved around in search of employment, others became apathetic. Most relied on family members, neighborhood associations, and churches to help make ends meet and turned to private charities only after they had exhausted all of their resources. People were ashamed to ask charities for money or food. Only the "pariahs" of society, namely, paupers, beggars, drunkards, and prostitutes, depended on relief. Turning to the almshouse or workhouse, the most common public relief agencies in existence in the early years of the Depression, was viewed as a last resort, and yet, as the Depression worsened, even these institutions-of-last-resort were overwhelmed with requests. As people realized that the economic slump was not short-term or temporary, as President Hoover predicted, feelings of desperation and hopelessness took over. Irving Bernstein includes in *A Caring Society: The New Deal, the Worker, and the Great Depression: A History of the American Worker, 1933–1941* (1985) the observations of two people who witnessed that hopelessness take over in New York and Chicago. Herman Shumlin, a Broadway producer, described the despair engraved on the faces of the men he saw waiting in breadlines: "I'd see that flat, opaque, expressionless look that spelled . . . human disaster." Similarly, Lewis Andreas, a medical doctor, described a march of the unemployed down Chicago's Michigan Avenue:

> A very scraggly march of the unemployed. Just a mass of people flowing down that street. In their minds, I think, a point was reached: We're not gonna take it anymore. I remember it particularly because of the silence. No waving of banners, no enthusiasm. An undercurrent of desperation.

Organizing and participating in a parade, march, or other demonstration designed to draw attention to your own condition of destitution was not easy. Yet desperation drove people to take action. Sociologists Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward find that some of the earliest expressions of discontent among the unemployed consisted of mob looting. People began to simply demand food. For example, 300 people in Henryetta, Oklahoma, demanded that a local storekeeper give them food and insisted that they were not begging. In New York City, 1,100 men broke out of the bread line they waited in to mob delivery trucks scheduled to deliver baked goods to a hotel nearby. According to Piven and Cloward, the organized looting of food became a nationwide phenomenon.

In addition to mob looting, people began in the early months of 1930 to demand that local governmental offices provide relief. In the years following the stock market crash of 1929, a number of groups emerged to organize protests against rising unemployment, to demand that the government respond more aggressively to the Depression, and to simply find ways to help the poor survive. Historian Roy Rosenzweig estimates that over 2 million people engaged in some form of protest in the 1930s. Radical political organizations were at the forefront of the early unemployment movements in the United States. Communists, Socialists, and the lesser-known Musteites—followers of labor leader Abraham J. Muste—for example, organized demonstrations and parades and formed unemployment councils and workers' committees to combat unemployment. They also helped people obtain relief, avoid eviction, and find work, without the stigma more often associated with

asking charitable associations for assistance. Communists, Socialists, and other radical groups were so popular during the early years of the Depression that Rosenzweig argues in a 1975 article, "Radicals and the Jobless," that, in 1933, "radical revolution seemed as likely as liberal reform."

Although only about 5 percent of the unemployed participated in organized movements, those who did challenged both the societal assumptions regarding the causes of joblessness and poverty and the capitalist system itself. Given the assumptions that had to be overcome, it is perhaps not surprising that the first organized efforts to challenge the condition of unemployment were waged by the Communist Party. The Communists organized the unemployed in the United States and other countries throughout the 1920s, focusing on the jobless in what historian Daniel Leab, in a 1967 article, "United We Eat," calls "chronically depressed" areas. In the months after the stock market crash, the Party gained popularity and expanded its efforts. Using the slogan "Fight Don't Starve," Communists began to organize unemployment councils in industrial centers throughout the United States. Communist Party organizers found recruits for the unemployment councils on bread lines, outside factory gates, in "flophouses," and outside relief offices. Housewives participated in Communist-inspired demonstrations in which they carried empty pots and pans.

One of the Communist Party's more successful organizing efforts of the early 1930s was the International Unemployment Day it held on March 6, 1930. Earlier that year, people had staged successful demonstrations in Chicago, Philadelphia, and Cleveland. The Communist Party decided to organize a demonstration to protest growing unemployment worldwide. Piven and Cloward report in *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail* (1977) that rallies and marches were held more or less simultaneously in most major cities in the United States. One of the larger and more volatile demonstrations of the day occurred in New York City, where over 35,000 people gathered in Union Square to protest widespread unemployment. Organizers had promised the police that the demonstrators would remain in Union Square. When thousands of people began to march toward City Hall, New York City, police rushed into the crowd with clubs. People described the ensuing confrontation as a "scene of battle." Despite or perhaps because of the violence, Mayor Jimmy Walker formed a committee soon thereafter to collect and distribute funds to the unemployed.

The New York City demonstration exhibited another characteristic unique to Communist organizing efforts of this period. Not only were Communists among the first groups to make demands on behalf of the unemployed, but they also paid particular attention to the unique circumstances African Americans found themselves in during the Depression. Few organizations in the United States in this period acknowledged the fact that, as bad as the Depression was for the men who had been accustomed to a steady income, it was much worse for African-American men and women who suffered from high levels of unemployment and underemployment during times of prosperity. In preparation for International Unemployment Day, Communists organized the Upper Harlem Council of the Unemployed and purposefully recruited African-American unemployed workers to participate in the protest. Historian Mark Naison, in *Communists in Harlem during the Depression* (1983), finds that Communists, by using slogans like "Negro-White Unity," made "blacks feel welcome in New York's first protest against Depression conditions."

Growing Poverty and Rising Resistance

The period 1931–1932 witnessed several similar marches in different locations throughout the United States as people began to demand that the government do something about the widespread distress caused by growing unemployment. Some of the marches were spontaneous, others locally organized, and still others a result of the efforts of the Communist Party. In March of 1932, Communists spearheaded a march of unemployed auto workers in Detroit known as the Ford Hunger March. The auto industry suffered enormously after the stock market crashed. Prior to the crash, auto factories produced over 5 million cars. By 1932, they were producing only 1.5 million. As a result, people in Detroit experienced the devastating effects of widespread unemployment earlier than people in most other cities. They had exhausted all of their resources and faced mass evictions and foreclosures on their homes by 1931. In November 1931, unemployed auto workers staged a hunger march on the Briggs plant in Detroit. The Communist-sponsored Unemployment Council in Detroit proposed that a similar and larger march take place at Ford. Unemployed workers numbering 3,000 gathered a short distance from the Ford employment office, located in nearby Dearborn, on March 7, 1932. As

they marched toward the office, they carried signs that read "Give Us Work" and "Tax the Rich and Feed the Poor." Dearborn police arrived on the scene, along with some guards from Ford's private security force, to disperse the crowd. They fired tear gas into the crowd and threatened to shoot. The unemployed responded by throwing stones at the police. More police were called in, and eventually shooting broke out. Five people died and several were wounded before the hostilities ended. The ensuing funerals gained national press coverage. The *New York Times* reported that more than 30,000 people attended the funerals.

Just months later, some of the Ford marchers joined veterans of World War I in perhaps one of the most well known unemployment demonstrations of the early 1930s. Again organized largely by Communists, "Bonus Marchers" marched at the Capitol building from as far away as Portland, Oregon, to demand that the government pay them their war bonuses early. Thousands of unemployed, mostly men, some with their wives and children, made their way to Washington on foot, by train, or by any means possible. Most, one observer recalled, were middle-aged and middle-class men, all now unemployed. They wore overalls or their old military uniforms. Franklin Folsom, in *Impatient Armies of the Poor*, describes a contingent traveling by freight car from Minnesota. The contingent posted a sign outside the car that read, "Pennsylvania Railroad #36865—Destination Washington, contents livestock, 55 veterans."

Once they arrived in Washington, it was clear that many of the veterans intended to stay. Even though some accepted President Hoover's offer to pay their way home, most of the veterans chose to stay in Washington. Some lived in abandoned buildings throughout the city, but most gathered in an area southeast of the Capitol called Anacostia Flats and set up a "Hooverville" within view of the Capitol building. Estimates of how many people lived in Anacostia Flats varied widely from as low as 11,000 to upward of 22,000. Nevertheless, it is clear that thousands of people gathered at the Capitol on June 17, the day before Congress was to adjourn, to demand their bonuses. President Hoover not only refused to meet the veterans' demands, but he sent the U.S. Army to disperse them from the Capitol and to level the settlements at Anacostia Flats. General Douglas MacArthur commanded the troops who threw tear gas into the crowd and set fire to their belongings. The public was outraged. Some blamed the Communists for inciting a riot. Others blamed Hoover for not responding to the needs of the unemployed. According to Piven and Cloward, a reporter for the *Washington News* voiced his disgust over the situation, writing "What a pitiable spectacle is that of the great American Government, mightiest of the world, chasing men, women, and children with Army tanks. . . . If the army must be called out to make war on unarmed citizens, this is no longer America."

Communists also began in 1930 to organize resistance to evictions. Small bands of people would use strong-arm tactics to prevent city officials from putting people's furniture out on the street. The Communists' Unemployed Councils were particularly active in combating evictions in Chicago where members would meet each morning and wait to hear who in the neighborhood had been evicted. Once they got word, they would go, as a group, to the evicted person's apartment and simply carry furniture back into the residence. City officials, marshals, and police found it difficult to counter the actions of the Unemployed Councils because, at least at that moment, the person who had removed the furniture was outnumbered. Members of the Chicago Unemployed Councils were often arrested and occasionally beaten for their actions. Eventually, however, the mayor of Chicago ordered a moratorium on evictions, and some of the unemployed eventually found work on the city's relief rolls.

In effect, the Communists launched a multipronged attack against unemployment. In addition to demonstrations and anti-eviction action, they also turned people's utilities back on and helped them apply for the limited relief that was available. The Unemployed Council's "gas squads" and "electric squads" went to people's houses after their utilities were turned off because of nonpayment and simply turned them back on. The "electric squads" simply rerouted wires around electric meters to reestablish the connection. Communists also helped people apply for relief. A woman in New York City recalled standing in line for three days "in the rain" outside the Home Relief Bureau with no success. After the Unemployed Council intervened on her behalf, she received a rent check one week later. Communists were particularly successful in obtaining relief payments for people because relief workers were not accustomed to dealing with aggressive, organized tactics. Most of the people who applied for relief were ashamed, meek, and generally not very demanding because of the stigma associated with being "on the dole."

Other politically motivated groups organized demonstrations and helped the unemployed make ends meet. The Socialist Party, for example, organized

Unemployed Leagues and Workers Committees. Unlike the Communists' Unemployed Councils, the Socialists' Leagues and Workers Committees drew upon the already existing network of settlement houses, ethnic neighborhood associations, and churches to organize their efforts. Socialists were particularly successful in Chicago, where, by 1931, they operated eight locals on Chicago's northwest side alone. By 1932, there were sixty Workers Committees operating in the city representing over 35,000 members. Like the Communist groups, the Socialist-sponsored groups helped people obtain relief and also attended to other immediate needs. They helped families in Chicago obtain coal for their furnaces and gain admittance to local hospitals when they needed medical attention. Also in 1932, the Socialists organized 35,000 people to protest a pending decision by Chicago authorities to cut the amount of relief the city distributed. Not only did Socialists help people successfully navigate the local relief system, but the Chicago Board of Public Relief agreed to have its local supervisors meet with members from the Socialist Workers Committees to discuss the needs of the unemployed in their respective areas.

Unlike Communist organizations, which lost some momentum by 1934, Socialists gained momentum throughout the early 1930s. Historian Roy Rosenzweig argues in a 1979 article, "Socialism in Our Time," that, by 1935, Socialists had organized "a locally based unemployment movement of significant dimensions" in New York, Pennsylvania, Indiana, New Jersey, Maryland, and Oregon. Rosenzweig finds that at that point Socialists claimed as many as 450,000 "adherents." In addition to continuing to obtain immediate relief for the unemployed, Rosenzweig argues that the Socialist Party's efforts "raised the political and social consciousness of its members by altering their views about public relief, by introducing them to principles of trade union organizing, by fostering interracial cooperation, and by reinforcing weakened bonds of community solidarity."

Finally, another movement-oriented group that deserves mention is the "Musteites." The Musteites, like the Communists and the Socialists, were a left-oriented group that followed the philosophy of Abraham J. Muste, a prominent labor leader. In the early 1930s, Musteites worked more closely with Socialists and trade unionists than with Communists. In fact, in some locations, the Musteites organized unemployment leagues in direct opposition to the Communist-sponsored Unemployed Councils. One of the more significant of the Musteites' contributions to the fight to combat widespread unemployment came in 1929 when they organized the Conference for Progressive Labor Action (CPLA). The CPLA launched a successful educational campaign the next year to promote unemployment insurance. It also joined with the Unemployed Citizens' League in Seattle, a movement of several thousand jobless, both to protest growing levels of unemployment and, like the Communists and the Socialists, to obtain food and supplies and help people apply for relief. In 1932, the CPLA and the Seattle-based Unemployed Citizens' League obtained 120,000 pounds of fish, 10,000 cords of firewood, and eight carloads of potatoes, pears, and apples from local merchants. Merchants either donated the food or had the unemployed work for them in exchange.

The Musteites, like the Socialists, organized unemployment leagues in various locations. Despite early success in Seattle, they sustained the most support in Ohio and Pennsylvania. In August of 1933, the Musteite-sponsored unemployed leagues in Ohio marched on the state capitol building in Columbus to demand more state aid. Musteites reached the height of their success in the spring of 1933, just as President Roosevelt took office. At that point, in Ohio alone, the Musteites had organized 187 unemployed leagues with over 100,000 members. In Pennsylvania, they had organized over 40,000 members into unemployed leagues. The Musteites, even more than the Socialists and Communists, found it difficult to gain a national following. They attempted to hold a national convention in Ohio in 1933, but fights broke out when the Musteites refused to recite the Pledge of Allegiance. A group took the podium in response and called the Musteites "reds." The group advised the attendees to come back the next day and pledge their support to both America and to "a militant fight for the jobless." One Musteite organizer recalled that even people who did not mind being called "reds" were reluctant to join the organization because being labeled a "red" or a "radical" made it even more difficult for them to find jobs. By 1934, the Musteites had lost a great deal of support. They had trouble raising enough money to buy gas for their cars and the postage necessary to distribute information about unemployment, much less to sustain a movement.

Conclusion

As Roosevelt's New Deal initiatives took hold during his first term in office, the Socialists gradually began to operate as a "national lobby for higher relief appropriations." Ironically, the Socialists' and Communists' success in influencing Roosevelt and his New

Deal policies proved responsible for both organizations' diminished popularity as the 1930s wore on. Many people began to look not to these radical political organizations but to Roosevelt and to the U.S. government to solve their problems. To Hoover's horror, Roosevelt delivered. Within two months of taking office, the new president set up the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) to dispense relief directly. He also put people to work by creating the Civilian Conservation Corps and the Works Progress Administration. Unlike Hoover, Roosevelt did not shy away from government intervention. His New Deal programs combined direct relief payments with government-sponsored employment and were intended to feed people, put them to work, and get the economy moving.

Although New Deal initiatives did alleviate some suffering and put many people to work, they failed in significant ways. Those people who suffered the worst from the Depression, namely, sharecroppers and tenant farmers in the South, were excluded from New Deal initiatives. Furthermore, New Deal policies failed to fully reinvigorate the economy, and the unemployment rate remained high throughout the 1930s. Nevertheless, once Roosevelt began to thoroughly commit the government to providing relief for its citizens, there was less need for Socialist- and Communist-inspired lobbying efforts, protests, electric squads, eviction parties, and others of their more successful programs. People began to believe in their government again. Roy Rosenzweig, in "Socialism in Our Time," describes the loyalty exhibited by jobless miners who "displayed the Blue Eagle, symbol of FDR's recovery program, on the entrance to the abandoned coke ovens they used as homes." Despite a loss in popularity and despite the fact that their efforts did not, as the Communists hoped, spur a worldwide revolution against capitalism, Socialists, Communists, and Musteites were very influential in publicizing the plight of the unemployed and in demanding that the U.S. government take action on their behalf. Coming together under the umbrella of the Socialist-organized Workers Alliance of America, the three groups became, according to Roy Rosenzweig, "FDR's left force." They maintained an agreement with Harry Hopkins, who administered the FERA, "to always ask for more" than they knew Roosevelt would give.

Whether Communist, Socialist, or Musteite, their efforts were both needed and appreciated. Each of these groups gained members simply by providing the help other agencies, whether private, local, charity, or religious, did not provide or were too overwhelmed to provide. Historians and contemporaries alike argue that the greatest contribution of these radical movements of the early 1930s was that they were the only organizations to step to the forefront to help alleviate the suffering of the poor. Rosenszweig relates Albert J. Muste's assessment of the situation at the time: "When you looked out on the scene of misery and desperation during the depression, you saw it was the radicals, the left-wingers . . . who were DOING SOMETHING about the situation, who were banding together for action, who were putting up a fight." Once Roosevelt took office and initiated New Deal programs that were designed with similar intentions, the Communists, Socialists, and Musteites lost a great deal of support. In the end, people preferred a reformed capitalist system to the revolution that radicals advocated.

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Tent City Movements

At the turn of the millennium, the phrase "tent city movements" has increasingly come to denote intentional communities organized by the homeless. These communities serve both as an alternative to sleeping on the streets or in regimented shelters, and as a form of political protest against the material conditions and social policies that create and perpetuate homelessness.

Historical Background

The numbers of homeless or precariously housed Americans grew in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries along with industrial capitalism, urbanization, fluctuating labor markets, and an inadequate housing supply. Workers moved to areas that promised jobs, where the tight housing supply was marginally supplemented by working-class families taking in boarders and slumlords expanding spaces within already densely packed tenements. Skid rows became centers for the urban indigent, featuring cheap hotels and restaurants, single room occupancies (SROs), missions, and hiring halls. Men, women, and children without shelter huddled near heated grates on city streets, depended on passing boxcars for transportation and bedding, or joined fellow homeless in ramshackle shantytowns erected near cities' edges. Local governments alternated between tolerating transients during periods of labor demand and enforcing vagrancy and other laws to rid their communities of the homeless.

In the early decades of the twentieth century, transient male laborers often erected "jungles" or tent camps near dumps, railroad crossings, and rivers, far from officials' eyes. These encampments ultimately became important venues for the organizing efforts of the era's most legendary labor union, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), who with Western harvest and timber workers shared leads on work and agitated for workplace justice and the end to the domination of capital.

Workers evicted from company or landowner housing for strike and organizing activity often created tent cities for emergency shelter and to maintain community solidarity in their collective protests. Evicted from their homes during the 1913–1914 strike against Colorado Fuel and Iron, owned by Rockefeller's Standard Oil Corporation, coal miners and their families created the Ludlow tent colony to protest labor conditions. On April 20, 1914, National Guard troops fired into tents and burned the colony to the ground, killing two women and eleven children. The incident, known as the Ludlow Massacre, prompted demonstrations across the country against Standard Oil.

During the Depression, the numbers of homeless, hoboes, and encampments ballooned. While the self-governing "Hoovervilles" of the 1930s were rarely the site of radical organizing on behalf of the poor, their name and visibility came to signify the president's indifference and the federal government's failure to address the problems of joblessness and poverty.

The "Bonus Army" of 1932 created the most famous tent city of the period, erected for explicitly political goals, as 25,000 unemployed men camped at the edge of the nation's capital, demanding early payment of their military service bonus. The Hoover administration sent the army to disband and destroy the protest. Troops burned the Bonus Army homes and the transients' hopes that the federal government would assist them.

Other protests emerged out of the ranks of the unemployed in the 1930s, resisting evictions and refuting the notion that the jobless were responsible for their condition. Demands for federal assistance led the New Deal to aid homeless and unemployed workers through the Federal Transient Bureau and the Farm Security Administration, which created rural work camps. Still, most cities in the 1930s tried to send transients on their way and toughened vagrancy laws.

In the 1930s, when Southern sharecroppers and tenant farmers, like supporters of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, were thrown off the land for organizing, they sought solidarity in makeshift tent camps. Even as late as 1960 in Fayette County, Tennessee, white property owners evicted more than 400 African-American tenant families for participating in the Fayette County Civic and Welfare League, which had initiated a voter-registration drive. With support of an African-American property owner, the families formed a community known as "Tent City." A smaller tent city arose in nearby Haywood County, where dozens of families had also been evicted for their political work. The Justice Department filed suit against landowners and merchants in Fayette County who had violated the civil rights of the tenants, and in July 1962 they were enjoined from interfering with the rights of citizens to vote.

Modern Tent City Movements

Post–World War II efforts to renew downtown areas, in decline because of suburbanization, often targeted skid row areas, traditional haunts of low-income people and transients. "Planning" and "renewal"—or gentrification—of urban cores translated into intensified struggles for poor people in need of housing. The demolition or conversion of SROs, which accelerated in the 1970s and 1980s, deindustrialization, deinstitutionalization, and defederalism combined to swell the ranks of the homeless, which included unprecedented numbers of women, children, and families. At the same time, officials, often pressured by merchants and new upper-income city residents, increasingly cracked down on the presence of the homeless and supported anti-homeless legislation.

This struggle over urban spaces catalyzed new forms of activism to challenge existing inequities and champion new housing policies. In the immediate aftermath of the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. in April of 1968, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference spearheaded the "Poor People's Campaign" that culminated in the creation of an encampment on the Washington Mall. The central goal of "Resurrection City," which housed approximately 2,500 protesters, was to pressure the Johnson administration to fulfill the promises of the much vaunted War on Poverty. On June 24, police and National Guardsmen forcibly disbanded the protesters' community, arresting hundreds.

The 1970s marked the emergence of several important groups that built on the momentum of the Poor People's Campaign. Unions for the homeless sprung up in Philadelphia, Chicago, Baltimore, Boston, and Los Angeles, demanding living wages and affordable housing. Activist Mitch Snyder and Washington, D.C.'s Community for Creative Non-Violence, brought national attention to the struggles of the homeless, leading pray-ins, eat-ins, and the occupation of buildings. Similar groups such as Seattle's Operation Homestead, formed in many cities; while for the most part focusing on local issues and strategies, activist groups occasionally joined forces to influence national policy. The National Coalition for the Homeless, founded in 1984, organized 250,000 to appear in Washington, D.C., in October 1989 with its Housing Now! March. These actions combined with litigation by advocates pressured Congress to hold hearings and support a patchwork of new programs in the 1980s, but the government provided little funding for new housing.

Building on historical efforts by the homeless to assert autonomy through independent communities, the modern tent city movement has taken a stand to highlight the lack of affordable housing and to reclaim public spaces that have increasingly excluded the poor. Since the 1980s, tent cities have materialized in cities as diverse as Las Vegas, San Diego, San Jose, and Corpus Christi. Tent city activists have built on elements of the civil rights, women's, gay liberation, environmental, and poor people's movements to draw attention to their marginalization and inability to obtain minimal shelter, and to create solidarity in a self-governing community. Some tent cities were designed as short-term political protests. Homeless activists, for example, erected tent cities in front of the Illinois, California, and Washington state capitols to lobby for funding. Others have sought to create more permanent communities to provide an alternative model of shelter that fosters self-governance, empowerment, and autonomy.

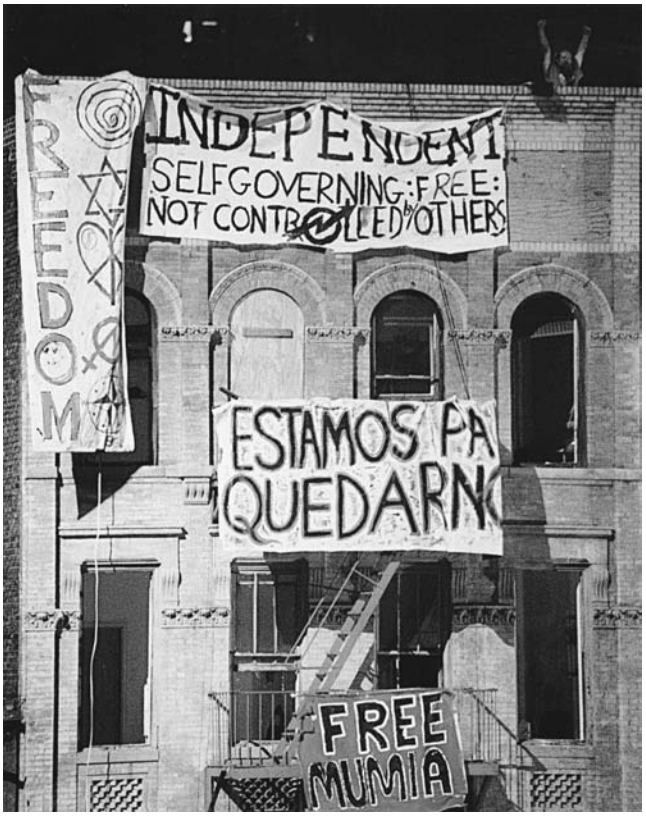
The pioneers of the contemporary tent city movements are vocal critics of the shelter system, and more broadly of charity-based approaches to poverty; furthermore, they frequently examine the systemic roots of homelessness, critiquing capitalism and the high unemployment rates that sustain it. Residents of tent cities argue that their itinerant housing provides a preferable alternative to overcrowded and unsanitary shelters and more effective security for their few remaining material possessions. Tents and lean-tos, however ramshackle, tend to provide greater privacy than is afforded in most shelters. Tent communities, moreover, embrace both gay and straight couples, and in some cases, children, while shelters almost univer-

sally enforce gender segregation while excluding same-sex couples. In addition, while nationally only a handful of shelters allow pets, they are a visible feature of tent city landscapes. While the majority of shelters are open to residents only at night, tent cities accommodate the variable hours of the working poor.

At the same time, residents emphasize that the collective nature of tent city living protects them from assault. They note that, while crimes perpetrated by "transients" receive amplified media attention, crimes against the homeless go largely unreported in local and national media and are frequently acknowledged only in the pages of the country's approximately thirty newspapers published by and for the homeless. Notably, within days of the forced closure of the Las Vegas tent city in July 2001, a former resident of the encampment was severely beaten and robbed by three assailants, and another homeless man was beaten to death.

Homeless activists erected tent cities with pointed political goals to move individuals out of the relative isolation of urban doorways to become a more visible presence to city officials and residents. Many of these efforts have negotiated small victories, including city promises to expand shelter beds and housing units. In 1993, the city of Eugene sanctioned a three-year experiment to allow the homeless to camp on a parking lot near the University of Oregon's Autzen Stadium. When funding ran out, the Centennial Car Camp closed, but the city was forced to continue to allow some scattered legal camping on unused public parking lots. Squatters who created Camp Paradise in Santa Cruz refused to budge for a year until in early December 2001 a rainstorm flooded away the tent city. Although police had ticketed the campers, the city did not aggressively pressure the camp to disband and after the flood provided motel vouchers until the campers could find a new site. The camp's success in garnering much local support inspired city council members to reform Santa Cruz's homeless services, including allowing a homeless campground.

More often, the tent city movement has met resistance from neighbors, police, and elected officials. In 1991, officials disassembled a Santa Ana, California, camp after allowing it to exist for a year, and in 1992, Marin County, California, officials shut down a camp that sprang up after the city closed a National Guard Armory shelter. As the homeless have been driven out of some spaces and ingeniously occupy other public sites, city officials enact new rules or conduct sweeps. When over a hundred people living in Tompkins Square Park on Manhattan's Lower East Side protested the city's efforts to remove them, the city closed and fenced off the park for "renovations." The police in Washington, D.C., tore down temporary shacks erected each day in Lafayette Park. San Francisco, which by the early twenty-first century had gained the reputation as the most hostile city in America toward the homeless, alternated its methods of removing the homeless just as quickly as the homeless found new places to camp. In December 2001 officials fenced off the area that had housed a tent city under Highway 101.



Squatters—people who take over abandoned land or property—seized this building in New York City before being evicted by police in 1995. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

It is not simply the transitory nature of the accommodations that garners resistance from local communities and authorities. In fact, officially sanctioned tent cities have long been embraced as an answer to housing and prison shortages, to attract low-wage laborers, and to house state troops called to quell civil dissent. In Alaskan fishing towns like St. Petersburg, city-sanctioned tent cities have long served to accommodate seasonal workers. In California, in the absence of both affordable conventional housing and sustain-

able wages, 1,100 state-sanctioned and licensed tent cities serve a fraction of the state's estimated 700,000 migrant farm workers on a seasonal basis. In the late 1990s, as an answer to overcrowded jails, Phoenix, Arizona, launched a pilot tent city jail, housing as many as 1,580 inmates. What distinguishes the embattled tent cities of otherwise homeless individuals from these provisional accommodations is the extent to which they visibly signify their collective rejection of officially sanctioned strategies for managing the poor and as a critique of the social and economic conditions that create and perpetuate homelessness.

West Coast Efforts

Although cities grew determined to eliminate encampments of more than a few people, a number of coalitions persisted on the West Coast to sustain the new tent city movement. Three tent cities have been the most visible and have served as models for other embryonic efforts.

In January 1985, activist Ted Hayes and seventy-three homeless men, women, and children established a shantytown in Central City East, or Skid Row, in Los Angeles. From its inception, "Justiceville" had strained relations with city authorities and social service providers alike. Despite efforts by advocates and a thirty-five-day fast by Hayes, the city closed Justiceville/Homeless, USA, on May 10. For the next eight years LA's homeless, including former members of Justiceville, lobbied government and businesses and engaged in civil disobedience to demand attention to the plight of the homeless. In November 1993 the Dome Village, originally known as Genesis One, opened as an innovative effort to provide a structural alternative for those unable or unwilling to live in traditional shelters. The twenty Omni-Sphere domes softened the harsh downtown skyscraper landscape and provided community and living spaces for many shunned by traditional service providers. The self-governing project sought to empower and engage residents in productive activities to help transition them out of homelessness. The village spawned a number of micro-enterprises, created a CyberDome computer learning center, and cultivated an organic garden.

During the Goodwill Games held in Seattle in the summer of 1990, a group of homeless men and women decided to camp out on the waterfront in clear view of tourists and the city's major daily newspaper. To underscore the need for affordable housing, on Thanksgiving activists created a tent city beside the Kingdome, which prompted city officials to provide more indoor shelter space. Campers organized as the Seattle Housing and Resource Effort (SHARE) and formed alliances with churches and other community groups, including the homeless group Operation Homestead, to address the need for low-income housing. SHARE organized shelters, laundry and storage facilities, and new housing units. In 1993, a group of women within SHARE formed Women's Housing Equality and Enhancement League (WHEEL) to advocate for homeless women's concerns.

As in other cities, Seattle's homeless made some headway while seeing other gains erode. Activists periodically camped out in front of municipal buildings to demand lodging lost by redevelopment efforts in the 1990s. As a new mayor in 1998 held a housing summit to address the needs of the homeless, his police force began its regular bulldozing of campsites above I-5. In response, SHARE/WHEEL reconstituted Tent City on Beacon Hill in June. Even as police closed the site, Mayor Paul Schell promised new funds to eliminate homelessness. SHARE set up two more tent communities in 1999 to provide shelter during the WTO protests; this time activists, banding together with advocates from local faith communities, strategically located their encampment on church properties to strategically resist the city government's attempts to raze the settlement.

When winter response shelters closed in March 2000, the group again raised a tent city, which persisted through thirteen forced moves by the city on threats of zoning violations against private landowner hosts. In August, El Centro de la Raza invited the tent city and its 100 residents to locate at its center for the next six months. Because the city rejected El Centro's application for a tent-city permit, residents moved to a church and battled the city in court. In September 2001, a King County superior court judge ruled that because the military, Scouts, and disaster-relief groups had histories of establishing safe encampments, the city could not discriminate against the homeless group's permit efforts. A new federal law that appeared to allow churches to ignore land-use codes while engaged in religious practices also strengthened Tent City's cause. In March 2002, Seattle and Tent City representatives signed an agreement that allows the community to remain in one commercial or residential spot for up to three months.

Influenced by the Los Angeles and Seattle movements, Portland's latest tent city movement was initially catalyzed by a Multnomah County circuit court decision in September 2000. Striking down the city's ban on outdoor camping, which dated back to 1981, Judge Stephen L. Gallagher ruled that the ordinance

Staking tents beneath an overpass, homeless people built the community of Dignity Village in Portland, Oregon, in 2001. *(Photo by Bryan Pollard)*

constituted "cruel and unusual punishment," and effectively punished "the status of being homeless" and impeded homeless people's right to travel. With the city intent on appealing the decision, on December 16, 2000, with support from *street roots*, a nonprofit newspaper largely staffed and distributed by homeless people and covering issues of concern to the homeless, a core group of eight homeless individuals pitched their tents on public land under the Morrison Bridge in downtown Portland. Despite Gallagher's decision, the threat of arrest impelled five early moves even as the "camp's" population steadily grew, until a formal agreement was struck with the city authorizing the camp's temporary location under a freeway.

The relative stability of new, albeit temporary, legitimacy enabled the birth of Dignity Village, as residents created community coalitions and partnerships, held press conferences, teach-ins, and public meetings, and developed a website to foster more effective outreach to the immediate community, as well as to other national and international tent cities. Villagers worked in concert with University of Oregon architectural students and with the City Repair Project to develop architectural plans for a permanent settlement at a fraction of the cost of conventional low-income housing. The plans included communal gardens, a "piazza" for gatherings, wind power generators, composting toilets, and a gray water irrigation system as an expression of the village's ecological consciousness and commitment to sustainability.

Forced in September 2001 to relocate to a fenced enclosure abutting the city's leaf composting yard outside the city center, with the help of City Repair, Portland's Rebuilding Center, Americorp volunteers, and other supporters in the community, the village erected a communal hall and domed conference room out of salvaged materials. In the spring, villagers banded together with Portland's Environmental Middle School, greenscaping the blacktop with communal

vegetable beds and container gardens scattered throughout.

The village has variously participated in arts and theater projects, has entertained a barrage of local and international reporters interested in its experiment in community, has fashioned a partnership with a Japanese tent city, and is the site of a literacy project in partnership with Washington State University Vancouver. In February 2004, Portland city officials granted the village campground status, making it legal for the sixty residents to remain in their self-regulated tent community.

Homeless advocates debate whether tent cities can ultimately affect larger social change needed to address the lack of affordable housing in the United States. Others worry that the attention and resources devoted to the camps will detract from other efforts to develop adequate and humane emergency and long-term low-income housing. The latter argument, which tends to focus almost exclusively on the quality of housing, generally fails to adequately acknowledge the challenge that tent cities, with their emphasis on self-determination, pose to the country's core political assumptions. It must be noted, however, that many homeless themselves prefer shelter beds or more independent living on the streets to tent city accommodations. But tent city activists believe that they are creating community and "homes," while engaged in a political project to draw attention to homelessness.

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11

Student Movements

Introduction

Student movements in the United States are largely a phenomenon of the last three quarters of the twentieth century. Student protests in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries focused on institutional problems, such as inept or oppressive administration and poor service. In the first recorded university protest, Harvard students in 1766 rebelled over the quality of butter in the Commons. Later, college students organized demonstrations against *in loco parentis*, the notion that university officials were to act as parents of their students. Campus protest also took class forms, as students battled town residents over housing, pubs, and other cultural institutions. The lone exception to this apolitical student orientation was the formation of antislavery groups on some Northern campuses in the 1830s. Students also participated in major and minor political party activity, but these pursuits never constituted social movements. Only in the twentieth century, when universities and colleges became more influential civic institutions and the number of students reached a critical mass, did students engage in sustained politically oriented collective protest action aimed at changing government and university policy.

When student movements finally emerged, most dramatically in the 1930s, they were movements of the political left. Indeed, virtually all student movements of any size and influence have shared a left political orientation, though within the student left there have been serious and often destructive differences of opinion. An early movement organization was the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, founded in 1905 to promote socialism among youth. The myriad activities of the National Student League and the American Student Union in the 1930s aimed at eliminating poverty, expanding government social programs, promoting labor unions, securing free speech on campus, fighting racism and fascism, ending religious discrimination, and stopping war. In the 1960s, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee fought segregation and racism, while Students for a Democratic Society fought U.S. imperialism abroad and poverty and exploitation at home. Students in the Coalition for a Free South Africa built shantytowns on the quad at Columbia University in 1985 to protest their university's investment in corporations doing business in apartheid South Africa. In the late 1990s, Students Organizing for Labor and Economic Equality sat in the administration building of the University of Michigan to demand that university officials develop codes of conduct for the corporations that provided its athletic apparel. As these examples demonstrate, students acted on many levels—university, local, state, national, and international—and targeted a range of private and public institutions, including government, corporations, universities, political parties, and social clubs.

Both the persistence of student movements and their left orientation are rooted in the nature of student life, the structure of U.S. education, and the distribution of power in U.S. society. College is a time for experimentation. Students test their political and intellectual principles, often over and against the doctrines that prevail on campus and in the larger culture. This has led many students to the ideas of the left, which, while marginal outside the university, have enjoyed some intellectual sustenance within it. Unlike most people outside the university, full-time students live and work collectively. They can discuss political ideas in classes, dormitories, dining halls, meeting rooms, and other social venues. Although increasing numbers of students must work to support their educational careers and although the university population includes more "older" people, students have relatively fewer responsibilities than other adults. This has left them more time to pick up radical ideas and put them into action.

Two somewhat contradictory aspects of higher education have contributed to the perpetuation of left-wing student movements. On the one hand, educa-

tional leaders have long seen themselves as cultivators of citizenship and their institutions as tools for instilling public spirit. This has encouraged students to investigate major social issues and take up collective solutions, which, in the American context, have usually been the province of the left. On the other hand, higher education institutions have always been training grounds for the market economy, teaching students the technical and social skills for success in the business world. Indeed, most students embrace this aspect of the university's mission, and activist students have always been a minority on campus. Still, the university's role as a major institution of cultural production and defender of the status quo makes it a target of student movements.

Although the students' location on campus has encouraged activism, it has not insulated them from the social divisions in American society. Indeed, the fishbowl aspects of campus life have often exacerbated these divisions, even among activists. Political division between Communists and non-Communists on international questions sundered the student movement in the late 1930s. Three decades later, factional struggles again tore apart the campus movements, though this time racial and gender conflict also split students. More recent student movements have not been large enough to develop the factionalism of their predecessors, and the previous activism of women students and students of color has introduced more equitable participation into the movements. Still, the social tensions of the larger society intrude upon student movements, even as they struggle against the sources of those very tensions.

One of the remarkable characteristics of American student movements has been their attention to international issues, particularly militarism. Students have mobilized against U.S. military action in Europe, Southeast Asia, Central America, Africa, and the Middle East. They have also protested against nuclear weapons, military recruitment on campus, and U.S. military aid to repressive regimes around the globe. Student activism has also targeted oppression and exploitation abroad, whether in the form of apartheid in South Africa, sweatshops in Asia, or death squads in El Salvador. Students have consistently publicized the connections between the plight of people in other countries and the actions of the U.S. government and U.S.-based corporations. In extreme cases, U.S. students have taken their activity abroad, as in the case of the human shields of the International Solidarity Movement in Palestine or the Brigadistas who went to Nicaragua to support the Sandanista revolution against the U.S.-backed Contras.

As the entries in this section show, the influence of student movements has been considerable, especially given the relative economic and political powerlessness of students. In the 1930s, campus activists mobilized hundreds of thousands of students for one-hour class boycotts and antiwar demonstrations on the anniversary of U.S. entry into World War I. They popularized the plight of miners, leading to a congressional investigation, waged hundreds of speech fights, leading to the reinstatement of dozens of students expelled for unpopular speech, and carried out struggles for federal student aid, jobs programs for youth, workers' rights, academic freedom, and racial equality. African-American students were in the forefront of the civil rights movement, and it was their lunch-counter sit-ins that sparked the largest and most effective wave of civil rights protests in the early 1960s, eventuating in the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act. The persistent protests of students against U.S. involvement in Vietnam played a major role in turning popular opinion against U.S. participation in the war. In the 1980s, the student demonstrations for divestment led more than 100 universities to withdraw investments from corporations doing business in South Africa. And in the late 1990s, students protesting against sweatshops convinced dozens of university officials and corporations to adopt codes of conduct respecting workers' rights. That students have accomplished so much outside their campuses is an illustration of their commitment, courage, and compassion.

Aaron Brenner

History of Student Movements

The most useful assumption one can make about student movements is that they have political orientations. This assumption distinguishes student movements from other campus-based social groupings (i.e., fraternities, sororities) that are not formed for the purpose of social change. The term *political orientation* can further be clarified in two respects: First, the movement's purpose arises from a concern with sociopolitical—including economic—conditions. Second, the movement seeks remedy through changes in policy or institutional arrangements. By "movement," social historians mean collectivities of students engaged in educational, legislative, and/or protest activities over a period of time and geographical space. To stretch the word "movement" to include a single instance of student protest or lobbying activity—or to events isolated to a single campus—renders the term meaningless. The term *student movements* suggests a trend or wave of activity sharing a related political focus and occurring on a number of campuses—even if the events are not coordinated as such. Student movements may arise for the purpose of contesting arrangements or policy at any number of political levels: the campus, the national or state level, the international arena, or the private market. Student movements are also not synonymous with student organizations; historically, however, movements have not emerged where no organizational structure, however inchoate, existed.

Many scholars tend to make the term *student movement* synonymous with *national student organizations* since centralized organizations provide a more stable subject of study. But this is a particularly insufficient way to grasp student movement development in the United States generally, and particularly in the era after the height of the movement in the 1970s. In the first case, the fragmentation and decentralization of U.S. higher education is broadly reflected in the marked discontinuity of organizational forms throughout the history of student activism. In the second case, after 1968 large segments of radical students eschewed national organizations on ideological grounds—however mistakenly. Therefore, an accurate overview of U.S. student movements, while valuing the role of national organizations, must remain aware of diffuse trends. U.S. student movements cannot be captured in the minutiae of a few organizational histories alone. Where organizational continuity has existed, it is generally the result of nonstudent-based organizational support. The "movement" spills well beyond the stability such exceptions present.

Related to the noncentralized character of the U.S. student movement is the challenge in discovering consistent measures of activity across time. University reports, mainstream press, student and alternative press accounts, organizational archives, personal memoirs, scholarly works, police reports, contemporaneous activist interviews, and reliable data, such as those available from the National Center for Education Statistics, are all useful sources of information. Studying student movements across time requires a flexible methodology and a degree of what John Dewey called "speculative audacity" when making generalizations.

Overview

Student movements have played a democratizing and radicalizing role in American culture and politics. In specific cases, student movements in the United States have been key players in challenging and ending regressive government policy in both domestic and foreign policy arenas. Though consistently led by a small minority of the overall student population, politically active students have earnestly sought to resolve, reform, or eradicate the most contradictory aspects of American democracy. Although student protest in America dates back to the colonial college when stu-

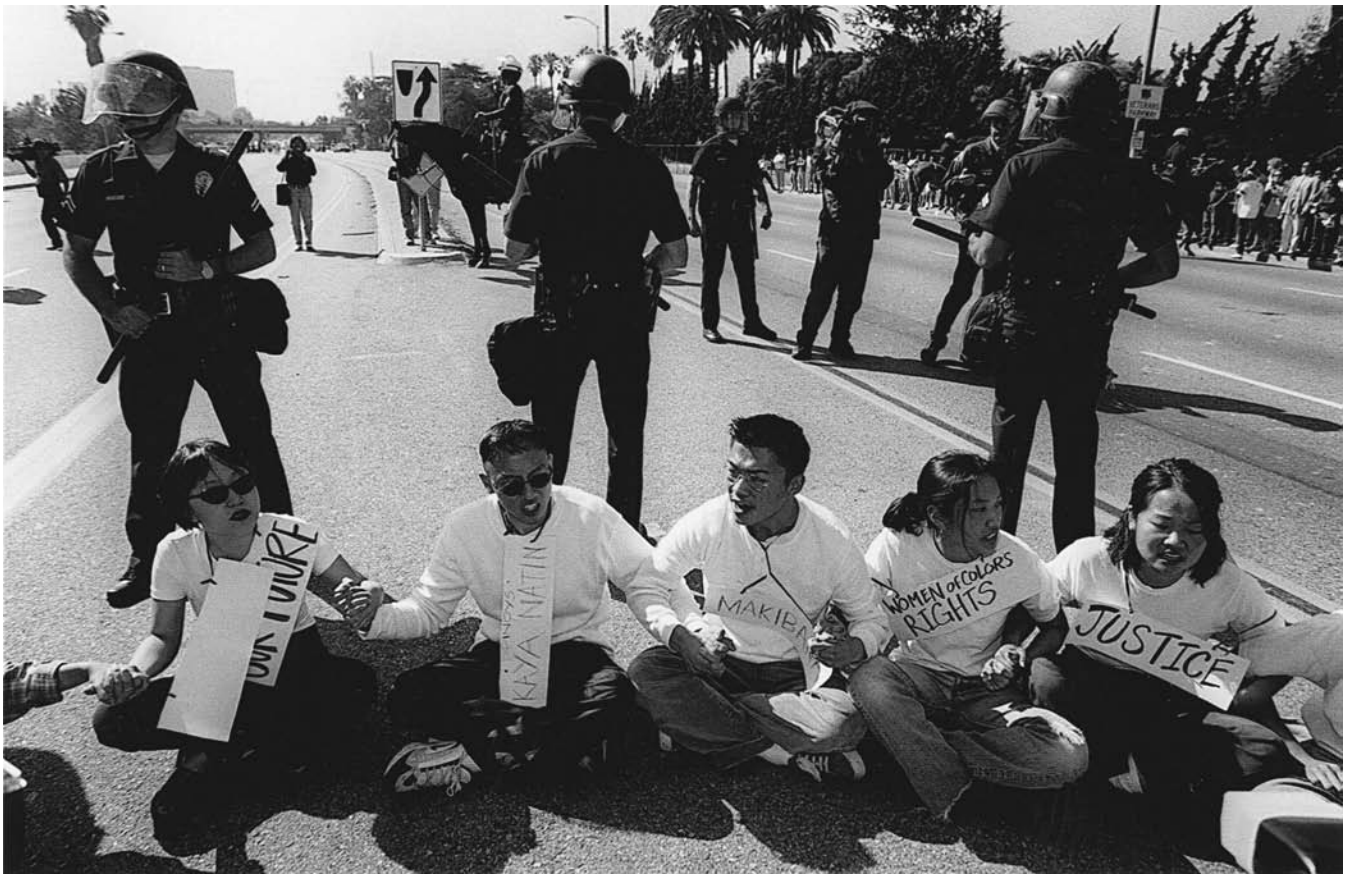
dents agitated against the Crown and the harshly punitive powers of rectors, student "protests" showed signs of becoming student "movements" after the Civil War when changes in American higher education in the age of industrialism began to take root. The modern U.S. student movement, originating in the early 1900s and emerging as a potent political force by the 1930s, has assumed an increasingly distinctive place in the nation's consciousness. By the end of the 1960s, the phrase "student movement" conjured images of both radicalism and repression—lunch counters, Freedom Rides, the 1964 Berkeley Free Speech Movement, the antiwar protest at the Democratic National Convention of 1968, and the tragic slayings of student protesters at Kent State and Jackson State. The Free Speech Movement took place at the University of California at Berkeley in fall 1964, as hundreds of students occupied the administration building, demanding the expansion of student rights to use the campus for political activity. Students and others protested at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in late August 1968 in opposition to the U.S. war in Vietnam. The police and National Guard dispersed the antiwar protests led by members of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the National Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam (MOBE), and others with tear gas, clubbing, and the arrest of many protesters. On May 4, 1970, the Ohio National Guard opened fire on a peaceful demonstration against the Vietnam War at Kent State, killing four students. At Jackson State, in Jackson, Mississippi, police fired at a demonstration of about 100 students, killing two students. Student movements in the United States have become synonymous with the forces of political liberalization, economic justice, and cultural freedom.

There have been two "great" periods in which the U.S. student movement became a national force: first, in the Great Depression years, under the direction of the American Student Union, when students organized against war, for civil rights, and for the economic needs of students and youth; and second, in the 1960s, under the direction of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), when students waged campaigns for desegregation and civil rights, and later, under the direction of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), when students agitated against U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. Though certainly these two periods show great upsurges, there are additional periods—such as the 1980s anti-apartheid movement and the contemporary student movements against sweatshop labor, military engagements, and spending, and for increased spending for higher education—that present noteworthy and widespread student movement activity. The events of the 1980s were credited with playing important roles in raising awareness of apartheid, sweatshop labor, and U.S. military intervention abroad. Student protests have also led to the rollback of proposed tuition increases. In both the 1980s and today, students have demonstrated a strategic awareness of their unique power qua students and have applied that leverage in creative ways that have brought success. For instance, students set up tent cities in protest against university investments in South Africa in the apartheid era. More recently, students have pushed forward codes of conduct, exposing university complicity in sweatshops through bearing their schools' name on clothing manufactured in sweatshops. Others have organized human rights, social justice, and preservation of Affirmative Action.

Since the later part of the nineteenth century when an embryonic student movement was first identifiable, the themes of civil rights, civil liberties, peace, education access and reform, and economic justice have predominated. The first national student-based organization in the United States was the Inter-Collegiate Socialist Society founded in 1909 by Upton Sinclair, the celebrated author and Socialist.

In both "great" periods of the 1930s and 1960s, the national waves of student activism in the United States were left-led and spread outward following the formation of national student organizations. Indeed, student movements in the United States have always formed around a left-liberal axis. The left-led national student organizations of the 1930s and 1960s, however, were most successful in mobilizing large numbers of students when they adopted pragmatic strategies that de-emphasized narrow ideological positions and instead emphasized the language of democracy, rights, and justice when contesting U.S. policies. Beyond any specific success or loss, U.S. student movements have had profound reverberations on political culture, discourse, and awareness—on and off campus.

Although U.S. student movements often have been unfavorably compared to their more spectacular counterparts in developing nations or even to similarly advanced capitalist nations, it is a mistake to measure the impact of U.S. student movements against the standards set by student movements in Asia, Latin America, or even France in 1968. In *Student Politics in America* (1997), Phillip Altbach states, "The American student movement contrasts rather



On October 23, 1996, UCLA students stage a sit-in on Wilshire Boulevard in Los Angeles to protest a state referendum aimed at abolishing Affirmative Action. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

dramatically with student movements in many other countries, especially with student movements in developing nations." In connecting the two ideas, Altbach plainly states that unlike their international counterparts, U.S. students have never "been effective in producing a major political change in the United States." In doing so, analysts simultaneously ignore the unique obstacles presented to mass student organizing in the United States and submerge the real gains—and potential—of U.S. student activists. Moreover, such analyses have the unintended side effect of perpetuating the seductive but illusory ideal of student revolutionism—an ideal that has never suited the U.S. context. Indeed, the tail end of the U.S. student movement of the 1960s is a testament to the tragedy of revolutionary idealism and student vanguardism in the U.S. context. Both Weatherman Underground, the most radical and confrontational faction of the Students for Democratic Society, and segments of the Black Panthers fell prey to Third World revolutionary romanticism and types of dogmatism that were opportunistically flamed by U.S. government agents in Counter Intelligence Operations (COINTELPRO). By the late 1960s, the contemporaneous anti-imperialist armed liberation struggles of Africa, Asia, and Latin America captured the imagination of segments of the American student left who were searching for ideological direction and a sense of "certainty." Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) files indicate that the Nixon administration's COINTELPRO, aimed at disrupting the social movements of the 1960s, instructed operatives to encourage the heightened militancy. Together, these forces produced bitter feuding, violence, isolation, and movement fragmentation The evidence shows that COINTELPRO infiltrated radical student organizations seeking the end to the Vietnam War, civil rights, and greater equality, through planting agents provocateurs to encourage the groups to commit illegal activity. As a result, members of the student groups were arrested,

and the organizations became divided, eventually losing their power and momentum.

Although U.S. student movements have not served as mass vehicles for revolution, they have at rare moments commanded large portions of the student body in campaigns against war, for civil rights, and for educational reform. Another important characteristic of U.S. student movements is their unique resistance to the forces of reaction, a claim that neither the student movements of many developing nations (past and present) nor the students of Fascist Europe can make with equal candor. Student activism in America, once past the colonial and pre–Civil War period, presents no authentically conservative moments. The one exception in U.S. history may be the role that Southern white students played in the Ku Klux Klan following the Civil War. Although S.M. Lipset reports in *Rebellion in the University* (1972) that "The Klan and other white supremacy groups were strong in numbers in the universities," the Klan was never a "student movement." This activity was regional rather than national in character.

The first national, politically conservative student organizations such as the National Student Committee for the Loyalty Oath and Young Americans for Freedom in the 1950s and early 1960s were the creation of adult conservatives trying to combat the widespread influence of radical and liberal student movements in the first half of the twentieth century. That conservatism has frequently marked the broader culture, and therefore much of campus culture, is not in question. More important, however, the hallmark of U.S. student movements is that they have been consistent, and often dramatic, counters to such conservatism.

Since World War II, demographics have facilitated the ability of student movements to mobilize large numbers of youthful bodies in the service of a cause. At the same time, movement analysts tend to view students primarily as a symbolic force or as effective disrupters but not as creators of public policy—the way, for example, labor, the civil rights, environmental, or women's movements are viewed. Although it may be true that what the governing elites in the United States (and the world over) fear most about the power of student movements is their passionate willingness to break rules and to defy authority en masse, state repression of such eruptions has always been a swift and largely effective response. Such was the case in the streets of Chicago in 1968 when police violently reacted to the thousands of youth and students who converged on the Democratic National Convention that year despite their being denied a permit; the student slayings by National Guardsmen on the Kent State campus in 1971 also illustrate the point. It is equally true that student disruptions as such can indirectly affect public policy. But these observations do not justify the persistent undertone in many accounts that students are incapable of anything more than disruption. Can student movements in the United States be effective creators of public policy? Clearly, the possibility exists, but their potential to do so depends on students' reasonable speculation as to what public policies they are more likely to affect, using what tactics and strategies, and under what circumstances. A large determinant of the potential of any student movement for achieving this kind of positive impact is whether the movement itself practices a reflexive awareness of these very questions in pursuit of its vision and values.

Patterns in Higher Education and Student Movements

Although private institutions of higher learning are the first and oldest institutions of higher learning, educational institutions resembling a "national" or public system first emerged through the federal granting of lands and money to states for educational purposes under the Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1892. The United States has never adopted a national university system but instead effected national patterns through federal grants administered through the states. These policies were inspired less by the Jeffersonian vision of an educated democracy than by the modernization needs of farmers and growing industries in the early industrial period. With rare exception, the state colleges founded in this era, though more affordable and marginally more democratic than the private institutions, were still costly and reserved for the already upwardly mobile segments of the middle class. It was also in this period that the first historically black institutions were founded to fill the needs of an incipient black bourgeoisie.

By the turn of the twentieth century, progressive American educators, inspired by the scientific and other intellectual advances made under the centralized university systems of Germany and France, became advocates for graduate research institutions. Advocates of specialization and advanced learning battled with traditionalists who still held sway over the majority of private institutions. The research university mission eventually was taken up by the founding of new private institutions, such as Johns

Hopkins, and encouraged with federal research dollars and private endowments channeled into the existing land grant universities. These changes opened the universities to both increased revenues and expansion, and paved the way for the next shift in function, which would be an early "massification" of the universities in the first few decades of the twentieth century. This early massification was fueled by the needs for a managerial class in an increasingly modernizing society. The proliferation, and or expansion, of a second tier of state and municipal colleges—some of which, like those in Detroit and New York, charged no tuition—provided a sharp counterpoint to the elite student bodies and traditions at many American universities.

The American student movement emerged as a politically distinct force in this early twentieth-century period. Perhaps not unsurprisingly, by the Depression years, it drew much of its radical character from the new class of young people populating the public universities. This was the first mass student body in the United States, and the conditions of the Depression provided a context favorable to a radical agenda focusing on both peace and the economic needs of students and youth. Not again until the late 1950s and early 1960s would expansions in higher education (triggered by the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, the postwar birth rates, and economic advances) generate the conditions for a second wave of protest—only this time the relative prosperity of the times gave emphasis to issues of civil rights and peace and not economic demands. The new "multiversities," tied increasingly to the techno-economic demands of industry, became sites of struggles for a new generation questioning the integrity of American democracy. Whereas deprivation inspired the students of the 1930s, the relative security of students in the 1960s led them to take up the legal and moral basis of American apartheid and to question America's role in the world as defender of "democracy."

As such, students in the 1960s, as beneficiaries of unprecedented federal support for higher education, focused not on education rights but on civil rights for African Americans and the morality of the war in Vietnam. Although SDS is the most well known of the organizations, student antiwar and civil rights groups proliferated on campuses throughout the country. The 1960s can be considered an exception as the national government was more committed to funding for higher education. However, student support began to shrink and evaporate in the last three decades of the twentieth century as the national government reduced its commitment to higher education. Thus, funding for working-class young adults dropped precipitously as direct assistance became replaced by a multitiered loan system in the 1980s and 1990s. Similarly, since the 1960s, the states have felt the pressure of federal cuts to higher education and have had to balance the costs of state universities by increasing taxes and tuition, reducing working-class access to higher education. Universities in the 1970s and 1980s reflected a type of pluralism in which a more racially and gender-diverse student body could choose from an increasingly broad, though specialized, course of study, though campus administrative prerogatives were strengthened. In response, beginning in the 1980s, public universities have increasingly relied on private market investments and private corporations for resources and incentives. These changes in funding sources have led students to pursue new strategies for reform and have shifted the focus of campaigns. Students increasingly adopt market-related strategies (divestment campaigns, boycotts, etc.) while simultaneously challenging the corporatization and privatization of higher education in America. The best contemporary example of this is the student antisweatshop movement of the late 1990s and early twenty-first century, though campaigns for increased funding for higher education frequently accompany these efforts. United Students Against Sweatshops is perhaps the most well known of the growing number of campus-based organizations working to end sweatshops abroad and at home and to improve conditions for other workers.

Six Periods of U.S. Higher Education

As the main patterning institution in the lives of college students, universities and colleges provide the ground for student movements. Universities and colleges themselves reflect national higher education policy, which in turn reflects national economic goals and expectations. Higher education has expanded dramatically: In 1790, approximately 1 percent of the 3.9 million national population attended fewer than 37 institutions of higher learning; in 2003, an estimated 33 percent of eighteen- to twenty-four-year-olds—or more than 14 million students—attended more than 3,600 institutions of higher learning. The student body today is more sociologically diverse in every way. As the American higher education system has adapted to the pressures of modernization, universities and colleges have changed in size and function. The techno-economic pressures on universities—and their varied responses to those pressures in any given era—have

directly shaped the context of student politics in both positive and negative ways. Indeed, the phenomenon called "student movements" is itself a product of national education policies following the Civil War in which industrial and modern agricultural needs were central. Although the emergence of the student movement and student thinking cannot be said to be a mirror of changes in the economy and technology, the major periods of higher education growth do have correlates to student movements' developments. These periods in higher education partially describe the structural context within which student movements must operate.

Five broadly descriptive periods indicate developments in the function and structure of U.S. higher education: First, the period stretching from the colonial period up to the Civil War can be characterized as private elite higher education. Although a few state charters were granted universities in the late eighteenth century—including Thomas Jefferson's University of Virginia, the University of Georgia, and the University of North Carolina—and several more emerged in the first few decades of the nineteenth century, the vast majority of colleges were denominational private institutions. All the private institutions, and even the public institutions, in this period were accessible to eligible elites as a result of the need for prior training or financial resources to attend.

Second, the period beginning in 1862 and lasting until the turn of the century opened up higher education to nonelite sectors of American society. This change is characterized by the chartering of federal land grant institutions in the states and a focus on industrial and modern agricultural skills. Most colleges, however, remained private. Enrollments in this period rose from 1 to 2 percent of eighteen- to twenty-four-year-olds.

The third period, 1900 to 1930, is one that evidences a continuation of growth in public institutions (including the free municipal systems in New York City and Detroit) but with a new emphasis in both private and public institutions on advanced research and graduate training. This emphasis resulted in the expansion of higher education both physically and functionally, and increased revenues from private and public investment. It is in this period that enrollments rose from 2 percent to 7 percent of eighteen- to twenty-four-year-olds. This is also the period in which an embryonic student movement emerged, setting the stage for the upsurge of student activism in the Great Depression years.

Despite the predictable contractions of enrollments induced by the Great Depression and World War II, this fourth period, from 1930 to 1945, is more accurately characterized by the emergence of an early mass higher education system resulting from the expanded federal role in higher education brought on by the New Deal. At the end of the 1930s, 9 percent of eighteen- to twenty-four-year-olds were enrolled in college (1.5 million), and ten years later, 15 percent (or 2.4 million) were enrolled. Student movements in the 1930s agitated vigorously to expand New Deal programs assisting students and youth, but the single most influential program in this period was the Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944 (the "GI Bill"). The GI Bill induced short- and long-term changes in the demographics of the student body, while universities scrambled to expand curricula and facilities. Free college education, low-interest federal housing loans, and an expanding U.S. economy created conditions under which a "baby boom" followed the soldiers' return from war. Institutional and personal expectations of federal assistance for higher education were established in this period.

A fifth period, spanning the years 1945–1960, is one in which a legitimate mass higher education system emerged. Though clearly decentralized, public institutions expanded significantly in this period to accommodate the growing demand for higher education of postwar America. Enrollments rose from 15 percent to 24 percent in this period. A full 20 percent of university and college revenues came from the federal government, an all-time high, with some of the funding earmarked for research and federal training programs. Toward the end of this period, a mass, diverse student body showed signs of renewed political engagement, which dramatically coalesced in the 1960s.

This sixth period, which emerged in the 1960–1969 period, is aptly captured in former University of California president and higher education policy expert Clark Kerr's term *multiversity*. The multiversity is a multifunctional university system, substantially defined by the new administrative and managerial tasks of serving an exploding student body; by 1969, 35 percent of all eighteen- to twenty-four-year-olds were enrolled in institutions of higher learning. To illustrate the growth, in 1960 there were more than 3.7 million students in higher education; by 1969, there were more than 7.8 million. The rebellions that rocked American campuses in this era are variously connected to the tensions arising from competing administrative and educational functions in American democracy. By the end of the decade, federal support

for higher education was declining; the traditional sources of states taxes, tuition and private endowments, became more important given the need to maintain the expansions that (the now dwindling) federal dollars instigated.

In the period between 1970 and 1990, institutions of higher education responded to the explosions of the 1960s by adopting a pluralist model, stressing diversity within corporate governing practices. With enrollments steadily increasing to 45 percent by 1979, universities and colleges continued to expand despite the continued decline of federal support: by 1990, less than 9 percent of higher education revenues came from the federal government. Universities reached out for enrollments by developing programs suited to part-time and nontraditional students. The two-year college system also expanded between 1970 and 1980. Administrative prerogatives were shored up, and decision making—with respect to everything from investments to discipline—became increasingly executive in character. The implementation of a national student loan system in the Reagan era shifted the burden of rising tuition costs to students themselves. The relationship between a college education and decent employment grew stronger, and the increasingly diverse student body showed signs of economic strain in the late 1980s. So too did state budgets, and state cuts to higher education exacerbated the growing dependence of universities on corporate dollars. University reliance on private endowments, investments, and corporate contracts increased. Despite a stagnant economy, student movements emerged that both contested and leveraged the new market influences on campus. The success of the university divestment movement of the mid-1980s illustrates this awareness. Student organizations have encouraged universities to divest investments in South Africa and, more recently, have opposed investments in companies engaged in sweatshops and child labor, or violating basic human rights.

The contemporary situation of higher education seems increasingly dependent on the forces that dominated under the pluralist model but in more severe form. Student indebtedness has increased dramatically, despite modest increases in funding for higher education during the era of President Bill Clinton. The situation of higher education in the 1990s and early twenty-first century is best described as neoliberal in character. As a term, neoliberalism describes a political response at the level of the nation-state to the competitive forces of globalization. Neoliberal policies typically unleash the free market through privatizing public services, reducing regulations, and dismantling welfare state programs such as public relief, healthcare services, and old age pensions. Student movements at the turn of the century show a strategic and tactical awareness of the consequences of neoliberal polices and are seeking to reverse these trends through protest against international organizations that promote neoliberal policies, including the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Trade Organization (WTO), and other organizations dominated by corporate interests.

Student Movement Effectiveness

The case can be made that students' greatest power lies in forwarding an agenda of educational and economic security for young people. The argument suggests that these are students' "natural" issues, which, it should follow, resonate most deeply with a broad number of students. Historically, however, aside from the 1930s, a national vision of just such an agenda has not been evident. This is in part the effect of education and related social and economic policy increasingly becoming the province of the states—particularly as the New Deal policy structures have declined. Although state-based student efforts have percolated, the practical realities of American federalism have made national thinking and national coordination difficult for American students. Interestingly, student movements of the second half of the twentieth century had great national success on civil rights and peace issues. Their success on this agenda is better accounted for by an understanding of the ideological and demographic dimensions of the era.

Regardless of issues, student impact seems to be strongest under the following conditions: (1) when student actions and mobilizations are coordinated within the context of a broader but related organizing drive and/or (2) when the students' role is tailored to maximizing their leverage within the university while aiming to leverage the universities' institutional influence in a more decisive context—for example, the national governmental context or the context affecting decisions on global capital. Examples of the strategic use of student power include: (1) the antiwar campus protests of the 1960s aimed at ridding universities of military research contracts such as the MIT, Rutgers University, and University of Wisconsin-Madison campaigns; (2) the 1980s university divestment campaigns, which in 1985 alone resulted in 110 universities withdrawing their investments from companies doing business in apartheid South Africa; (3) and the contemporary anti-sweatshop campaigns, which have

resulted in over 100 universities adopting fair labor codes of conduct in the purchase of college apparel. In these cases, students maximize their position within universities in order to support other social forces aiming to reshape national and international policy. Ironically, U.S. student movements have yet to apply these strategies to their "natural issues" and have neither enjoyed nor created a context in which potential allies, such as labor, are focused on redirecting national higher education policies.

Although U.S. students have not been a revolutionary force, such a standard fails to appreciate that as a segment of American society, student activists have not only been temperamentally progressive and radical, but also have grown increasingly sophisticated about their social movement power and potential over time. With peaks and valleys punctuating the size, coordination, and ideological coherence of campus-based activism since the 1930s, U.S. students have demonstrated a generational learning curve with respect to the relationships among ideology, strategy, and tactics in the context of student activism. This "learning from the past" is reflected in the way that current student movements think complexly about the position of students, the changing university, and the broader political and economic context, both national and global. For the major student movements today, there is no single "subject" of history—not the worker of the 1930s nor the existential subjects (i.e., youth, blacks, women) of the 1960s and 1970s. Left thinking among students today is unaffected by the old orthodoxies of the 1930s and the profound identity divisions of the late 1960s.

The period between the 1960s and the twenty-first century is probably one of the most complex and yet formative periods in U.S. student movement history in this respect. Both the 1970s and 1980s were periods of substantial student activism: campaigns for curricular reform reflecting a more diverse student body, antinuclear weapons and energy campaigns, tuition protests, anti-CIA campaigns, the anti-apartheid movement, campaigns for civil rights on campus, environmental awareness efforts, opposition to U.S. policies in Central America, and sexual autonomy, reproductive rights, and AIDS awareness campaigns were evident nationally. In many cases, student movements linked up with broader organizations, such as CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador), NARAL (National Abortion Rights Action League), and ACT UP!, an organization seeking to gain greater support for efforts to diminish the spread of HIV/AIDS. Despite the retrenchment that is typically portrayed, this is a period of far-flung single-issue activism, which even if possible to measure, taken together might suggest a wider engagement than the more spectacular 1960s. Though largely localized, the prolific single-issue campus organizing of the late 1970s and 1980s drew few parallels to the 1960s until the anti-apartheid "Divestment Movement" swept American campuses in the spring of 1985. This successful movement, however, brought to the fore the unresolved organizational and ideological dilemmas which the 1960s breaks with both the Old Left and the early civil rights strategy left in their wake. Student activists in the 1980s struggled with these legacies in a time of serious economic challenge for public universities and lower-income students. Outside of (and sometimes inside of) the campus anti-apartheid campaigns, the 1980s were a truly difficult time for unity of any kind among U.S. students.

The next wave of student activists seems to have taken some cues from the fragmentation, both ideological and organizational, of that period. It was also a time in which U.S. students, for the first time since 1917, were largely unaffected by U.S. anti-Communism. The divisiveness of both identity politics and the residual sectarianism of Socialist and Communist groupings that marred the landscape in the 1980s seemed either untenable or entirely irrelevant by the mid-1990s.

Current student movements appear more sophisticated in the absence of such pressures. They also seem to have retained the great contributions of both the celebrated eras of student activism in the 1930s and the 1960s. Ideologically, commitments to racial justice, feminism, sexual autonomy, environmentalism, and economic democracy and equity are assumed values in the contexts of student movement struggles. Like their predecessors of the 1930s and 1960s, student movements of the early twenty-first century can be identified as anticapitalist (that is to say, they are critical of the accumulations process under globalization), while also interested in the development of more equitable and accountable forms of national and global governance of the economy. Students today also seem to grasp the importance of strategic alliances with broader social movement forces and the need for multipronged strategies and tactics. These lessons, it can be argued, have drawn from three sources: (1) the early popular front practices of the American Student Union of the 1930s; (2) the loose coordination between students and established civil rights organizations in the early 1960s; and (3) the international and national coordination between cam-

NO PROFIT FROM HEALTH CARE
NO CUTS IN HEALTH CARE
NO TUITION HIKE
MEDICAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
BUDGET CUTS ARE BAD MEDICINE

Medical students at the New Jersey College of Medicine and Dentistry in Newark protest a proposed rise in tuition in 1976. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

pus groups and established human rights groups, the Rainbow Coalition and the African National Congress, in the early and mid-1980s. In the early twenty-first century, radical ideals—democracy, economic justice, and internationalism—combine with pragmatic strategies, including boycotts of campus apparel made in sweatshops, student strikes against unilateralism and militarism, university divestment campaigns, and campaigns for increases in state and federal education funding. At the same time, student movements flexibly employ tactics forged in earlier periods—the boycott, the strike, and symbolic parades, all from the 1930s, in combination with creative, nonviolent direct action, from the 1960s. Students now seem to favor nationally coordinated campaigns but continue to distrust formal national organization in favor of local autonomy. This mixed bag of tools and tactics is now applied in the context of universities under the pressures of political neoliberalism and economic globalization with remarkable savvy.

This more mediated and historical understanding of student power is somewhat remarkable given the lack of intergenerational institution building that marks the American Left. The increasing attention given to student movements (and social movements generally) in academic and journalistic publications has made a good deal of this possible. Information technology's speed and breadth is also an enormous asset for student movements today in fulfilling their

desire for both "history" and communication. Universities as anchors for the free flow of information in society provide both the liberal traditions and the on-campus hardware for such access to the past and future. Students, as compared with many sectors of society, are uniquely connected to the traditions and technology that might enliven the beleaguered critical functions of the public sphere. Through university curricula—including social movement studies—and technology services, students are especially privy to the information and practices required of citizenship in our era. To the degree that universities continue to fulfill the liberal function of transmitting political knowledge and civic engagement practices, some degree of student activism is to be expected. Indeed, efforts to protect this threatened function of the liberal university have been an increasing focus for student movements since World War II—an intuitively sensible, yet politically radical, project in and of itself.

Despite their relative technological and informational advantage, students are still faced with the obstacles to mass organizing presented by a highly disparate and decentralized political and educational system. At the same time, student protest in the post-1968 world appears more flexible, self-consciously experimental, and ideologically reflexive about student position and power. Currently, students seem concerned with questions of international governance in matters economic and military. As such concerns mix with cuts in education funding and reductions in social welfare support of all kinds, the new student movement disposition suggests that the first decade of the twenty-first century will be significant in the ongoing history of the U.S. student movement.

Christine Kelly

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Students for a Democratic Society Movement

A Profile Emerges 1960

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was a campus activist organization created in response to conditions of injustice and inhumanity that its founders, as national and world citizens, decried. SDS had its origins in the youth auxiliary of the League for Industrial Democracy (LID), a social-democratic political alliance. Although it may well have been that SDS spearhead Robert Alan ("Al") Haber hoped to form SDS when he departed LID, he could not have known that he and his SDS colleagues would give life to one of the most visible national student movements of 1960s America. The organization got its start at the 1960 annual congress of the National Student Association (NSA), convened that year at the University of Minnesota. Gathered at the congress were student activists, both liberal and radical, for it was only later that NSA would become exposed as an organization funded by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to penetrate and compromise student activist groups of the day. While there, Haber tried mightily to mobilize attendees with the SDS agenda and a document entitled "The Student and Total Community." Within a year or so, he had recruited a devoted core of members from the nation's colleges and universities.

SDS emerged in the aftermath of the previous decade's climate of suspicion and anti-Communism later known as McCarthyism. The chill of the Cold War and the Red Scare had sent many left-identified thinkers underground, but in no way was their dissent quelled. To the contrary, this historical moment sensitized young people in particular to the era's pressures for political orthodoxy and social conformity, setting the stage for a turbulent decade of student rebellion, in which such boundaries would be actively, even flamboyantly, transgressed. As if to counter the postwar period's mixed feelings of complacency, alienation, and helplessness, members of SDS dared to contend that a defeatist outlook was not the same as a realistic one. They maintained that doubt was intrinsically neither more sophisticated nor more accurate a stance than hope.

Framing an Agenda 1961–1962

SDS operated as a multi-issue group associated with the New Left, and one known both for its commitment to human potential and for its philosophical movement away from top-down decision making. By contesting a prevailing social order, SDS joined a larger countercultural movement. The student branches of this movement challenged the forces of the "establishment," with its disproportionate concentration of power in government, industry, the military, and the universities. SDS protested the dehumanizing effects of such institutions and their hegemony by empowering students as citizens and agents of change. Like other youth-oriented radical groups of its time (including Campus Americans for Democratic Action, Student Peace Union, Young Democrats, Young People's Socialist League, and Youth International Party), SDS found it important to question authority, affirm equality, and oppose the war in Vietnam. "America and the New Era," a 1963 SDS policy statement, conveyed to prospective members the group's purpose and its invitation to collective protest in this way:

> Students for a Democratic Society is an educational and social action organization dedicated to increasing democracy in all phases of our common life. It seeks to promote the active participation of young people in the formation of a movement to build a society free from poverty, ignorance, war, exploitation and the inhumanity of man to man. Won't you join with us?

The goal was to reinvest in "participatory democracy," assert the dignity and personal freedom of every individual, and speak to the sanctity of each

person's right to a role in decision making in matters shaping one's experience or bounding one's liberty. As the slogan on SDS buttons proclaimed, "Let the People Decide." For this reason, political involvement became more for SDS than a way to advocate for candidates or legislation. Politics came to represent a means to forge community, clarify choices, mobilize dissent, reform social relations, and realize democratic ideals through cultivation of an informed and entitled public.

SDS's methods typically combined progressive debate with political action and cultural resistance. Since decentralized leadership was the objective, campus-based chapters rather than a national office would translate SDS ideas into practice, even when the cause was national. Protests targeted complex issues such as racism and the Vietnam War. SDS wasn't merely a vehicle for conscientious objection, however. Members as often worked to advance embattled causes. SDS members supported the First Amendment, civil liberties, civil and human rights, public responsibility, peaceful conflict resolution, and humane policymaking. The organization dedicated itself to a utopian notion of a society free of poverty and therefore rid of class strife; marked by racial equality and therefore not divided along color lines; characterized by pacifism and therefore nowhere implicated in war; dedicated to free speech and therefore no longer subject to the voices of the few. As the first SDS members commented in their founding statement, "If we appear to seek the unattainable, it has been said, then let it be known that we do so to avoid the unimaginable." The membership of SDS preferred rejection for belief in the possibility of systemic change and social transformation than acceptance for their failure to believe in this vision.

Some have claimed that the energy behind SDS's formation came, at least in part, from the so-called red diaper babies—children raised by labor movement veterans, Communists, and Socialists aligned with the Old Left. Others note the "prairie power" of SDS's subsequent membership, drawing strength and numbers as it initially did from the American Midwest. In time, however, SDS membership, both formal and informal, would reflect a wide demographic spectrum of students working on behalf of social justice.

Surely the radicalism of the 1930s, with its own wave of campus activism, shaped the climate for SDS. Another strong, and more contemporary, influence on SDS founders was the civil rights movement. The Freedom Rides, sit-ins, and marches of civil rights activists offered SDS a primer on nonviolent protest, principled dissent, and civil disobedience. In particular, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) proved both an exemplar and, later, a partner in the promotion of common concerns, including racial equality, integration, and voter registration. So kindred were the causes of the two groups that passages from the founding statement of SNCC could as easily have described SDS:

> Through nonviolence, courage displaces fear; love transforms hate. Acceptance dissipates prejudice; hope ends despair. Peace dominates war; faith reconciles doubt. Mutual regard cancels enmity. Justice for all overcomes injustice. The redemptive community supersedes systems of gross social immorality.

Though distinct as organizations and constituencies, SNCC and SDS members forged a shared understanding that political revolution required change in consciousness as well as conduct.

In addition to drawing inspiration from movement culture, the founders of SDS took cues from numerous published writers of social and political commentary. C. Wright Mills, with his views on the immorality of power and the responsibility of the intellectual, proved most compelling. Along with writings by Mills, works such as Vance Packard's *The Hidden Persuaders* (1957), David Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character* (1950), William Whyte's *The Organization Man* (1956), and Albert Camus's *The Rebel* (1951) helped motivate SDS organizers to reconstruct democracy so that its practices aligned with its principles.

The galvanizing moment in SDS's formation was the 1962 framing of the Port Huron Statement, so named for the Michigan location of the first SDS national convention, at which the text first bore group scrutiny from June 11 to 15, 1962. Although SDS member Tom Hayden served as the principal author of the statement, consistent with SDS tenets of inclusiveness, thoughtfulness, and reflection, it was not ratified until the membership engaged in vigorous dialogue and the draft version underwent painstaking revision to become the sixty-three-page text that remains. The Port Huron Statement represented a combination of mission statement for direct democracy and manifesto for the New Left. This document refused cynicism in its critique of mainstream America's institutions by issuing a call for grassroots involvement in reclaiming democracy for the people. In its hopeful language and idealistic rhetoric, the Port Huron Statement, intended as a living statement rather than a fixed doctrine,

TOM HAYDEN (1939–)

Tom Hayden was born in Royal Oak, Michigan, on December 11, 1939. One of the best-known student radical leaders of the 1960s, he was a cofounder of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) in 1960 and served as president of SDS (1962–1963). The group operated under the principles of the Port Huron Statement, a manifesto written by Hayden and cofounder Robert Alan Haber and issued in 1962. The sixty-three-page political platform provided a thoughtful critique of the Cold War and the materialistic complacency of postwar American life. The Port Huron Statement proposed that universities should be the starting place for a new movement for "participatory democracy." That goal, never precisely defined, animated SDS and aimed generally toward transferring power from representative institutions to individuals and communities.

Besides his work with SDS, Hayden was cofounder of the Economic Research and Action Project in 1964 and leader of the Newark Community Union Project (1964–1967). SDS grew slowly until the escalation of U.S. involvement in Vietnam in 1965. The group organized a national march on Washington, D.C., in April 1965, and, from about that period on, SDS grew increasingly militant, especially with regard to issues relating to the war, such as the drafting of students. Tactics included the occupation of university and college administration buildings on campuses across the country. In 1968, Hayden and six others were arrested, charged, and sentenced for inciting riots during the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. The Chicago Seven later had their convictions overturned. By 1969, SDS had split into several factions and soon began to disintegrate, and two years later Hayden moved to Los Angeles.

In the 1970s, Hayden married actress Jane Fonda, and together they worked on environmental and antinuclear issues. He ran for U.S. Senate in California (1976), was founder of the Indochina Peace Campaign, was founder and chairman of the California Campaign for Economic Democracy (1977), and served as chairman of the California SolarCal Council (1978–1982). He was elected to the California State Assembly in 1982 and the state senate in 1992, where he continued his fight on behalf of the environment and minorities. He retired from the legislature in 1999.

James G. Lewis

struggled to overcome dogma with vision as it sought to distinguish SDS from the hard-line or Old Left.

PRAXIS 1963–1968

At its prime, SDS positioned itself as the populist voice of a generation and participated in many liminal moments of the countercultural movement, from 1964's Mississippi Summer and Berkeley's 1964 Free Speech Movement to SDS-sponsored events such as the 1965 antiwar march on Washington, D.C., and the 1968 Columbia University uprising. Most everywhere students gathered to reconstitute the university as "a significant source of social criticism and an initiator of new modes and molders of attitudes," SDS exerted a presence.

By the mid-1960s, SDS had a high political and media profile as an organization. One of numerous distinctive projects sponsored by SDS was the Economic Research and Action Project (ERAP). This initiative took SDS beyond the campus and into the community, as face-to-face organizers worked to provide favorable circumstances for disenfranchised Americans—especially poor people of color—to realize and exercise their power as citizens. The emphasis was on local action to address local needs, primarily on political and economic issues. The premise behind ERAP was that to act on one's duties and rights as a citizen, one must have access to housing, employment, education, and welfare protections. Although SDS had always been hospitable to the movement for civil rights, ERAP represented a bolder move toward direct action. It offered an opportunity for SDS to carry its mandate of "participatory democracy" beyond the university and into the wider world. The SDS agenda was not, however, exclusively national in scope. SDS also sponsored such ventures as the Peace Research and Education Project (PREP), which exposed the loans American banks continued to make with the South African government during its period of segregation, known as "apartheid." Whether challenging the military-industrial complex at home or oppression elsewhere, SDS members labored to fulfill Mahatma Gandhi's dictum: "be the change you wish to see in the world."

DECLINE 1969–1972

Although accounts vary in nuance and timeline, most cite the 1969 SDS national convention as the critical moment, whether as portent or proof, of the organization's dissolution. Although the membership

PORT HURON STATEMENT, 1962

The Port Huron Statement, written by Tom Hayden in 1962, a student at the University of Wisconsin, is the founding statement of Students for a Democratic Society, dedicated to the elimination of war, famine, and social upheaval. The program is based on motivating young people to understand the world beyond American borders and to take direct action to change society.

We are people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit.

When we were kids the United States was the wealthiest and strongest country in the world: the only one with the atom bomb, the least scarred by modern war, an initiator of the United Nations that we thought would distribute Western influence throughout the world. Freedom and equality for each individual, government of, by, and for the people—these American values we found good, principles by which we could live as men. Many of us began maturing in complacency.

As we grew, however, our comfort was penetrated by events too troubling to dismiss. First, the permeating and victimizing fact of human degradation, symbolized by the Southern struggle against racial bigotry, compelled most of us from silence to activism. Second, the enclosing fact of the Cold War, symbolized by the presence of the Bomb, brought awareness that we ourselves, and our friends, and millions of abstract "others" we knew more directly because of our common peril, might die at any time. . . .

While two-thirds of mankind suffers undernourishment, our own upper classes revel amidst superfluous abundance. . . . Although mankind desperately needs revolutionary leadership, America rests in national stalemate, its goals ambiguous and tradition-bound instead of informed and clear, its democratic system apathetic and manipulated rather than "of, by, and for the people." . . .

In a participatory democracy, the political life would be based in several root principles:

- that decision-making of basic social consequence be carried on by public groupings;
- that politics be seen positively, as the art of collectively creating an acceptable pattern of social relations;
- that politics has the function of bringing people out of isolation and into community, thus being a necessary, though not sufficient, means of finding meaning in personal life;
- that the political order should serve to clarify problems in a way instrumental to their solution; it should provide outlets for the expression of personal grievance and aspiration; opposing views should be organized so as to illuminate choices and facilitate the attainment of goals . . .

The economic sphere would have as its basis the principles:

- that work should involve incentives worthier than money or survival. It should be educative, not stultifying; creative, not mechanical; self-directed, not manipulated, encouraging independence;
- that the economic experience is so personally decisive that the individual must share in its full determination;
- that the economy itself is of such social importance that its major resources and means of production should be open to democratic participation and subject to democratic social regulation.

Like the political and economic ones, major social institutions—cultural, education, rehabilitative, and others—should be generally organized with the well-being and dignity of man as the essential measure of success.

In social change or interchange, we find violence to be abhorrent because it requires generally the transformation of the target, be it a human being or a community of people, into a depersonalized object of hate. It is imperative that the means of violence be abolished and the institutions—local, national, international—that encourage nonviolence as a condition of conflict be developed. . . .

As students, for a democratic society, we are committed to stimulating this kind of social movement, this kind of vision and program in campus and community across the country. If we appear to seek the unattainable, as it has been said, then let it be known that we do so to avoid the unimaginable.

Source: Students for a Democratic Society, 112 East 19th Street, New York, New York.

named national officers for 1969–1970 terms, SDS was nearing its end. There are numerous theories about the cause of SDS's decline. Some blame the interference of the government, especially the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)'s Counter Intelligence Programs targeted at New Left activities (COINTERPRO—NEW LEFT), charged first with surveillance, later with infiltrating and undermining groups such as SDS, which FBI director J. Edgar Hoover deemed threats to national security. Others suggest that the organization's androcentric leadership and belated public support for the women's movement undermined its claim to inclusiveness and idealism. Others say the problem was structural, claiming that as SDS grew, a broadly participatory national movement (versus a representative democracy) simply became unwieldy. Still others argue that the escalation of the war, both at home and in Vietnam, made unity through consensus an untenably slow process for an increasingly urgent political agenda and correspondingly impatient membership.

Whatever the reasons, by 1969, SDS's aspirations to nonsectarianism gave way to factions, as the group's members split on matters of both loyalty and strategy. These ideological clashes resulted in pronounced divisions among the membership, chiefly between the Maoist, worker-identified Progressive Labor Party and the Weatherman, a revolutionary splinter group more apocalyptic in mood and alleged to have staged bank robberies, bombings, and riots in the streets.

Although SDS itself was short-lived, its influence continued long after its own organization fell. Subsequent campus radicals, from feminist and environmental activists to antiwar and anti-apartheid protesters, routinely attest to the energy and inspiration they drew from the legacy of the student movement during the 1960s, frequently acknowledging SDS as a precedent for transformative coalition-building for students who wished, together, to make a lasting difference in the world. For example, in Tony Vellela's *New Voices: Student Activism in the '80s and '90s* (1988), Josh Nessen, an anti-apartheid leader and college divestment activist, comments that

> SDS played a key catalytic role—that's what students can do. I think sometimes people are wary of national organizations, because too much of their energy goes into internal politics. At least I am. I think the history of SDS has been distorted to focus on what happened at the end, the ideological squabbles, and a lot of the positive things are lost.

Throughout its history, SDS forwarded the political message that ordinary people can and do change the course of history. That message continues to resonate among student activists.

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Free Speech Movement

The Free Speech Movement (FSM) at the University of California at Berkeley during the fall 1964 semester was the first of the 1960s student movements to make headlines all over the world. Lasting a little over two months, it ended with the arrest of 773 persons for occupying the administration building, the removal of the campus administration, and a vast enlargement of student rights to use the university campus for political activity and debate. In the longer term, it contributed to the election of Ronald Reagan as governor of California in 1966 and the firing of university president Clark Kerr the following January.

Background

During the Cold War, the universitywide administration imposed numerous rules designed to keep politics out of all the university campuses. By the time Berkeley chancellor Clark Kerr became university president in 1958, student groups could not operate on campus if they engaged in any kind of off-campus politics, whether electoral, protest, or even oratorical. At the Berkeley campus students spoke, leafleted, and tabled on the city sidewalk at the campus edge. When the campus border was moved a block away, the activity moved with it. Since the sidewalk at the new boundary was too narrow for much activity, Kerr authorized the creation of a small plaza just inside the new boundary for student political groups to use. The regents of the university voted to give the plaza at Bancroft and Telegraph to the city of Berkeley, but the transfer never took place. For the next few years, student groups of all persuasions used this plaza as though it was public property when legally it was still part of the university.

In the fall of 1963 and the spring of 1964, the Bay Area was rocked with civil rights demonstrations against employers who practiced racial discrimination. Vast numbers of Berkeley students were recruited for these protests from the plaza, and they were numerous among the 500 arrests made over several months. This led to demands by some state legislators that the university discipline and control its students. In July, students were recruited to demonstrate at the Republican Convention being held in San Francisco, as well as at several businesses in Oakland. An *Oakland Tribune* reporter found out that this political activity was taking place on the campus proper; when word reached the campus administration, it decided to put a stop to it.

Origins

On September 14, 1964, Dean of Students Katherine Towle, at the behest of the vice chancellor, Alex Sherriffs, wrote a letter to the student political groups telling them that they could no longer use the plaza to solicit support for "off campus political and social action." Realizing that this would deprive them of the one good spot to reach students and raise funds, eighteen student groups from across the political spectrum asked the dean to reverse the ruling. They soon discovered that she didn't have the power to do this. Calling themselves the United Front, the student groups defied the policy by setting up their tables as before, and also in front of the administration building facing Sproul Plaza, where they had never been before.

Several students led a rally and march against the "new" regulations without getting prior permission—required by the old rules—to do so. When five tablers were ordered to go to the dean's office, some 400 students signed a petition of complicity and filled the halls of the administration building demanding that they, too, be disciplined. The dean announced that three names had been added to the "cited students" list, and all eight were "indefinitely suspended." At 3:00 A.M. the crowd left the building. The next day tables were again put up in front of the administration building. This time the campus police arrested Jack Weinberg, who was sitting behind the CORE table, after he refused to give his name or show his student

card. Weinberg was an alumnus, not a current student, and didn't have a card. He did have a long record of civil rights activity, including several arrests the spring before.

The police brought a car onto the plaza and, after he went limp, carried him to it. Students spontaneously surrounded the car to keep it from moving and deflated the tires. The police temporarily retreated while thousands of students took over Sproul Plaza. The car was held hostage for thirty-six hours. With Weinberg inside, the police car became the platform for a continual rally. Art Goldberg and his sister Jackie, both experienced student activists, were the leaders of the United Front, but from the top of the car new people emerged who captured the loyalty of the crowd. Mario Savio, a junior who had transferred from Queens, New York, the year before, was soon recognized as the most charismatic speaker.

Having no plan or strategy, the United Front made it up as they went along. Students once again occupied the administration building, clashing with police when they tried to close it early, but they left the building to spend the night around the car. Near midnight, about 100 fraternity boys surrounded the few hundred students still there to heckle and pelt them with eggs and lighted cigarettes. They finally left after a Catholic priest pleaded for peace from the top of the car.

The United Front selected a negotiation group, but the campus administration refused to meet with them. Instead, it arranged with several local police forces to arrest everyone who did not leave the plaza by 6:00 P.M. Several hundred police were brought on campus and lined up behind adjacent buildings. In the meantime, Governor Pat Brown ordered President Kerr to seek a peaceful solution with the protesters. Kerr invited them to meet with him at 5:00 P.M. in his office. After a contentious meeting, in which the students disagreed among themselves on what to do, Kerr and the United Front signed the pact of October 2. Everyone returned to the plaza, where Savio mounted the car and told the students to disperse.

The Free Speech Movement

Weinberg was booked and released, and the university did not press charges. The fate of the eight cited students was referred to a specially created faculty committee, which conducted a hearing that lasted several weeks. The United Front met and dissolved. In its place the Free Speech Movement was created. It consisted of an executive committee of about fifty or so, including the cited students, representatives of existing student groups, plus some new entities (e.g., independent students, grad students, nonstudents, and off-campus religious groups). From its members was elected a steering committee of twelve, to monitor negotiations over new rules for student groups.

The composition of the steering committee varied over the next two months. In addition to Weinberg and Savio, Bettina Aptheker and Steve Weissman played key roles. There were no officers, though an informal division of labor emerged. Savio was the chief spokesperson, Weinberg the top tactician, while Weissman chaired most of the meetings and Aptheker moderated the debates. An administrative apparatus grew up at Savio's apartment, soon called FSM Central, where meetings were planned, leaflets were drafted, and phone calls were made. Hundreds of students were energized by the conflict and on their own produced numerous documents, an FSM button, and even a recording of FSM Christmas carols. Sales of the latter two items were the primary source of funds, plus donations.

An eighteen-member Campus Committee on Political Activity (CCPA)—with equal representation from the administration, the faculty, and the students (four of whom were FSM leaders)—met for three weeks without coming to an agreement. The committee favored removal of most of the old rules, permitting students to meet on campus, put up tables, pass out literature, collect funds, and discuss issues. The sticking point was whether students could advocate illegal off-campus actions (i.e., getting arrested at civil rights demonstrations). The FSM held that the only limits on advocacy should be those of the U.S. Constitution, as interpreted by the courts, and the only punishment should be that dispensed by a judge after a criminal trial. The administration maintained its right to discipline students for conduct other than a criminal offense.

The negotiations collapsed over this issue, and the FSM resumed picketing on campus on November 4. In the interim, a moratorium of sorts had existed. The student groups did not put their tables up on campus (even in the previously permissible plaza at Bancroft and Telegraph), or leaflet or collect funds, except on the city sidewalk. The steering committee decided to end the moratorium and escalate the conflict by putting tables up on campus. This precipitated the biggest split within the ranks of the FSM. Ostensibly the final decision maker, the executive committee met about once a week. After extensive discussions lasting

for several hours, votes were taken among the few who were left. Most decisions were in fact made by the steering committee, which met every day, and at some points, Savio and Weinberg made decisions after consulting with whomever they thought it important to consult. This, plus the escalation in confrontation, cracked an existing fault line within the FSM and led to some acrimonious meetings of the Executive Committee of the Associated Students of the University of California at which the moderates lost very close votes. As a result, the conservative student groups dropped out of the FSM, and the liberal groups were sidelined. The radicals were firmly in charge.

The dispute within the FSM over whether to resume negotiations was mooted when the campus administration disbanded the CCPA and cited a few dozen more students for sitting at tables. Tabling continued but was ignored by the administration. In the meantime, the faculty committee on the eight cited students recommended that six be retroactively reinstated with only a censure on their records, and that Savio and Weinberg receive six-week suspensions. The committee criticized the administration's handling of the matter, especially the "indefinite suspensions" prior to a hearing.

Meeting on November 20, the Regents endorsed the administration's proposed revision of university rules, which would permit most political activity previously prohibited but would allow for discipline of those who used the campus to pursue unlawful off-campus action. Buried in these recommendations was a warning that further disciplinary action would be taken against organizations and students who had violated the old rules after September 30. The FSM's request to address the Regents was denied, but it was allowed to send five observers. Outside, students held a rally and debated what to do. The FSM observers who reported on the Regents' meeting were angry and urged action.

Undecided on how to respond to a partial victory, a bare majority of the FSM Steering Committee voted to occupy the administration building on Monday, November 23. At the rally, Weissman announced that those assembled would debate whether or not to sit in. After a contentious debate, about 300 students entered the administration building, where the debate continued. Three hours later, depressed and demoralized, they decided to leave; most within the FSM thought it was dying.

Student anger revived a week later when the campus administration sent letters to four key students—Savio, Art Goldberg, Jackie Goldberg, and Brian Turner—charging them with violating university regulations for leading the October 1 and 2 demonstrations. The FSM told students to bring their sleeping bags to a noon rally on Wednesday, December 2. After a spirited rally, featuring famed folksinger Joan Baez, about 2,000 people once again occupied the administration building. In the middle of the night, Governor Brown told the police to clear the building. Arrests started at 3:00 A.M. and took twelve hours.

Although the newspapers reported that 801 had been arrested, the process was so muddled that no one knew for weeks that the total was 773, including 735 students. They were collectively referred to as "the 800." A student strike began while the building was being cleared. Faculty raised bail money and drove to the various detention centers to bring the students home. Multiple meetings were held over the weekend by everyone involved—except the chancellor, who was hospitalized. President Kerr canceled classes for Monday to hold a university meeting, where his newly formed committee of department chairmen would read what Kerr hoped were acceptable terms to end the conflict. While offering amnesty for violations of the old rules during the prior two months, they did not enlarge what the Regents had agreed to two weeks earlier.

These proposals were challenged by graduate students at numerous departmental meetings held Monday morning. By the time the university meeting was held at noon, roughly one-third of the departmental chairmen no longer supported the proposals. After Professor Robert Scalapino of the Political Science Department read them, Savio walked to the podium intending to speak. Several campus police officers emerged from behind a curtain and dragged him off the stage before he could do so. The audience of about 15,000 erupted in dismay. Some rushed to the stage, where they were tackled by the police.

When the dust settled, Savio was permitted to speak, but he just invited everyone to a rally at the administration building. There, most of the speakers were faculty, along with a few public officials who agreed with the students that political activity should be allowed on campus. The next day the largest Academic Senate meeting in anyone's memory voted overwhelmingly for no restrictions on the content of speech or advocacy—which was the FSM's position. When the faculty left the hall, students cried, cheered, and applauded.

Free Speech Movement leader Mario Savio addresses a crowd at the Berkeley campus of the University of California on December 7, 1964. Although the Free Speech Movement soon fizzled out, it helped spark a wave of student protest nationwide that lasted for years. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

AFTERMATH

Symbolically, the FSM had won, but the struggle was not over; only the Regents could set policy. When they met on December 18, they voted to support the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution but insisted on law and order. The faculty felt the spirit of their resolution had been met, but the FSM did not. When the new campus administration wrote detailed regulations, the content of advocacy was ignored in favor of stringent time, place, and manner rules. Scuffling over the rules and how they were applied continued for some time.

In the spring, Art Goldberg and eight others (but only three students) were arrested for displaying and saying the word "fuck" on Bancroft Plaza. The incident was precipitated by a young man just arrived from New York who was arrested for holding up a piece of paper with that word on it while on campus. Three rather small support rallies were held, but apart from these few arrests, little action came from either students or faculty. However, some Regents were outraged and told President Kerr to expel the students. Instead, he and the new acting chancellor offered their resignations. Their resignations were withdrawn at an acrimonious Regents' meeting three days later, but the press had a field day. The student newspaper editorialized that "there is absolutely no need for a Filthy Speech Movement." That phrase was

copied all over the country. The FSM, which had voted to stay out of this conflict, was permanently stuck with the label.

The nine were convicted in municipal court and sentenced without incident. The FSM objected only when the campus administration appointed a disciplinary committee, which, the FSM charged, was double jeopardy. Since there was no support from students or faculty, only verbal protests were made when that committee recommended that Art Goldberg be expelled and three other students (two of whom had also been arrested) be suspended. However, the incident convinced the Regents, the legislature, and the public at large that the Berkeley students were irresponsible and needed more discipline, not more freedom. The "800" were tried in the spring before a judge and convicted on two of three counts. Most got probation or fines; FSM leaders were sentenced to 30 to 120 days. After two years, the final appeal was denied and the "800" paid their fines and served their time. The FSM dissolved. Its place was taken by new campus groups, especially the Vietnam Day Committee, which organized one of the first campus teach-ins in May of 1965. Protest against the war largely replaced civil rights demonstrations, though some new issues also emerged.

The FSM was the beginning of what came to be called the "six-year war" on the Berkeley campus. Although student groups could now meet, set up tables, distribute literature, raise money, and pretty much say what they pleased at rallies and demonstrations on campus, skirmishes continued over time, place, and manner rules, as well as what nonstudents, including dropouts and alumni, could do on the campus proper. Three decades later, a multimillion-dollar grant from an alumnus paid for a student cafeteria that memorialized the FSM and for putting the FSM archives on line. The steps of the administration building were officially named the "Mario Savio" steps, and an adjacent campus was called the Clark Kerr campus of the University of California.

Jo Freeman

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Vietnam Antiwar Campus Activism

From the first nationally publicized student anti–Vietnam War protest in 1965 to the street battles between student protesters and police on the streets of Chicago in 1968 and 1969, to the Kent State massacre, to the waves of large-scale campus protests in the early 1970s, student antiwar protests galvanized the nation and forced it to confront the meaning of the Vietnam War. Although the anti–Vietnam War movement was much wider than the university community, young Americans outnumbered other groups in most protests and the media quickly identified university students as the rank and file of the antiwar movement. Regardless of the validity of this image, university communities made up a very important segment of the anti–Vietnam War movement, contributing valuable intellectual and financial resources to the movement, as well as a large portion of the energy involved in organizing such a large and dynamic movement.

Vietnam and the National Antiwar Movement

Developments within the campus antiwar movement directly responded to the U.S. government's operations in Vietnam and the actions of the off-campus antiwar movement. The conflict in Vietnam had begun as a Vietnamese nationalist struggle against French imperialism following World War II. In the 1950s, when the French began losing to Vietnamese forces led by Communist Nationalist Ho Chi Minh, the U.S. sent military and financial aid to the French to prevent the country from falling to the Communists. In 1954, the French were decisively defeated at Dien Bien Phu and were ousted from the country. After the war, the 1954 Geneva Accords recommended that the country hold national elections. But the United States supported the unpopular anti-Communist regime of Ngo Dinh Diem in the south, who prevented the elections from taking place. Communists and Nationalists in the north and south fought to unite the country under one popular and independent government and to evict the United States. Direct U.S. involvement in Vietnam remained minimal in the early years, and so too did antiwar activism. Pacifist groups, such as the Fellowship of Reconciliation, War Resisters League, and Women's Strike for Peace, strongly opposed U.S. involvement in Vietnam from the start, but the issue was subsumed by their effort to end the nuclear arms race.

As Communist and Nationalist forces grew in Vietnam, the United States committed more advisers and money to the conflict. Finally, with the passage of the Tonkin Gulf Resolution in 1964, the Johnson administration began extensive bombing in North Vietnam and soon afterward sent in American ground troops. The number of American troops in Vietnam gradually increased until it peaked at over 540,000 in 1969. As the war escalated, pacifist organizations increasingly focused their efforts on raising awareness of the costs of the war and in voicing protests. Between 1965 and 1968, a large number of antiwar organizations emerged throughout the country. Some were religious groups protesting the immorality of the war, others were groups of citizens with a variety of concerns, and others formed specifically to oppose the Selective Service System. Activists from forty organizations formed the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam (CEWV) in 1965. In October they joined an estimated 100,000 activists on campuses and in eighty cities for the International Days of Protest, an international protest against American involvement in Vietnam. A coalition of more than seventy-five anti-draft groups formed the Resistance in 1965 to undermine the Selective Service through open noncooperation with the draft. Members of the Resistance and other draft resisters picketed induction centers, burned their draft cards,

formed support groups to educate and assist those threatened with being drafted, and protested the draft in other ways throughout the late 1960s. Existing multi-issue organizations, such as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee for civil rights, also included opposition to the Vietnam War on their agendas.

As the war progressed, antiwar organizations proliferated. Famous pacifists A.J. Muste and Dave Dellinger formed the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (MOBE) to appeal to people of all political persuasions and ages to unite in a loose coalition around the single issue of the war. Spring MOBE sponsored two simultaneous rallies in April 1967, attracting 50,000 in San Francisco and over 200,000 in New York. Dellinger next converted the ad hoc Spring MOBE into a permanent organization and sponsored a demonstration in Washington, D.C. This event attracted over 100,000, including countercultural Yippies, who attempted to levitate the Pentagon. These national demonstrations and the explosive growth of national antiwar organizations attracted the attention of many previously uninterested students who began to question American policies in Vietnam.

Although most Americans initially supported U.S. involvement in Vietnam to prevent the spread of Communism, this Cold War rationale failed to convince a significant proportion of Americans. Roughly 25 percent of Americans over thirty and 14 percent of twenty-year-olds thought that American intervention in Vietnam was a mistake in 1965, and by mid-1967, these numbers had grown to 38 percent and 31 percent, respectively. Students were only slightly more opposed to the war than other young people. As late as 1967, only 35 percent of students wanted to reduce U.S. military involvement in Vietnam, while 49 percent favored escalation. Although fewer young people and students opposed the war than supported it, those who did oppose the war more often expressed their dissent with direct action and consequently received more public attention.

The crucial event in swaying U.S. opinion against the Johnson administration's Vietnam policy was the Tet Offensive. On January 30, 1968, North Vietnamese and Vietcong forces launched an enormous offensive on nearly every South Vietnamese and American military base and hundreds of towns and major cities in South Vietnam. This attack more than any other single event convinced Americans that Lyndon Johnson's policies in Vietnam had failed and that he and his advisers had misled them. Whereas 60 percent of Americans supported U.S. intervention in Vietnam before Tet, a month later doves led hawks 42 to 41 percent. In the face of massive antiwar protests and this perceived defeat, President Johnson announced that he would seek immediate negotiations for peace in Vietnam and would not run for a second term of office in the 1968 elections.

A divided nation elected Richard M. Nixon—who promised "peace with honor"—as president in 1968. The next year there was no peace, and so over 1 million liberal antiwar activists, organized by the Vietnam Moratorium Committee, joined in two national antiwar actions to cease business-as-usual in America and express support for U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. Called the Moratorium, this action included several members of Congress and senators in its peaceful antiwar marches and other activities. By the early 1970s, a majority of Americans favored U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, and many advocated a revision of draft laws. The antiwar movement blossomed with the addition of businessmen, clergy, teachers, and members of Congress to its ranks.

Responding to pressure from Congress and the public, Nixon continued his "Vietnamization" policy, withdrawing U.S. soldiers and providing the South Vietnamese Army with training and weapons to fight the war on its own. Nixon, however, escalated bombing in Cambodia and North Vietnam to force the North Vietnamese to negotiate a treaty favorable to the Saigon government. This tactic enraged many antiwar activists who responded with massive protests. National antiwar organizations, such as the National Peace Action Coalition and People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, coordinated some of the largest antiwar marches in U.S. history in 1971 and 1972. They led an antiwar March on Washington in April 1971, which attracted nearly 500,000 in Washington, D.C., and another 150,000 at a simultaneous demonstration in San Francisco. They next attempted to protest the war by shutting down the federal government in Washington, D.C., on May 1, 1971. Fewer activists participated in this May Day protest, but the police and National Guard arrested 2,000 demonstrators who attempted to sit down at street intersections. After this last peak in antiwar activism, the movement quickly lost momentum. As the last U.S. combat troops left Vietnam in 1973 and the American-sponsored government in Saigon fell in 1975, the antiwar movement disappeared.

A Slow Beginning 1950–1964

Similar to the off-campus pacifist movement, the university peace movement remained relatively small

through the 1950s and early 1960s. In the midst of the Cold War standoff between the United States and the USSR, peace protesters were often labeled as Communists and traitors. In this anti-Communist atmosphere, it was very difficult for pacifists to make a stand and be taken seriously by their communities. The threat of nuclear holocaust and the encouragement of adult pacifist groups, however, spurred a small minority of students to speak out against America's foreign policies. By the 1950s, the Student Peace Union, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) had established small student groups on campuses throughout the United States. These pacifist groups held educational meetings, rallies, silent vigils, and letter-writing campaigns to broadcast what they saw as the futility and danger of nuclear weapons, and to pressure the government to take steps toward nuclear disarmament. Like the wider public, however, the student pacifists knew very little about the Vietnam conflict at this point, and the war there seemed unimportant in comparison to the threat of nuclear holocaust.

By the early 1960s, however, newspaper headlines were making students more aware of the Vietnam War, and student pacifists began speaking out against it as well as nuclear weapons. For example, in the autumn semester of 1963, students at Harvard, Princeton, the University of Michigan, and the University of Chicago protested when Madame Ngo Dinh Nhu, sister-in-law of Diem, spoke at their campuses, attempting to raise U.S. support for her relative's failing regime. A number of universities also witnessed sporadic protests the next year in response to the first U.S. air raids on North Vietnam following the Tonkin Gulf Resolution. These protests, however, were largely uncoordinated and unpublicized, so they made little direct impact on either the campus community or wider society.

One of the few national student organizations to devote extensive research to the Vietnam conflict before 1965 was Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). SDS emerged in 1960 as a liberal multi-issue organization, seeking to address a variety of social ills such as racism, economic inequality, and violence, using participatory democracy as its model of social organization. It had very little influence outside of the University of Michigan in the early years but had expanded to a handful of other large midwestern and northern campuses by 1964. Although SDS focused primarily on civil rights and poverty in the early 1960s, it created a Peace Research and Education Project (PREP) in the autumn of 1962 to stimulate discussion and research on peace, disarmament, the military draft, American imperialism, and foreign policy. Relying heavily on older pacifist organizations such as the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the War Resister League's *Liberation* magazine, PREP thoroughly investigated the history of the Vietnam conflict and quickly built a strong case against U.S. involvement in Vietnam. What little resources PREP had, however, were devoted primarily to protesting nuclear weapons. Campus activism against the Vietnam War, therefore, was minimal through 1964, but the peace organizations formed in this period proved crucial to founding a strong student antiwar movement in the years that followed.

THE MOVEMENT FORMS 1965–1967

A true student-based antiwar movement formed in the years following 1965 in response to the commitment of combat troops to Vietnam, escalating draft calls, eroding draft deferments for university students, and off-campus antiwar protests. Concerned and threatened by the escalating war and draft calls, students investigated the war's origins and found many disturbing aspects of U.S. intervention there. These students joined national antiwar organizations and founded their own local committees to protest the war. Student activism on these issues usually met with strong resistance and criticism from authorities and fellow students. This in turn further radicalized activists. In the 1964–1965 academic year, roughly 12 percent of American campuses witnessed some form of antiwar activism. By the 1967–1968 academic year, that number had increased to over 35 percent. The average proportion of students involved in these protests, however, remained at about 5 percent throughout the period. Thus, while the campus antiwar movement was spreading rapidly across the country, it still was attracting the support of only a small proportion of the student population.

Through this period at least, SDS remained the leading national student antiwar organization, due largely to its well-planned and well-publicized national protest, which took place in Washington, D.C., in April 1965. SDS's PREP had been planning the demonstration since the autumn semester. Just prior to this demonstration, however, the Johnson administration announced its decision to commit combat troops to Vietnam. This action outraged many liberal students who had hoped that Johnson would withdraw from Vietnam. The timing of the SDS demonstration contributed to a high turnout of 20,000, much

more than SDS had anticipated. Because of this high turnout, the demonstration also received extensive media coverage. The press presented SDS as a new radical leader of the antiwar movement, despite the SDS leaders' emphasis on the multi-issue nature of their organization. As a result of this new media image, students around the nation wrote to the SDS, requesting more information about the war and membership in the organization. SDS's membership grew from 1,000 paid members in June 1964 to an estimated 100,000 members in 350 chapters in 1968. The small SDS national leadership was completely overwhelmed with its new popularity and could not spare the time to fulfill all the requests for literature and information. Many SDS chapters were consequently formed by people who had very little contact with the national SDS and neither knew nor cared about SDS's theoretical interpretation of the issues.

Between 1965 and 1967, SDS gradually turned away from its antipoverty program toward ending the war in Vietnam. Seeing the war as the most dangerous and immediate evil, SDS organized students all over the country to pressure President Johnson to withdraw from Vietnam. Local antiwar organizers formed SDS chapters at campuses across the nation. SDS also encouraged other liberal student organizations to take up the fight against the war. A primary target in the 1965–1966 academic year was the National Student Association (NSA), an umbrella organization of representatives from the student governments of universities across the country and the self-proclaimed voice of American students. Working through the Liberal Caucus of the NSA, the SDS convinced many NSA delegates that the Vietnam War and the draft directly conflicted with student interests. The NSA consequently sponsored a forum on the war in 1965, which introduced the antiwar stance to many students on more conservative campuses. The next year, the NSA advocated the abolition of the Selective Service System, expressing its opposition to "any system of forced service to the government" and the government compelling "its citizens to kill." It suggested that the government at least revise draft laws to eliminate racial and socioeconomic inequalities.

The 1964–1965 escalation of U.S. involvement in Vietnam spurred the entire community at many campuses to learn more about the war that spring semester. Faculty, staff, students, and the public joined in informal conferences, called "teach-ins," to discuss the origins of the war, share their concerns, and discuss alternative foreign policies. University of Michigan faculty sponsored the first nationally publicized teach-in as an educational protest against the war in Vietnam in the spring of 1965. The teach-in involved 3,000 students who listened to arguments for and against the war. University of Michigan students and faculty then formed an Inter-University Committee for a Public Hearing on Vietnam to organize a national teach-in on Vietnam on May 15, 1965. This national teach-in included leading authorities on Southeast Asian affairs and carried detailed information to students across the country through a television broadcast. To counteract accusations that teach-ins were unpatriotic or radical, the organizers of the teach-ins stressed the importance of free policy debate in a democracy.

The teach-in movement spread rapidly to universities all over the country. In the spring of 1965 alone, teach-ins took place at 120 universities. The largest teach-in took place at the University of California at Berkeley, where 12,000 people participated in a marathon thirty-six-hour event sponsored by the Vietnam Day Committee. Interested faculty members typically sponsored the teach-ins and presented both sides of the issue while favoring a moderate antiwar position. The teach-ins were crucial in sparking more antiwar activity because they provided student activists with detailed information in an exciting atmosphere, showed them inaccuracies in government and media reports, and emboldened them to criticize the government.

As a result of the SDS demonstration, the teach-in movement, the NSA Forum, and the success of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, local Committees to End the War in Vietnam (CEWV) sprouted up at universities across the nation in 1965 and 1966. CEWV groups were usually coalition organizations, which united SPU, SDS, and Resistance activists and other students around the single issue of opposing the war. As coalition groups, CEWV chapters were often more moderate in their tactics and rhetoric than the SDS. Another major student-led antiwar organization formed that spring was the Vietnam Day Committee (VDC), which originated at UC Berkeley in 1965. That year the Berkeley VDC sponsored three major antiwar marches attracting between 6,000 and 15,000 students. Students at campuses elsewhere later formed VDC groups to sponsor teach-ins and protests. Another tactic advocated by SDS and VDC was draft resistance in the form of burning or turning in draft cards. This strategy openly and publicly confronted the Selective Service System and the Johnson administration's commitment to sending American troops to Vietnam, hoping to undermine

the government's authority and ability to wage the war, as well as draw public attention to the moral issues involved in the draft and the war. In addition to educational forums on the war and the draft, and draft-card turn-ins, these groups imitated the tactics of the civil rights movement. Using pickets and sit-ins, they frequently broke campus regulations and defied police orders to protest military and weapons manufacturer recruiters and the Reserve Officer Training Corps on campus. Those protesters who used these forms of civil disobedience were quickly arrested and punished, usually with a warning or, in extreme cases, expulsion from the university. The government dealt with illegal draft-card turn-ins and burnings in a variety of ways. Many draft resisters were arrested and imprisoned or lost their draft deferment status. the Johnson administration was reluctant to make martyrs of the resisters and draw further attention to the war opposition, so most draft resisters were simply monitored by the FBI or ignored.

Antiwar activists also encountered much apathy and downright opposition from fellow students. Especially in the early and mid-1960s, they often alienated their friends and family with their pacifist beliefs, were called "Commies" and cowards, and occasionally faced violent opposition from other students, authorities, and the wider public. Sensationalist news coverage of the student protests contributed to a public backlash against the campus antiwar movement. Reporters were all too eager to focus attention on extremists in the movement and emphasize any negative aspects of the movement. Government officials were also intent upon making certain that the campus antiwar movement remained isolated. In March 1965, FBI director J. Edgar Hoover testified before the House Appropriations Committee that Communists had orchestrated the antiwar protests, despite the lack of any evidence to substantiate this claim. In this way, Hoover knowingly misled Congress and mislabeled the antiwar movement as Communist. Operating within the context of Cold War politics, members of Congress were quick to believe Hoover's assertions and eager to destroy all manifestations of Communism in America. That April the FBI began large-scale interviewing of SDS members to intimidate them and undermine their antiwar activism. Portrayed as Communist dupes and spoiled young rich kids who used outrageous antics to rebel against their parents, student activists found it difficult to gain respect and to influence the wider public.

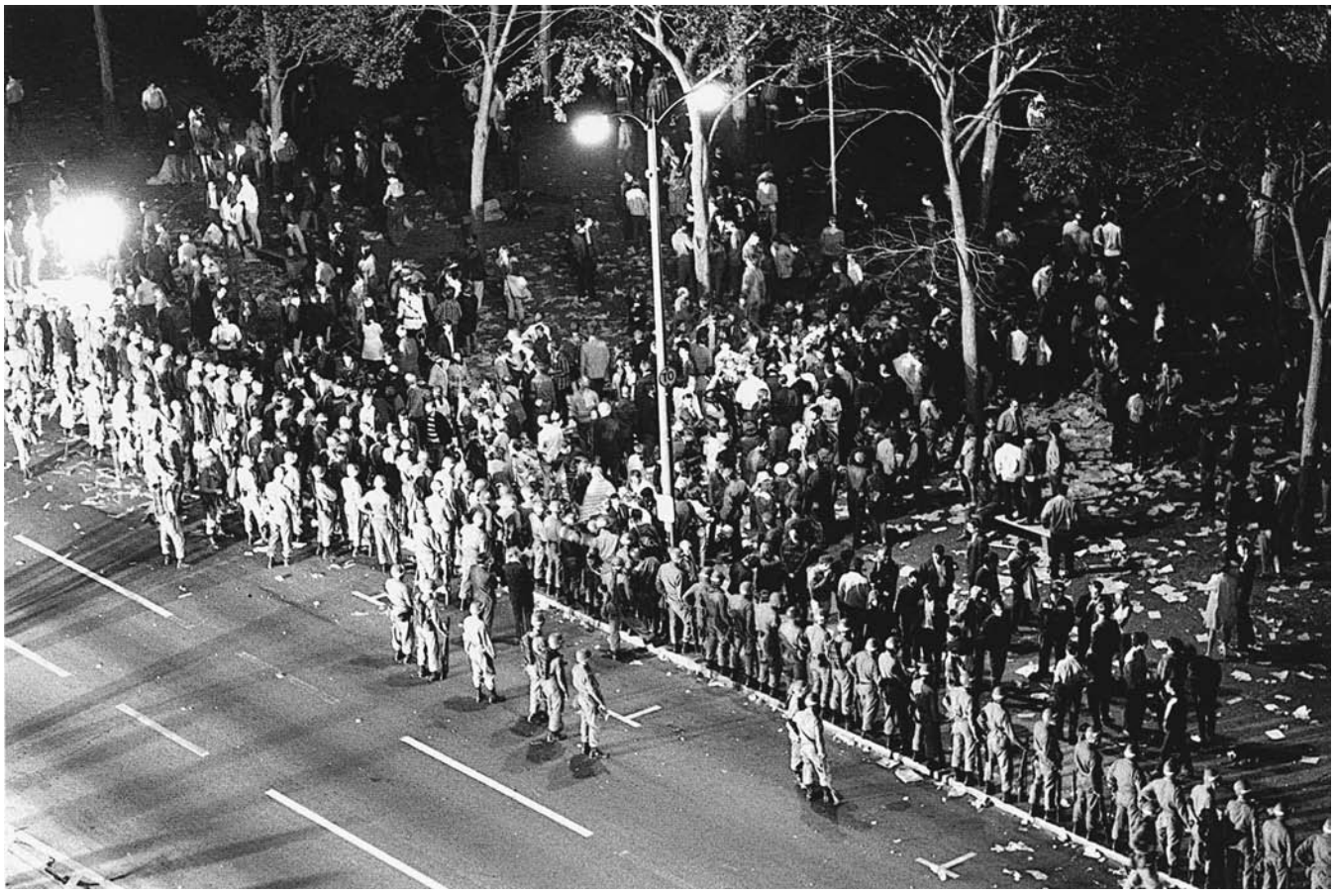
The Tide Turns 1968–1969

Despite the best efforts of government agencies to discredit the student antiwar movement, it continued to grow and dominate campuses in the late 1960s. As public opinion turned against the war following the Tet Offensive, the number of campus protests against U.S. policies in Vietnam increased. Students continued to be divided over the war, but by 1969 the number of those identifying themselves as "doves" had grown to 69 percent. Doves pressed for a gradual or immediate withdrawal from Vietnam and waited to see if Nixon would keep his campaign promise of "Peace with Honor." An estimated 1 million students, faculty, and teachers participated in a Student Mobilization Committee international strike against the war in April 1968. The National Moratorium on the war also attracted widespread support from the campus movement. Thirty-two percent of the nation's campuses observed the October Moratorium, 22 percent observed the November Moratorium, and 5 percent the December Moratorium. Nationwide, 19 percent of undergraduates participated in a demonstration against U.S. military policy at their colleges in 1969.

Chicago 1968

One of the most shocking and unforgettable protests of the 1960s was the antiwar demonstration at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in August of 1968. Although people of all backgrounds joined in the protests, the press interpreted it as a student-led and organized event. Some activists were determined to use the convention as a stage to publicize their dissent from establishment politics and the Vietnam War. Speakers from MOBE, SDS, and other dissent groups traveled the country, urging students to go to Chicago to confront the "Establishment" with their dissent. They hoped to bring hundreds of thousands to the demonstration to show the world their opposition to the war. The antiwar movement, however, was divided over the effectiveness of this type of action. The more moderate antiwar leaders even warned their constituents to stay away from Chicago.

Although only 10,000 participants turned out for the Chicago demonstration, they and the Chicago police made an enormous impact on the student movement and public perception of protest activism. Chicago mayor Richard Daley and the FBI had prepared well in advance to prevent demonstrators from disrupting the convention. The FBI, which had long worked to undermine the peace movement, confused



National Guardsmen confront antiwar protesters in Chicago during the Democratic National Convention on August 28, 1968. A police riot during the convention led to numerous injuries. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

and misled antiwar organizations by posing as antiwar supporters. Daley did his part by denying protesters permission to rent public facilities, hold rallies, or conduct marches. He used 12,000 Chicago police officers and 6,000 Illinois National Guardsmen to ensure that the demonstrations would not take place. When activists stayed in the parks past a curfew, Daley's police forcefully evicted them. When they attempted to hold rallies or marches, Daley's police dispersed them. For three days activists protested, and for three days the Chicago police beat, maced, and arrested them. In some cases, the police attacked bystanders, residents, and news reporters. As the Walker Report on the protests concluded, the events in Chicago amounted to a "police riot." The major television networks broadcast much of the action to the nation. Most adults supported the police and condemned the violence of the young antiwar protesters. Most student activists, however, sympathized with the young victims of police brutality and saw this as another example of official repression and harassment.

Radicalization of the SDS and Other Campus Antiwar Organizations

The Chicago riots were the beginning of the end for the SDS. SDS leaders knew that the FBI had targeted them. Because of SDS's open membership and democratic structure, FBI operatives had easy access to the highest levels of decision making within the organization. FBI harassment at the Chicago demonstrations put tremendous pressure on the SDS to combat infiltration and violence by law enforcement officers. By 1969, many SDS leaders had succumbed to paranoia, refusing to openly discuss antiwar plans and suspecting everyone of spying for the FBI. In this atmosphere, the tactics of the Old Left, with its secret memberships and underground activities, made more sense than participatory democracy and nonviolence. As a con-

sequence of the escalating violence in protests, many leaders of the SDS and the New Left sincerely believed that America stood at the brink of an impending revolution, and they sought the best way to support and facilitate the revolution. In their search for new ways of understanding the war and their place in the coming social revolution, many turned to the non-Stalinist Marxism of Mao Tse-tung and Leon Trotsky. Instead of viewing racism and the war as flaws within a fundamentally good democratic system, SDS leadership now viewed their entire society as corrupted by American capitalism and imperialism. They increasingly advocated fighting for revolutionary socialism using any means necessary.

After 1968, however, SDS was seriously divided over the interpretation of the war, tactics, and other issues. Two major factions within the SDS leadership were Weatherman, which advocated terrorism to spark a student-led revolution, and the Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM), which sought to achieve solidarity with the working class in order to end the war and bring about revolution. The divisions within SDS manifested themselves in all of their actions in the late 1960s. On the first anniversary of the Democratic Convention, SDS sponsored a national action to support the Vietnamese people and protest U.S. imperialism. Calling this action the "Days of Rage," the Weatherman faction intended to bring the war home to white middle-class America, to provoke confrontations with the "Pig" establishment of capitalists and policemen, and to attack traditional symbols of the American establishment. Weatherman leaders wanted to use the Chicago action to build a "red army to fight on the side of the Vietnamese, the blacks and oppressed everywhere" and to raise the "level of struggle" by showing that "whites are willing to fight." RYM leaders, on the other hand, formed a coalition with the Black Panthers and the Young Lords, a militant Puerto Rican group in Chicago, to sponsor a peaceful, disciplined march to link the war to the struggles of exploited and oppressed peoples in the United States.

Although the protest received much publicity, only about 600 activists actually participated. Contrary to the peaceful intentions of the RYM coalition, a small group of violent dissidents, loosely associated with Weatherman, stole the limelight. They began the week by dynamiting Chicago's monument to police officers. A group of 250 Weathermen attacked symbols of the corporate establishment, smashing the windows of several financial offices in downtown Chicago, as the police chased them down the street and "dispersed" them. RYM and their coalition held more subdued actions, which consisted primarily of legal marches and rallies with speakers from trade unions and the Black Panthers. The media, however, focused on the more extreme instances of protest and largely ignored the peaceful actions of the RYM coalition. Consequently, most of America saw the action as yet another instance of irrational lawlessness among student antiwar activists.

Weatherman violence escalated over the next several years. In December of 1969, Weatherman held a "national war council" to form revolutionary collectives of three or four members, gave up their student careers, and went underground to use symbolic violence to provoke a Socialist revolution. Weatherman collectives learned how to build bombs and use weapons to carry out the revolution. In an attempt to terrorize the government and society into ending its "imperialistic" practices, they set off hundreds of bombs in Selective Service offices, government facilities, and military research establishments across the country. Ultimately Weatherman only succeeded in making a strong negative impression on the media, public, authorities, and other students. Although SDS's antiwar stance had attracted thousands of new members in the mid-1960s, after 1969 their popularity on campuses tumbled. Polls conducted at several universities reveal that the majority of students condemned SDS tactics. The ideological divisions, explicit socialism, and negative publicity from Weatherman alienated many local chapters, who drifted away from the national office and sometimes changed their names to reflect their distance from the negative image of SDS.

Though never as radical as SDS, the National Student Association also reflected the leftward trend in the late 1960s, moving from an essentially liberal organization to an explicitly left-wing activist group. This change occurred as a result not only of the disillusionment following the Chicago convention and the escalation of antiwar protests, but because of strong pressure from the NSA's Student Left Caucus. This caucus included students from SDS, the Progressive Labor Party, the Young Socialist Alliance, and independent leftists. They felt that in order to make any progress on their aims, the student movement had to unite to fight for the end of the war and repression at home. Radical students envisioned a radical NSA as the leader of a movement to end militarism abroad and the manipulative repressive system at home, including the draft, drug laws, and paternalistic university regulations. After 1968, the NSA reflected this new vision, opposing the war in Vietnam and the

In a scene repeated countless times across the country in the late 1960s and early 1970s, police use force to arrest a student protester at an antiwar rally in December 1968. *(© Underwood Photo Archives, Inc.)*

draft, and supporting student power, black power, and women's rights. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the NSA became an important part of the campus antiwar movement, providing valuable resources, educational programs, and national coordination of antiwar efforts.

The radicalization of SDS and NSA was reflected to some extent at the local level. Although a significant proportion of the student population remained pro-war, NSA and SDS pressure led many student governments to take a stand against the war in this period. A variety of student organizations, including the SDS, CEWV, VDC, the Resistance, Young Socialist Alliance, and local antiwar committees flourished on campuses across the country, spreading the antiwar message and mobilizing support for national antiwar protests. Influenced by the Chicago "police riots," these student organizations were increasingly prepared for police violence in their demonstrations, and, while most organizations remained nonviolent, many activists were willing to use violence in self-defense. They spoke out against the repression they felt and increasingly connected official resistance to popular theories of imperialism and revolution. But most activists had little time or inclination to fully investigate Marxist interpretations of the war and society. The demands and rhetoric of campus antiwar organizations remained focused simply on forcing the American government to withdraw from an unjust and immoral war.

Although the antiwar movement on campuses spread and attracted ever more support among students in the late 1960s, authorities on and off campus were in no mood to sympathize with their demands or protests. Student antiwar activists faced hostility not only from these figures, but also from the wider public, which continued to label all student activists as spoiled, cowardly, crazy, and Communist. Despite some of the largest protests to date and widespread participation in the campus antiwar movement, it had little support from older Americans, on campus or off.

The Movement Explodes and Fizzles 1970–1975

The early 1970s witnessed not only the peak years of the antiwar movement on campuses, but also the decline and end of the movement. The peaks came suddenly in the spring of 1970 and 1972 in response to renewed U.S. attacks on North Vietnam and Cambodia, but the end came gradually between 1973 and 1975 as the United States withdrew all of its combat troops, and the Saigon government finally fell to the Communists. The 1970s, therefore, were a sort of a paradox for the antiwar movement on campuses. The movement was the strongest on campuses in 1970 and 1972, but also the weakest in the years that followed. This pattern, however, seems logical considering the course of U.S. involvement in these years. When the Nixon administration appeared to undermine the goals of the antiwar activists and officials met them with violence, students in the antiwar movement protested all the more. When the Nixon administration moved toward peace and draft calls declined, activism correspondingly declined.

At the dawn of the new decade, student antiwar activists had cause for hope that Nixon would end the war in Vietnam. He had cut draft calls and withdrawn several thousand soldiers, and Congress had taken steps to eliminate discrimination in the Selective Service. Antiwar groups still existed on campus and they continued to pressure for complete withdrawal from Vietnam, but after the success of the Moratorium and Mobilization in the fall of 1969, many thought that the war was certain to end soon. These hopes were shattered on April 30, 1970, when Nixon announced that U.S. troops and the South Vietnamese Army had crossed into Cambodia to destroy North Vietnamese supply bases in order to speed the pace of Vietnamization. Students, viewing this as a betrayal of Nixon's promise that he would not enlarge the war, demonstrated their anger with massive protests across the country. In the first week of May, an average of twenty new student strikes began each day.

Kent State

Like students at 16 percent of the nation's campuses, activists at Kent State University in Ohio held several rallies to protest the expansion of the war. These rallies led the governor of Ohio to declare a state of emergency and deploy the National Guard to enforce curfews and break up demonstrations. Confused about the presence and authority of the guardsmen and the governor's right to impose these restrictions on their freedom of lawful assembly and speech, even pro-war students grew increasingly resentful of the presence of the National Guard on their campus. On Monday, May 4, the campus was crowded with students attending classes or waiting for classes. About 100 antiwar and anti-guardsmen students were protesting the presence of the guards. Suddenly, without warning or an order to shoot, twenty-eight guardsmen shot through a crowd of students, killing four and injuring nine, many of whom stood over 100 yards away from the guards and were completely uninvolved in the confrontation.

Most students perceived the Kent State "massacre" as an extreme example of official repression of the antiwar movement, and this incident added fuel to the fires of rage on the nation's campuses. An estimated 4.35 million students at 1,300 universities and colleges, or 44 percent of the nation's total, protested the war in Southeast Asia and the murder of their fellow students, closing many universities in the process. A pattern of escalation similar to that at Kent State occurred at numerous state universities across the nation that May: students protested Cambodia and Kent State; administrators sent in campus police to arrest and disperse protesters; students protested the presence of police; and state officials sent in National Guardsmen to protect the campuses.

All of this discontent, however, was not directed simply against the war or even the Kent State killings. The demonstrations of May 1970 reveal an incredible mixture of issues. The newly politicized National Student Association responded to this outrage against their constituents by declaring a nationwide university strike and joining with antiwar organizations in a national demonstration in Washington. They aimed not only to mobilize public opinion against the expansion of the Vietnam War, but also to end all political repression against white and black radicals, as well as university complicity with "agencies of death and repression." Over 100,000 people attended the rally, where speakers revealed the extent to which activists now linked the issues of war, racism, and repression. Elsewhere, campus strikes and protests linked the antiwar cause to racism, sexism, student rights, and economic inequality. The 1970 student strikes may have begun as antiwar protests, but they ended as massive multi-issue campaigns to reform their universities and American society.

Campus protest continued at a fever pitch through 1972. In the 1970–1971 academic year, 45 percent of American colleges experienced significant demonstrations. In 1971–1972, 350 universities expe-

rienced disturbances over the mining and bombing of North Vietnam. Nixon's second inaugural attracted 200,000 protesters, and the 1972 Republican National Convention witnessed more protesters, more disruptions, and more arrests than the 1968 Democratic Convention. Some universities experienced their largest antiwar demonstrations in the spring of 1972 in reaction to the renewed bombing of North Vietnam. At the University of Minnesota, for example, antiwar activism exploded that spring. Between April 18 and May 9, protests occurred at the rate of two per week on the Minnesota campus, many of them involving 500 to 800 students. When Nixon announced further escalation of the bombing campaign, students responded with a dramatic escalation in their protests. Thousands of students faced off against riot police and the National Guard, and hundreds of students were beaten, maced, and arrested. The riots finally ended after an anticlimactic but peaceful march of 10,000 from the university to the state capitol on May 13.

Although the antiwar movement continued to attract large numbers of participants in protests through 1972, activism dropped off dramatically after 1973. As the last American combat troops were removed from Vietnam, the antiwar movement on campus lost much of its steam. A number of local campus peace groups continued to operate through 1975, but these groups sponsored more moderate activities than they did earlier in the 1970s. They raised money for the South Vietnamese and addressed the issue of amnesty for draft evaders and protesters. The main student organization for this issue was the National Campus Alliance for Amnesty, which joined with Americans for Amnesty, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Inter-Religious Task Force on Amnesty, and the American Civil Liberties Union Foundation Project on Amnesty. The amnesty movement received support from the NSA and student governments across the country. Students did not simply forget about the war as it ended. They continued to express concerns over its Vietnamese and American victims, and to learn important lessons from it.

The Authorities Respond

Another reason for the decline of the student antiwar movement was the reaction of university, state, and national authorities. Many university faculty and administrators came out strongly against the war in Southeast Asia in the early 1970s. Finally responding to student requests that the university play the role of problem-solver and social critic, many university committees formed in the early 1970s to investigate making the university work for political, educational, and social reform. At some institutions, these committees created peace studies programs, and at many institutions, they created Third World studies programs, which included Vietnam and the war. Through public statements and committee actions, many more university authorities supported the campus antiwar movement than ever before. These victories at the university level convinced many activists that they no longer needed to hold protests on campus.

State and national authorities also addressed the issue of student antiwar protests in the early 1970s, but their negative reactions made it more difficult for students to remain active in the antiwar movement after 1970. One of the strongest efforts to combat student dissent was the FBI's "New Left COINTELPRO" program, which began in October 1968 and lasted until April 1971. COINTELPRO was created in 1956 to investigate the Communist Party in America, but it soon branched out to include a number of dissident groups, including Black Power groups and the Ku Klux Klan. By 1969, the FBI had forty-two of its fifty-nine field offices and thousands of special agents actively engaged in operations against the New Left.

The FBI targeted SDS and other student groups in its attempt to neutralize and destroy the New Left from the inside. It cultivated the paranoia, distrust, and divisions that already existed within the movement by harassing student activists with repeated interviews, using a "snitch-jacket" technique of falsely labeling student activists as informants so that other students would suspect and turn against them, sending anonymous letters to black and white student leaders to turn them against each other, sending information on students' political activities to prospective employers in order to blacklist the activists, and impersonating students and alumni in letters to administrators and boards of regents to pressure them into resisting activists' demands for reform. Some FBI informants, against regulations, even led student demonstrations, provoked violence between police and students, and were arrested. These operations abused the civil rights of many activists and broke FBI and government regulations, but they caused serious problems for the campus antiwar movement, exacerbating divisions within the movement and helping to isolate it from the wider public.

State and national legislators also attacked student antiwar activists through laws denying financial aid to students who disrupted college activities and occupied campus buildings. Members of Congress

also proposed legislation to deny federal aid to institutions that failed to control student disruptions or refused to allow military or defense recruiting on their campuses. Although the latter proposals failed to become law, several states, including California, passed laws expelling and banning students who disrupted college campuses. A larger number of states passed laws pressing criminal charges against students who prevented other members of the university community from freely using university facilities. These laws effectively dampened student activism not only by removing disrupters from campus, but also by threatening all others with serious consequences for participating in protests.

In response to the 1970 protests, even President Nixon responded to the campus antiwar movement by creating a Commission on Campus Unrest, chaired by former Pennsylvania governor William Scranton. The Scranton Commission studied the May 1970 events at Kent State, using hundreds of photographs, interviews, and FBI reports to determine the reason for the killings. It asserted that the guardsmen were not properly trained to confront students, that riot control forces should almost never be armed with loaded weapons, that the weapons used were completely unwarranted, and that firing into the crowd of unarmed students, no matter how rude and unruly, was "unnecessary, unwarranted and inexcusable." While it condemned student disruption and violence, the Scranton Commission asserted that the solution to preventing campus disruption was to end the war in Vietnam, allow students to participate in university decision making, and make higher education relevant to the needs and interests of the students.

American authorities, therefore, reacted to campus antiwar activism in a wide variety of ways. On the one hand, some authorities on the university and national level supported the right of activists to peacefully assemble and voice their protest. University authorities even went so far as to create institutional structures to allow students a greater voice in shaping their university and their university's response to the war. On the other hand, the FBI and many state and federal authorities condemned the more radical antiwar activists and took strong steps to discredit and remove them from the universities. By accommodating moderate activists and isolating and removing radical students, authorities successfully divided the campus antiwar movement in the 1970s, making it less effective and contributing to its rapid decline after 1972.

Conclusion

University activism against the Vietnam War largely mirrored the evolution of the antiwar movement outside the universities. It remained minor and largely ignored by the university community as well as mainstream newspapers through 1964. Between 1965 and 1967, however, a more concrete antiwar movement took shape on many campuses across the nation. Faculty and students organized teach-ins to analyze and discuss the war, and to propose strategies for how to most effectively oppose it. Soon afterward, small campus organizations formed at individual universities to oppose the war at the local level and coordinate with the national antiwar movement off-campus. These individual organizations most often acted with little or no coordination with the off-campus antiwar movement, but all were influenced by the rhetoric and tactics of the wider movement. In 1968 and 1969, the campus antiwar movement became much more radical in terms of its tactics and rhetoric, and confrontations with authorities escalated. The peak of antiwar activism on campuses, however, came between 1970 and 1972, when nearly half of the nation's universities witnessed some form of antiwar protest. This period was literally the most explosive period of the antiwar movement on American campuses, with bombs being detonated on several campuses and violent clashes erupting between National Guardsmen and students across the nation. But as the war wound down, so too did on-campus activism against it, and after 1973, the movement rapidly disintegrated.

The campus antiwar movement utilized a variety of different tactics and focused its efforts on a number of different targets. Most student activists initially supported legal tactics, such as fasting, lobbying federal and state members of Congress, petitioning the federal administration and university authorities, and holding vigils. Some students, who had witnessed or participated in the civil rights movement, also used its sit-in tactic to draw attention to their cause and force authorities to confront the issues. As the legal tactics failed, the sit-in tactic became more appealing to the student movement, but as the sit-in tactic also sometimes failed, some students were willing to develop more violent means of resistance. By 1967, some parts of the campus movement approved of destroying draft cards and Selective Service records and vandalizing Reserve Officer Training Corps offices. As authorities resisted student demands, more students were willing to use violence as a tactic to express their outrage, to gain attention for their cause, and (in some

cases) to provoke a violent reaction that would "expose the nature of the beast." Confrontations with authorities consequently increased after 1967 and ultimately led to the decision on the part of a tiny minority of activists to use terrorism as a tactic.

Despite the large-scale and widespread protests of the late 1960s and early 1970s, one must also note that a very large number of American universities saw no antiwar activism and the majority of students never participated in the antiwar movement at all. The majority of students actually supported the war in Vietnam until the late 1960s. Universities in the traditionally conservative South witnessed less activism than their counterparts in other regions, and smaller universities in rural areas tended to have less activism than larger universities in urban areas. In the South and rural areas, students had less access to older pacifist organizations and well-known activists. They also confronted a stronger conservative backlash than did their counterparts elsewhere, making it more difficult for them to formulate an antiwar stance and take action on it.

The campus antiwar movement, therefore, had a mixed impact overall. On the one hand it failed to convert the entire campus community to its cause. On the other hand, it was successful in gaining the support of large numbers of students in the late 1960s and early 1970s. By getting these students involved, the movement exposed them to a variety of alternatives to American foreign policy and encouraged them to become more politically active in all aspects of their lives. The campus antiwar movement was also effective in drawing national attention to its demands and perspective on the war. Although that national attention may not have directly resulted in support for its demands, it did force Americans to confront the issue and learn more about the Vietnam War. The campus movement also attracted the attention of authorities and forced many of them to take a stand on the issue. Students were most effective in gaining support from liberal faculty and administrators. They had less success with local police, state and federal legislators, and presidential administrations. Perhaps most important, the campus antiwar movement contributed valuable resources to the larger antiwar movement, helping it to be more effective in the long run. Although the question of how much the campus and national antiwar movements contributed to American withdrawal from Vietnam is still debated, their role in at least questioning the war and forcing the federal government to explain its actions in Vietnam must be acknowledged. That the campus antiwar movement was one of the most significant social movements in recent American history cannot be denied. It involved a generation of students in direct actions, forcing them to question their government and take a stand for their beliefs. The long-term impact of that experience is yet to be fully understood.

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Weatherman Underground Organization

Weatherman, also known as Weatherman Underground or the Weather Underground, emerged as the most radical and confrontational faction of the group Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) in the 1960s. SDS, the largest organization of the American New Left in that decade, emerged at the beginning of the 1960s, and the publication of the *Port Huron Statement* in 1962 set out the organization's vision of participatory democracy, a more inclusive and representative opening up of society. This notion came to define the early years of SDS. Influenced by their experience in the civil rights movement, the SDS established the Economic Research and Action Project (ERAP), which set about organizing the black and white working classes in primarily poor Northern inner cities, such as Chicago, Cleveland, and Newark.

Weatherman's emergence as a political force within SDS built on the increased radicalism evident within the organization after 1965. Participatory democracy gave way to resistance as mounting opposition to the Vietnam War propelled SDS toward further revolutionary rhetoric and action. After initial skepticism, SDS became involved in the antiwar and specifically antidraft movements. As the war intensified, so did SDS's reaction to events, culminating in the 1968 demonstrations at the Democratic Convention in Chicago, which was accompanied by an expanding revolutionary rhetoric. Weatherman emerged from these increasingly bloody confrontations with the symbols of authority.

By 1969, SDS, as the organization, was disintegrating, and Weatherman emerged as both a cause and a consequence of this descent into factionalism and chaos. The final death knell for SDS was heard at its national convention held in Chicago in June 1969, as Progressive Labor (PL) and Weatherman asserted their individual claims to SDS's radical mantle. Weatherman was born from the SDS faction RYM, so-named because of Mike Klonsky's 1968 essay *Toward a Revolutionary Youth Movement.* Klonsky's document deeply influenced the founders of Weatherman. He saw youth as a revolutionary class in itself, and he argued that to achieve revolution in the United States, organizers should move beyond the narrow confines of primarily middle-class students and reach out to the potentially revolutionary working class through youth. Marxist rhetoric also proved to be a strong influence on Weatherman doctrine, building on its position as the dominant political philosophy within SDS by the end of the 1960s. Indeed, Bernadine Dohrn, a key Weather figure, declared herself a "revolutionary Communist" upon her election as interregional secretary at the 1968 SDS convention.

"You Don't Need a Weatherman . . ."

The actual name "Weatherman" was coined at the SDS National Conference in Chicago in 1969, based on a line in Bob Dylan's 1965 song, *Subterranean Homesick Blues:* "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows." This line immediately stated Weather's rebellious and anti-authoritarian appeal and reflected its embrace of the counterculture and the rock-and-roll lifestyle that Dylan himself had personified. The 1969 conference was a pivotal one for SDS as Weatherman revealed its ideological beliefs, asserted its position at the forefront of SDS, and categorically ended PL's reign of influence in the organization. By the end of the conference, the balance of power within SDS had unequivocally shifted toward Weatherman. The national office now contained Bill Ayers, Jeff Jones, and Mark Rudd, and Kathy Boudin, Bernadine Dohrn, and Terry Robbins were all present on the Chicago demonstrations organizational committee.

The group organized the 1969 "Days of Rage"—fierce street demonstrations staged in Chicago with the intention of "bring[ing] the war home." Unfortunately for Weatherman, few radicals shared the members' desire to bring on government repression, and

the event proved to be less than successful. Initially anticipating the participation of tens of thousands of radicals, the group attracted only an estimated 1,000 people. The apathetic response by many young American radicals to the demonstrations in Chicago, together with the increasing surveillance by the police and Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), led the group to conclude that a large-scale revolutionary movement would not materialize from contemporary conditions in America. In mid-December 1969, the group transformed its collectives into small underground cells and withdrew from friends, families, and former comrades with the intention of attacking the United States from within. Inside these collectives, Weather members indulged in drugs, orgies, and harsh self-criticism sessions, with the intention of eliminating individualism and ensuring that all members were truly immersed in the Weather machine.

On March 6, 1970, a New York townhouse inhabited by members of Weatherman, and used by the group as a facility for manufacturing bombs, accidentally exploded. Ted Gold's body was identified from out of the rubble. Another Weather member, Diana Oughton, was only identified from the print on her severed fingertip, and only a communiqué from Weather confirmed that Terry Robbins was the third Weather member to perish in the explosion. Prominent Weather people Cathy Wilkerson and Kathy Boudin stumbled from the wreckage and promptly disappeared underground.

The townhouse explosion, while signaling a dramatic and categorical end to SDS's reign over the New Left, did not dissuade Weatherman from planting further devices in their underground war campaign against America. Weather took the credit for twenty or more subsequent explosions, primarily targeting buildings with symbolic significance rather than attempting to wreak collateral damage. In 1970, they attacked the National Guard Headquarters in Washington, D.C, and New York Police Headquarters, and in 1971, they bombed the Capitol Building. In September 1970, in an attempt to attract potential recruits, Weather broke Timothy Leary, a noted psychologist, philosopher, proponent of psychedelic drugs, and demi-god of the counterculture, out of a Californian prison. As the 1970s progressed, the emphasis on the counterculture diminished (reflecting Weather's belief that the system had coopted much of its rhetoric), but the nonfatal bombings continued, as did communiqués from the underground celebrating Weather's lifestyle and political beliefs.

Gradually, by the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s Weather people Mark Rudd (1977), Cathy Wilkerson (1979), Bernadine Dohrn, and Bill Ayers (1980) surfaced, and Jeff Jones and Eleanor Raskin were arrested in 1981. In October of the same year, an armed robbery of a Brinks armored truck in New York carried out by former Weatherpeople David Gilbert, Kathy Boudin, and Judy Clark under the banner of the May 19th organization and the Black Liberation Army resulted in the killing of a guard and two policemen. Clark and Gilbert were sentenced to seventy-five years to life, and Boudin, sentenced to twenty-five years to life, was released from jail in 2003.

Weather and the Black Panthers

Weather connected with fundamental concerns and anxieties consuming the black and white New Left. The failure to end both de facto segregation and poverty in the Northern, predominantly black, ghettos and the lack of actual success in the opposition to the Vietnam War convinced certain SDS members that Black Power strategies could have a profound effect on the white New Left. Moreover, the rise of Marxist thought within SDS was embraced by Weather and attracted recruits to the cause through their identification of U.S. capitalism as the ultimate enemy, with racism and imperialism as its inevitable subsidiaries.

Weatherman illustrated its commitment to the Black Panthers' perspective in their document *You Don't Need. . . .* Their desire to support the black revolutionary struggle was encapsulated in Weatherperson John Jacobs's slogan, "John Brown, live like him." Weatherman doctrine and discourse were derivative of Panther ideology and language. Indeed, the two groups used radical and Marxist terminology to describe the revolution and the establishment. It was their fundamental commitment to Marxism, and the belief that radicals of all colors should support each other in achieving the revolution, that helped forge an unofficial alliance between the two groups. Weatherman saw its support of blacks as a way of achieving their revolution, and the Panthers appreciated the role that white radicals could play in attaining this aim.

The alliance between the Panthers and Weather began to break down, however, at the United Front Against Fascism conference (UFAF) in 1969. The Weatherman refused to support a motion proposed by the Panthers that called for community control of the police by the Panthers in both black and white areas. Enraged by this rejection from a group that had ap-

pointed them the vanguard only months before, the alliance disintegrated at the 1969 SDS convention in Chicago. For many members of Weatherman, the break with the Black Panthers confirmed that they would have to do the job themselves. Weatherman, they concluded, must serve as the vanguard of the revolution after all.

Attraction of Weatherman

Those attracted to Weather were primarily white and belonged to the college-educated upper middle class. Bill Ayers's father was the chairman of Commonwealth Edison, the Chicago utility company. Silas Bissell was heir to a carpet-cleaning magnate's fortune, Kathy Boudin was the daughter of civil rights lawyer Leonard Boudin, and Mark Rudd's father sold real estate and was a lieutenant in the army reserves. Weather members had gained organizational skills and developed their political consciousness in the main body of SDS. Kathy Boudin was an ERAP volunteer, Mark Rudd was a key organizer at the Columbia sit-in of 1967, Cathy Wilkerson was editor of *New Left Notes*, and Bernadine Dohrn became the SDS national secretary in 1968.

Despite Weather's reputation and notoriety, the numbers actively working as Weather people remained small. Following the disintegration of SDS, the media and the left were keen to fill the void left by the organization's demise. Weather happily joined in exaggerating their influence and representativeness, even though by the time of its Days of Rage Weatherman had, at most, only 500 members in the entire country. In stark contrast, at its height SDS was estimated to have a membership ranging from 80,000 to 100,000. In all probability, the numbers committed to the Weather cause probably fell further as their retreat underground ensured a higher level of commitment than the overground action demanded.

Weatherman's revolutionary tactics ensured that it gained a committed following. Weatherpeople were politicized in the movement but were also increasingly frustrated by their inability to change the political situation in the United States, which they believed was responsible for the repression of blacks at home and the Vietnam War abroad. As the decade progressed, they were awakened to the belief in the necessary role of action and militancy to achieve political change. Weather developed a dual attraction as an organization that supported blacks and opposed the Vietnam War.

In addition to its prominent role in the battle against U.S. imperialism at home and abroad, Weather wanted to give New Leftist politics a more militant and confrontational edge.

Machismo

Machismo was often inherent in Weather's confrontational rhetoric and action. Weather members believed they would prove their strength in mind and body to the establishment, to others in the movement, and to their fellow Weatherman members. A cult of violence therefore grew up around their tactics. The movement offered both men and women an opportunity to indulge in actions and in aggressive rhetoric that their middle-class upbringing disallowed. Moreover, inherent to this macho image was its glamour. Their association with Bob Dylan, their outlaw status, and their connection with the counterculture all enhanced the Weather's appeal.

The group's use of violence and its confrontational rhetoric were attacked as both melodramatic and nihilistic by radical and liberal critics who charged that Weather engaged in violence for violence's sake, in order to increase the groups' macho and tough image. In the spring of 1970, the mainstream media was severely critical of Weather's indulgent and excessive approach to violence and the groups' melodramatic use of combat as guerrilla theatre. Former SDS member Todd Gitlin likened the Weather violence to "the most rageful [extension] of bad, abstract politics by other means." In retrospect, some members also agreed that the group often glorified violence, although they believed at the time the great emphasis was on the constructive role of offensive action. Bombings, they argued, could serve a useful purpose, and they began to liken their role in the United States to that of opponents of Nazism in Germany.

Women and Gender

The Weatherman's embrace of machismo had a significant effect on gender relations. The group was obsessed with smashing "wimpiness," and Weather leader Mark Rudd was determined that it would not be part of a "sissy movement." Certainly, the Weather rhetoric underlined the group's desire to present a tough and hardened image, and its obsession was with eliminating weakness. Their use of phrases such as "off the pig," "smash Amerika" and "bring the war home" reinforced Weather's preoccupation with machismo and confrontation. Moreover, the Weather view was polarized; all action became a way for members to prove themselves as revolutionaries. Those New Leftists who were not with them, they argued,

were clearly on the side of the "pigs," the derisive term used in the 1960s for police.

Weatherman's focus on machismo, aggression, and confrontation did not preclude women from becoming leaders of the group or successfully exercising influence on the group. Moreover, women's traditional gender roles as passive and subservient gave way to the notion of active and strong. Indeed, women played a key role in the upper echelons of the organization. Bernadine Dohrn, Kathy Boudin, and Cathy Wilkerson had prominent roles in the leadership of Weather and wrote books, pamphlets, and statements pertaining to their role as women in Weatherman and in the revolution. Although the group's machismo did inhibit some individuals, it was also a tool of political expression, a desperate last throw of the dice, which proved beguiling in an era where traditional political expression had been found wanting. Weatherman, however, only offered men and women in the group a very narrow outlet for their political desperation. As a consequence, both male and female members of Weatherman displayed a very rigid and unyielding macho collective identity, which had considerable repercussions on gender relations within the group.

Weather perceived women as playing a salient role in defeating imperialism. In both strategies, the creation of an aggressive front and macho identity was paramount. First, Weatherwomen would employ this confrontational edge to become a fighting force equal to their male counterparts in Weather. Second, women's active participation in the revolutionary struggle would combat the imperialist society's perception of women as passive and would ultimately defeat the ethos of male chauvinism that was allegedly at the heart of America's capitalist society.

Various position papers and articles by Weatherwomen reinforced both their fundamental belief in the necessity of violence and their position at the forefront of this action. Women's attempt to present themselves as strong, aggressive, and revolutionary was fundamental to Weather doctrine, which stated that women would gain their own liberation only through fighting against racism and capitalism. On the issue of women's liberation, the group argued that revolution should preempt any plans for female liberation. It identified capitalism and imperialism as the enemy, and thus it argued that women should be wholly engaged in fighting against the powers of oppression and for the revolution rather than singularly concerning themselves with the rather narrow aim of achieving their own liberation. Imperialism was the root of all types of oppression, it asserted, and as women combated imperialism they would be taking a large step toward both conducting revolution and realizing their own liberation.

Weather saw women's active participation in the Weatherman campaign as a way to increase the numbers participating in and the effectiveness of the revolutionary armed struggle. "Political power," *Honky Tonk Women* stated, "grows out of the barrel of a gun, and the struggle to gain and use political power against the state is the struggle for our liberation." In addition, women could play an active role in defeating imperialism by utilizing their macho personas to challenge the perception of women as passive. This perception, they stated, was propagated by the capitalist system, which led to male chauvinism and women's oppression in all walks of life. Weather identified the male chauvinism within society as oppressive to women. Capitalist society, Weather argued, pressed women into fulfilling a traditionally feminine, passive role that diverted their revolutionary potential.

Anti-Monogamy

Weather also saw the rejection of monogamy as fundamental to their desire to "smash imperialism." The rejection of conventional relationships in favor of experimentation with multiple and same-sex partners was viewed as a way to eliminate bourgeois ideas from Weather members as well as fostering a spirit of camaraderie and solidarity. The group's anti-monogamy stance was presented as a means of eliminating sexist attitudes and exploitation, as well as a way of increasing women's self-influence and power over their own sexuality. Men and women were equally vociferous in their advocacy of anti-monogamy. They believed that monogamy repressed women and was central to the existence of male chauvinism in capitalism. Thus, women's sexual liberation would lead to their advancement both personally and politically. Indeed, in repudiating monogamy, women would be liberated sexually, socially, and politically.

While Weather documents identified the male chauvinism within their group, its criticism was aimed at the male chauvinism inherent within society. Because Weather's target was chauvinism resulting from American capitalist society rather than identifying a particular problem in their group, the group failed to equate male chauvinism with the macho attitudes that it embraced. More understandably, women outside Weatherman criticized the existence of machismo. Most vociferous in their attacks were radical feminists. Bread and Roses, a women's collective from Boston,

and former SDS member and women's liberationist Robin Morgan led the criticism.

Strong, combative language, symbolism, and action attracted recruits, who, as already stated, were overwhelmingly white middle-class youths. Also attractive to potential recruits were the exhilaration and glamour of being part of the tight-knit group that was actively confronting American racism and imperialism. Only through confrontational rhetoric and action, Weather believed, would the revolution be achieved.

The difficulty of sustaining an underground existence, the complete commitment demanded of recruits, the Weather's tiresome lifestyle regulations, infiltration by the FBI, and police arrests of Weather members ultimately caused the organization's numbers to peter out during the 1970s.

Stephanie Bateson

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12

Ethnic and Group Identity Movements

INTRODUCTION

This section of the encyclopedia examines non-European ethnic movements that have taken place in the United States since the 1970s, as well as the senior citizens and disabled movements of late-twentieth-century America. Although these movements are dissimilar, they all emerged from the civil rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s, and continue to press for equality and redress of historical grievances.

ETHNIC IDENTITY MOVEMENTS

European settlement of North America came at the expense of displacing and conquering the native inhabitants who had lived on the continent for thousands of years. The colonization of North America by the Spanish, Dutch, British, and French is unique compared to that of other continents since it subsequently led to settlement—initially of Europeans and Africans, and subsequently of immigrants from the world over. Today, North America, and the United States in particular, is the world's leading recent region of major settlement, and the immigration, with ebbs and flows, has continued unabated over the last four centuries.

The United States of the twenty-first century is a diverse and multicultural country comprised of emigrants from throughout the world. The dramatic gains of the civil rights movement spawned the development of new waves of ethnic identity of nonwhite groups that have long been excluded from the mainstream of American life. Although immigration is perhaps the most defining characteristic of the United States, opposition to the settlement of newcomers and subsequent ethnic subordination has occurred throughout its history. The entries in this section on nonwhite ethnic identity movements examine the interplay between chauvinistic American exclusionism and the responses by racial, ethnic, and religious groups to isolation, intolerance, and subordination.

Despite being immigrants themselves, settlers arriving in America asserted proprietary rights to the land and opposed new migrants who continued to flow to these shores. At times, opposition to emigration exploded into nativist movements against the newcomers from different regions of the world and succeeded in imposing restrictions and exclusionary laws against new groups. From the time of colonization, virtually no group of émigrés was excluded from these forms of chauvinism, expressed through ethnic violence, political parties, and powerful movements that gained national prominence. Ethnic exclusionism, ebbing and flowing, remained a strong part of the American system from the country's origins until the civil rights movement challenged the subordination of blacks by whites. Subsequently, in the 1960s, people of color and ethnic minorities have initiated efforts to ameliorate discrimination from mainstream society. To this day, ethnic identity movements are organizing to oppose discrimination against their cultural and national identities, contesting efforts to marginalize immigrants of color from Latin America, the Caribbean, Asia, and Africa, as well as Native Americans.

This section examines the underpinnings of each of the movements in the 1960s to the present and the constellation of forces lined up in favor and against people of color in the United States. A common thread that unifies opposition to movements of color is the sense that the United States is somehow under siege by foreign or "alien" influences that must be removed from the society. Moreover, exclusionist groups generally had an idea of Americanism that frequently was not shared universally by others.

Ethnic Responses

Ethnic minorities have responded to discrimination and social, cultural, economic, and political repression by forming organizations for the advancement of their groups and by mobilizing in communities and in politics for fairness and equity. Much of the lessons learned by movements of color stemmed from the

civil rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s. In past generations, immigrants sought respect and equality with the descendants of the earliest waves of white immigrants from northwestern Europe. Through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, waves of German, Irish, Eastern European, and Southern European immigrants sought tolerance and acceptance from the dominant groups that preceded them. What all had in common were their European backgrounds.

Non-European immigrants had never been accepted equally in American society through the mid-twentieth century. Similarly, the emergence of authentic movements seeking dignity and respect from the dominant culture were never taken seriously, even though many could trace their heritage to North America or descended from groups that arrived in the United States well before many Europeans.

Far and away, the most influential ethnic mobilizations occurred among long-repressed Native Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans in the 1960s and 1970s, in the wake of the civil rights movement. The fight for the end of repression and legal segregation, and for economic opportunity for African Americans, a struggle that continues to this day, paved the way for other nonwhite ethnic groups to make similar demands for equality. Demands for civil rights were not fully achieved, and, in fact, have been turned back through the persistence of racial discrimination in the last three decades.

The entries in this section covering nonwhite ethnic movements of the 1960s and 1970s demonstrate that the specific demands of various groups for justice and equality—combined with direct action—have led to modest gains. Like the civil rights movement, groups have in many instances been successful in achieving their goals; however, by and large the federal government has not honored them. Although the demands by nonwhite minorities have followed the civil rights movement, they all have been distinctive in terms of their goals and objectives. Each of the groups' demands was aimed at redressing specific long-standing grievances against the government and achieving justice in their communities. Native Americans demanded the right for self-determination, the return of land and water rights, and the end of repressive government policies.

The emergence of the American Indian Movement (AIM) in the 1960s was directed at changing government policies through tapping into the Native American's sense of pride and cultural resilience. The founders of AIM used the Black Panther Party as their model—one that emerged from among the most repressed members in prisons who backed up demands with militant action. The movement for Red Power demanded improved housing and greater opportunities for Native Americans in urban areas in the upper Midwest with demands for greater land and water rights in rural areas of the West.

Although the nonwhite ethnic movements gained inspiration from the civil rights movement, their demands were not necessarily equivalent. The demands made by Mexican Americans, other Latino immigrants, and Asian Americans were for labor rights, respect for cultural identities, and bilingual education. Mexican Americans, many of whom are descendants of indigenous populations, make up the vast majority of new immigrants in the United States. A critical issue for all nonwhite immigrants, and Mexican Americans in particular, is economic opportunity and the end of labor exploitation. Although Mexicans have lived in the Southwest since before the settlement of Europeans in the region, many were recruited into the *bracero* program during World War II to work in low-wage jobs in agriculture. The vast majority of Mexicans in the program were migrant laborers who worked from dawn to dusk and lived under extremely harsh conditions. After the war, Mexican Americans in the Southwest lived in poverty, were denied educational opportunity, and were consigned to the lowest-wage jobs in agriculture and construction. Moreover, Mexican Americans faced significant discrimination in all walks of life.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, commercial agriculture in the West had depended on low-wage Mexican-American migrant labor. Indeed, workers throughout the twentieth century organized themselves into unions to defend their rights and increase their low wages. However, it was not until the emergence of the United Farm Workers (UFW), a labor union led by Cesar Chavez, that the struggle for Mexican-American labor rights transformed itself into an authentic movement. During the 1960s and 1970s, UFW workers demanded higher wages and better treatment. The blossoming of the movement took place as more workers went on strike against farm employers for better treatment and higher wages. What made the movement so powerful is that workers engaged in autonomous direct action and strikes against farm owners, backed by the UFW, which typically had no bargaining agreements or contracts with employers.

The section also examines the *Mutualista* movement, which demonstrates how Latinos in the South-

west, through hard work, solidarity, and mutual aid, have built and maintained their rights and dignity.

Finally, this section takes a look at the Asian-American efforts of the 1960s and 1970s, which demanded cultural dignity, economic opportunity, and civil rights for this group. The movement shared many of the demands of the African-American civil rights movement, including achieving greater recognition of Asian Americans' contributions to American history, reforming the curriculum, establishing ethnic studies programs, mitigating poverty and the disparate impact of urban redevelopment, and combating police brutality through the Asian-American parallel to the Black Panthers, AIM, and the other ethnic identity organizations.

Nonethnic Minority Movements

The entries in this section examine the development and expansion of the senior citizens and disabled movements, two nonethnic minority movements demanding equality, respect, assistance, and resources. The senior citizens movement is perhaps one of the most successful social movements in the history of the United States. Among the senior citizens' achievements in the twentieth century were monetary and medical benefits, in the form of social security and Medicare. The senior citizens movement typically expanded in times of social unrest, such as the Great Depression of the 1930s, which impoverished the elderly, and the civil rights movement of the 1960s, which demanded greater social protection and equal opportunities.

Senior citizens movements have also called attention to social injustice faced by the elderly. As life expectancy has increased, senior citizens have organized against "ageism," against preventing capable individuals from remaining employed, and against preventing capable individuals from participating in leadership positions. In the 1970s, senior citizens formed the Gray Panthers in order to educate the public that the elderly have the ability and right to work and to vitally participate in society. Over the last three decades, the influence of the Gray Panthers has ebbed and flowed as the group has taken up issues of war and peace, social injustice, including the need for universal health care, housing, and equality. As the baby boom generation moves into retirement age, pressures on the system may revive the senior citizens movement as new demands for retirement income and comprehensive medical coverage reemerge and expand.

This section also reviews the emergence of the disabilities movement over the course of the last century. This movement emerged out of the abject discrimination faced by those with physical, emotional, and behavioral difficulties. In the twentieth century, the disabilities movement expanded to include rehabilitation of the poor into the mainstream of society. The movement has achieved significant successes through educating the public and through passing laws to protect the disabled. The movement is personified by the diversity of people with disabilities, extending to all social and economic classes and racial and ethnic groups. The movement achieved its most important advance with the passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act in 1990, entitling all those with disabilities to equal protection and due process under law. Still, disabled persons seeking access and full participation in society continue to face hurdles in their effort as resistance continues to the full implementation of the law on a national basis. Some states and private businesses have resisted the implementation of policies that enhance the ability of the disabled to actively participate in society, calling attention to the cost and difficulty in changing entrenched policies.

Immanuel Ness

Nonwhite Ethnic Identity Movements

The social movements of the 1960s and 1970s—civil rights, women's, and antiwar—transformed the American political, social, and economic landscape. These movements succeeded in rattling powerful interests by exposing and beginning to address systematic inequality in the United States. These three social movements—the civil rights, women's, and peace movements—continue to this day, for many of the goals and objectives for racial and economic equality remain elusive.

The broad scale of these movements has tended to diminish the importance of the nonwhite ethnic movements (Chicanos, Latinos, Asian Americans, and others) which also have struggled for social justice through protest and rebellion. The nonwhite ethnic struggles, though standing in the shadow of the movements for racial and ethnic justice, have nonetheless realized significant gains for Americans who have long been marginalized. Although a growing body of literature documents the activities of movement participants, it has generally done so without considering the interplay of these nonwhite ethnic movements. With the possible exception of the excellent account by scholar and activist Manning Marable, in *Race, Reform, and Rebellion: The Second Reconstruction in Black America, 1945–1990* (1991), the multifaceted and multicultural nature of the ethnic and racial nationalist movements of the era has been ignored, even though the struggle for self-determination was more than a black-and-white affair.

Influenced by the Black Power movement but also responding powerfully to the social, cultural, economic, and political repression of their own communities, not only African Americans, but also Native Americans, Mexican Americans, Asian Americans, and white ethnics (generally Southeastern Europeans whose whiteness was called into question through the mid-century), mobilized their communities, sometimes alone, sometimes together, to push the civil rights movement to more radical ends. What united them in the era after World War II, which Studs Terkel has called the "Good War," was a growing global unease with American cultural, economic, and military power, underscored by the Vietnam War, decolonization, and what Alexis de Tocqueville called the revolution of rising expectations—a belief that social movements cohere and expand when oppressed groups see positive change as attainable.

Having achieved moderate reforms in the civil rights movement, activists wanted more: not just integration but the right to self-determination, policing their own communities against official brutality, forcing promises to be honored, and asserting their place in American history and culture at the same time as calling into question American history and culture. Ethnic and racial pride was asserted across the color spectrum.

The Black Power movement was the primary catalyst for other nonwhite ethnic groups as they protested against economic and social repression.

Military Veterans and the Ethnic Identity Movements

The nonwhite movements of the 1960s and 1970s tended to be initiated and led by World War II veterans as they returned to the United States from the war only to face the abysmal treatment of their own ethnic groups at home. War veterans, who often served in segregated units, came back with a desire to join in the fight to end racial discrimination in the United States in education, housing, and healthcare. Leaders who made the transition from government service to movements for justice were Mexican-American Cesar Chavez, who joined the Community Service Organization before turning to a lifetime of service as a fieldworker organizer; Mike Masaoka, a Japanese American who served in the 442nd Infantry, and lobbied the government for the repeal of laws discriminating against Asian Americans; and Native American Russell Means, who played an important

role in the American Indian movement. Their status as veterans gave these individuals popular legitimacy. Moreover, their keen awareness that while they were free to die for their country they could not share in the social wealth of the nation lent passion to their cause. Armando Rendón's *Chicano Manifesto* (1971) argued that World War II "alerted" the GI "to his rights and awakened [him] to the advantage of a life he somehow felt could no longer be denied him."

James Izumazaki, drafted before Pearl Harbor, volunteered to serve in the army and was added to the 442nd. He recalls in his 1990 oral history that, after serving in the army, he returned to the strawberry fields of Watsonville to find his wife and parents "housed in an abandoned shack on the St. Francis School property near College Road." Soon after his homecoming, a gas station attendant refused to sell him gas and pointed to a six-foot-high sign proclaiming "NO JAPS." Izumazaki's response was emblematic of the ethnic minorities' determination to end such civil rights abuses:

> I told him I just got back from France with a Purple Heart and left a kid brother buried in Epinal, so he better call the cops because I wasn't going to leave without any gas. Reluctantly, he filled me up. As I drove away, I figured our "battle had only begun!"

The Cold War and Decolonization

The Cold War played a complicated role in the rise of ethnic and racial nationalism during the 1960s and 1970s. The Cold War made the influence of international actors in the Third and the so-called Fourth World more salient. Because the United States was engaged in a war against the Soviet Union, it sought allies throughout the world to contain the Soviet threat. To legitimatize the U.S. model of democracy and free markets vis-à-vis the Soviet model, emigrants from newly independent countries in the Third World framed their appeals for repeal of discrimination here at home in terms of Cold War imperatives.

Decolonization in Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean made the leaders of the various ethnic movements acutely aware that downtrodden groups could change their lot through hard work and vision, and it offered the opportunity of bringing attention to their plight before an international audience, which could then pressure the United States to reform its policies.

During the post–World War II era, ethnics in the United States were rarely passive in the face of discrimination. What set the ethnic movements of the 1960s and 1970s apart from previous eras was the tactics used and the emphasis on political and cultural self-determination, and redress of historical grievances. They abandoned the predominantly legal methods used by the NAACP, the League of United Latin American Citizens, and the Mexican American Movement during the earlier civil rights movement for more militant acts of civil disobedience that were, in part, also a legacy of decolonization. The march of the Mexican Americans and Native Americans echoed Martin Luther King Jr.'s March on Washington. La Marcha de la Reconquista was a three-month-long event that took Chicanos from Calexico, California, to the state capitol to protest the Mexican people's daily suffering and humiliation. But new was the increased use of occupations in place of sit-down strikes by the Native American and Mexican-American movements. The Indian occupation of Alcatraz and the Brown Berets' occupation of Santa Catalina Island soon after, in 1972, exemplified the militancy of the new ethnic movements.

Although the Latino, Native American, and Asian-American ethnic movements were distinct from each other, their goals overlapped and ultimately they built coalitions around common concerns such as education and civil rights. One notable example was the struggle for curricular reform as exemplified by the development of the Third World Liberation Front at San Francisco State University and University of California at Berkeley (UCB) at the close of the 1960s. Both schools were the sites of early civil liberties activity originating in student protests against the meeting of the House Un-American Activities Committee in San Francisco in May of 1960, and many students, both whites and Asian Americans, were sensitized by the civil rights cause.

In 1965, Ben Fong-Torres remembers in his autobiography *The Rice Room: Growing up Chinese-American: From Number Two Son to Rock 'n' Roll* (1995) being assigned to write about Freedom Week for San Francisco State's student paper, the *Gater*, and participating in a demonstration in which a shortened version of Mississippi's actual registration test was given: of the eighty-five participants, eighty-three failed the test given to blacks. Among the demands were an Ethnic Studies department with student-run curriculum. At UCB the Third World Liberation Front launched a movement between January 19, 1969, and March 14, 1969, for what William Wei's *The Asian-American Movement* (1993) terms an "autonomous Ethnic Studies program" and greater student control of faculty and the curriculum to increase diversity and address community problems. Nelson Nagai suggests,

in Louie and Omatsu's *Asian Americans* (2001), why this was possible: "I grew up dancing to soul music and eating Mexican food. So when my black friends and Chicano friends spoke up, I listened and learned."

Uneasy Tension

The respective movements inspired each other but also competed for government legitimacy and funding. Rendón's *Chicano Manifesto* suggested that Mexican Americans shared many of the same desires as African Americans, including Eldridge Cleaver's desire to reassert the ethnic group's strength through the rhetoric of the Black Power and civil rights movements. For example, Armando Rendón, though eschewing the demand for land, promoted cultural nationalism, using the rhetoric of reparations: "The bill that Chicanos have to collect from America is a big one." But throughout the manifesto, there is also a hint of jealousy that African-American demands received more attention; it also reflects a downright division over the purpose of nationalism that is closer to the Native American position.

As Chavez's "The Lost Land" (1980) notes, some 70 to 80 percent of Chicanos were racially Indian. In addition, unlike all the other ethnic groups, both Mexican-American and Native American groups had treaty relationships with the United States, which significantly shaped their strategies and sense of understanding. Rendón's *Chicano Manifesto*, for example, insisted that Mexican-American nationalists desired respect for his way of life, for his culture, and for his language and was loyal to his "language . . . culture . . . history."

Like the Native Americans, Mexican Americans asserted the right to their authentic religious practices, in this case Catholicism, and rooted their claims to land and dignity in treaties made by past U.S. governments.

Inspiring White Ethnics

The nonwhite ethnic movements of the 1970s and 1980s achieved few tangible gains in the short run, and, in the long run, many of the gains were compromised by the conservative backlash that was ushered in during the Reagan years. Social and economic conservatives eroded bilingual education, cut social programs, increased penalties on unauthorized immigration, and never addressed fundamental issues of economic inequality. By the turn of the twenty-first century, Chicano organizing drives were typically defeated by large and small businesses, and Native American demands for land and self-determination were largely ignored.

Ironically, perhaps the most enduring legacy of the Black Power and nonwhite ethnic movements of the 1960s and 1970s is the rise of ethnic identity among white Americans. As Michael Novak explains in *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics*, disillusioned white ethnics drew consistent analogies with the plight of racial minorities in order to garner more tolerance of ethnic differences in American society. Americans who once eschewed their ethnic heritage now took pride in their non-Anglo-Saxon roots. Novak and others called for a new cultural pluralism and drew attention to the destruction of the language and culture of the descendants of Southern and Eastern Europeans. Novak called attention to the disproportionate burden of these ethnics in defending a nation that did not confer equal dignity upon them.

Novak encourages white ethnics to resist Americanization, valorizing the Indians, slaves, and immigrants who resisted Americanization's emphasis on "dissolv[ing] network people into atomic people," as "people resisted the acid . . . refused to melt . . . the unmeltable ethnics." Thus, Novak calls for the state to educate its citizens in their own ethnic culture and for the citizens to expose themselves to others' history.

The Decline of Ethnic and Racial Nationalism

Why did the nonwhite ethnic movements decline so rapidly? In part, the decline can be explained by the repression, co-optation, public backlash, and achievement of their goals. First, for repression: COINTELPRO (an acronym for the Federal Bureau of Investigation's domestic counterintelligence programs to neutralize political dissidents) broke the backs of the most radical groups. Ward Churchill and James Vander Wall have described the operations of COINTELPRO in detail, from the poison pen letters fabricated to produce deadly splits intended to fracture organizations against Black Panther Party leaders Eldridge Cleaver and Huey Newton to harassment and arrests. Churchill and Vander Wall's *Agents of Repression: The FBI's Secret Wars against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement* (1990) notes that these government efforts were intended to "increase paranoia," waste time, and "deplete their resources." Churchill, Vander Wall, Matthiessen, and Crow Dog all comment upon the FBI's suppression of AIM. The Brown Berets de Aztlan was a militant Chicano activist group that formed in the 1960s in the image of the Black Panthers, The Brown Berets, named after the hats they wore, were led by David

Sanchez and other leading activists to defend the rights of Chicanos in the United States. As Marguerite Marin and Oscar Acosta demonstrate, the group was alleged to have set fire to a hotel in Los Angeles on April 24, 1969, while Governor Ronald Reagan was speaking to educators. The allegations were revealed to be just that. Agent Fernando Suyama, ordered to infiltrate the Brown Berets, admitted to setting fires, firebombing a Safeway store, and urging the Berets to retaliate for the firebombing of their headquarters. Another agent for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, Eustacio Martinez, was also identified.

At Stanford, the university established an African and Afro-American Studies program in 1969, abandoned its Indian mascot in 1972, and replaced its exclusive focus on Western culture in 1987. It took until 1996 for other protesting students to win a Comparative Studies in Race and Ethnicity program, as noted in the "DisOrientation Guide, Stanford University, 2000–2001." Indeed, in the spring of 1999, thirty years after the Third World Liberation Front demanded change at UCB and San Francisco State, students again set out to protest the neglect of Ethnic Studies, camping out in tents to gain the chancellor's attention, fasting, and being jailed. The impetus for this demonstration came from a conference appraising the Ethnic Studies movement's influence thirty years later on April 12–13. A day later, students demonstrated at Barrows Hall, breaking windows and chanting as they searched for the vice chancellor. Forty-six were arrested and called for amnesty. In two weeks, the situation heated up again when on April 29, students took to camping outside California Hall, the residence of administrators. A hunger strike commenced on May 4, producing eighty-three arrests. Ultimately, the strikers won the addition of eight faculty, the preservation of classes, a Barrows Hall mural, and a research center.

Japanese-American reparations were finally achieved in 1988. The public education feature, however, took almost a decade to get off the ground, and California passed its own state version of this program, the California Civil Liberties Public Education Fund, only in 1999.

Asian-American Studies has grown with the population of enrollees but is facing pressure to become relevant to the needs of new Asian immigrant groups, principally the Hmong, Khmer, and Vietnamese who migrated after 1975, during an era when the initial Asian-American movement was petering out. New issues engage activists: among them are hate crimes. The backlash of the Reagan era has been noted in Wei's *The Asian-American Movement*. More disturbing, as the 1980s and 1990s unfolded, Asian Americans and others found themselves organizing in response to a raft of hate crimes by forming the Committee Against Anti-Asian Violence from New York Forum 1986.

Backlash

Despite the modest gains of the nonwhite ethnic identity struggles, attacks on multiculturalism, which was the legacy of these movements, continued.

Harvard historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr. in *The Disuniting of America* (1991) balanced his assessment by rejecting strident separatism, though advancing cultural pluralism when it contributed to historical accuracy, and rejecting bilingualism as ghettoizing. But Jean Bethke Elshtain's *Democracy on Trial* (1995), for example, asserted that multiculturalism was "balkanizing" college campuses and, less convincingly, was "designed explicitly to entrench differences" and teach "exotic, mythic, and 'foreign' pasts." Critiquing Schlesinger and those of Elshtain's ilk, Lawrence Levine's *The Opening of the American Mind: Canons, Culture, and History* (1996), suggested that curricular reform had always been a part of the American past; that the canon had never been as set as its defenders had argued; and that even writers such as Herman Melville, whom the present generation considers traditional, were considered unworthy of canonical status.

Minority language rights and a sensitivity to the need for English as a Second Language granted under the Bilingual Education Act of 1967 (in California the practice was banned in 1879), and extended to other minorities under *Lau v. Nichols* in 1974, have not escaped controversy. Formally establishing limited-English students' rights to an equal education was one thing, but implementing the court's decision was another. Uncooperative officials in San Francisco and the sheer diversity in terms of the numbers of language minorities attending the schools made implementation very difficult. In addition, the cost of English as a Second Language (ESL) programs and a lack of commitment on the part of the tax-paying public for funding them has limited their availability. Although ESL classes are provided in large measure to interested refugees, voluntary immigrants face severe limits in enrolling in such classes. According to Angelo Ancheta's *Race, Rights, and the Asian American Experience* (1998), waiting lists for English as a Second Language classes extended into the tens of thousands in some cities. Moreover, the idea that minorities

should be allowed to use ESL rather than immersion has come under increasing attack. U.S. English, headed in part by S.I. Hayakawa, former president of San Francisco State, and an opponent of reparations, though not interned himself, has facilitated an English-only movement that has succeeded in making English the official language in a number of states. In addition, with the passage of Proposition 229 in 1998 California officially declared the bilingual education experiment dead.

Success has also brought its problems by the measure of many old community activists. This problem is, of course, an old one. Radicals elected or appointed to office often behave more conservatively than their constituency, and the old notion of the sellout was present in the criticisms of each movement. As Broyles-Gonzalez's *El Teatro Campesino* notes, El Teatro Campesino's *acto* of *Los Vendidos* called attention to this issue in the 1970s by depicting a woman sent by California governor "Ronald Reagan's office to recruit a token Mexican for the administration" touting an anglicized name and selling out her co-ethnics. In real life, the reaction to Congressman Henry B. Gonzalez of San Antonio is one example of this sentiment. Gonzalez has reversed himself: from demanding integration in the 1950s and 1960s, he now insists that the Chicano movement is practicing reverse racism.

Within the African-American community, this issue has been exacerbated by the bifurcation in the community created by the expansion of a small professional middle class that used affirmative action to integrate into the larger American society. However, by and large, working people and poorer members of its community have been left behind. In the 1990s, Republican U.S. Supreme Court justice Clarence Thomas became the lightning rod for this debate because of his treatment of his sister. She took care of Thomas's aunt while he was in law school, but his subsequent branding of his sister as a welfare queen became the subject of intense controversy. Offended commentators suggested that in so treating his sister Clarence Thomas had abandoned the old ethic of the Thurgood Marshall generation in which African Americans who had "made it" turned around to open up opportunities for other members of their race. For these activists Clarence Thomas and Uncle Thomas were the same.

At the same time, the Nation of Islam, an old representative of the underclass, has veered back and forth from the path Malcolm X envisioned. After Malcolm X's assassination, Elijah Muhammad reasserted his control; when Elijah Muhammad died, his son, Wallace Muhammad, took over and implemented Malcolm X's vision of working with others outside of the African-American community. This stance, however, proved controversial, and the Nation of Islam split, with Louis Farrakhan establishing his own racially separatist group in 1981.

Anne Woo-Sam

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Mexican Americans and the Chicano Movement

Mexican Americans have experienced their own Trail of the Broken Treaty: the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848). Under the treaty, Mexico was to cede 55 percent of its territory, including what are now the states of Arizona, California, New Mexico, Texas, and parts of Colorado, Nevada, and Utah. In exchange, Mexico received $15 million in compensation to cover damage to Mexican property during the war. In many ways, their treatment during World War II and its aftermath was also a catalyst for the development of an ethnic movement. Colonization, forced assimilation, linguistic and ethnically based discrimination, segregation, and disfranchisement made the experience of Mexican Americans similar to that of Native Americans. Indeed, a large number of Mexican Americans are indigenous peoples as well, and prejudices against Native Americans were often transferred to them. In *Chicano Manifesto: The History and Aspirations of the Second Largest Minority in America* (1971), Armando Rendón drew a parallel to the Native American situation, arguing that the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was similar to the American government's treaties with Native Americans, guaranteeing full citizenship and special protection to a group, cited the two groups' common experience with conflict over land, money, and cultural autonomy, and noted the government's efforts to destroy both groups' family life. The tensions between Mexican Americans and the larger society, however, had much more to do with this group's status as exploited laborers in the Southwest than with confinement to reservations, even as they experienced discrimination similar to that directed against Native Americans. They stood with and apart from African Americans, as signified in the southwestern sign "No Mexicans or Dogs Allowed" and high rates of incarceration, but were differentiated by their linguistic status. Since Mexican Americans did not speak the English language, they shared experiences similar to those of Native and Asian Americans. Mexican Americans stood with African Americans and Native Americans in at least having the formal right to vote before 1952.

Much of the land that is the West and Southwest of the United States today formerly belonged to Mexico; thus, like the Native Americans, Mexican Americans could claim that they lived in an occupied America. Those Mexicans who lived in the territory that the United States conquered, known as *Californios*, lost their land and status before the turn of the twentieth century as a result of banditry, race-related violence, vigilantism, and different concepts of land tenure. Biased juries denied Mexican-American victims justice, efforts to validate land claims entangled Mexican Americans in a web of debt to their attorneys, and the decline of the cattle industry forced Mexican Americans into the lower classes. After the occupation, many Mexican-American women and children were forced to work to help their families survive. Like each of the other groups, Mexican Americans faced residential segregation. After 1900, the declining *Californios* were reinforced by Mexicans fleeing civil war and the Mexican Revolution of 1910 and seeking economic opportunities, principally in agriculture, where growers prized the fact that Mexicans migrated back to their homeland rather than remaining around and seeking support when there was no work. The expansion of the war cut off immigration from other regions, and the Great Depression produced a massive drive to drive out Mexican Americans irrespective of their length of residence in the United States.

The Chicano Movement in Postwar America

Like African Americans, Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans, and Native Americans, Mexican Americans contributed their blood and sweat to World War II's war for democracy. During the war years, the

Mexican immigrants entered the United States as farm laborers under the Bracero program, in effect from 1942 to 1964. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

American and Mexican governments agreed to conditions for the importation of Mexican labor to ensure that agricultural employers had adequate labor when employees left for the more lucrative defense industries. Despite their contribution to the war effort, many Mexican Americans were still treated as second-class citizens after the war. Segregated restaurants, recreational facilities, and public schools, a continued lack of representation on juries, and employment discrimination were commonplace throughout the Southwest after World War II. With African Americans and Asian Americans, Mexican Americans were subject to racially restrictive covenants that prescribed their housing choices. In Two Rivers, Texas, a dead serviceman was refused burial. Even winners of the Congressional Medal of Honor were denied service in restaurants.

The first reaction was, as with the other groups, to mobilize for civil rights, and it was veterans who often took the lead. The American G.I. Forum emerged in the late 1940s in response to the Two Rivers incident.

Increasingly, as civil rights victories were achieved, some members of the various ethnic and racial groups came to demand more radical reforms. Some Mexican Americans sought to expand the rights of Mexicans living in the southwestern states of California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and Colorado,

where some 85 percent of American citizens of Mexican descent resided.

As a result of the civil rights and antiwar movements, some Mexican Americans came to see themselves as having more in common with blacks and Vietnamese. Like the African Americans, they suffered high casualty rates in the Vietnam War, and some came to see the war as genocide against African Americans and Mexican Americans. Moreover, as the decolonization movement mounted and charges of American neo-imperialism increased, disaffected Mexican Americans began to see their struggle as analogous to the Vietnamese experience.

Decolonization had other effects. Among some Mexican Americans, it inspired a pride in their past that led them to reject the assimilationist strands of the initial civil rights movement. Oscar Zeta Acosta's *Revolt of the Cockroach People* (1989) rejected the Catholic Church in Los Angeles because he felt that the Church had encouraged the bombing of Vietnam. And Rodolfo Acuña, the author of one of the pivotal and most original studies of Chicano history, adopted the movement's attitude that the Chicano experience was one of internal colonization, as evident in the title to his work, *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos* (1990). Intriguingly, the War on Poverty that began in the 1960s to broaden access to social programs (healthcare, social insurance, child welfare) to people of color who had been largely excluded under the New Deal also inspired Mexican-American activism by training community members and freeing them up to dedicate themselves to their work on a full-time rather than part-time basis, but also because Mexican Americans became acutely aware of their inability to compete with more organized, more recognized groups like African Americans, and in frustration eschewed the bureaucracy to try to establish alternative institutions.

George Sánchez's *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900–1945* (1993) notes the transformation in direction these groups took by comparing them with the earlier civil rights groups: the Mexican American Movement (MAM) and the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), which emerged in California and Texas, respectively, in the 1930s and 1940s. LULAC, organized in 1929 by businessmen and professionals, was oriented toward the middle class and opposed Mexican nationalism. LULAC asserted that Mexican Americans could be Mexican culturally and socially but needed to be American politically. MAM evolved from the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) clubs, promoted education as the route to social mobility, and associated closely with Protestant reformers.

By the 1960s, however, the assimilationist rhetoric of LULAC and MAM was under increasing attack. Some Mexican Americans recast themselves as "Chicanos," proudly appropriating a term that was meant to denote a lower-class and racially inferior status in contrast to an earlier tradition of emphasizing a whiter, Spanish heritage. This pride also translated into a political agenda for some—a desire for curricular reform that would accurately represent the contributions of Mexican-American laborers to the building of the Southwest, a general assault on derogatory stereotypes, and, in some cases, a more radical call for a return to the mythical state of Aztlán and redistribution of land.

Redistribution of Land and Political Protests

Two figures were key to the movement for redistribution of land: Alianza leader Reies Tijerina and Aztlán promoter Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, born Jack D. Forbes. In the general warring between Mexican Americans and Anglo settlers immortalized in border ballads, Tijerina's great-grandfather lost his life and his land. Like many of the movement leaders, Tijerina was born in the 1920s. Reared in Texas, he became a Southwest farm worker. As an itinerant preacher, he launched a crusade to recover his lost land and that of other Mexican Americans from New Mexico, insisting that the U.S. government implement the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo's guarantee to property rights, which he believed would alleviate Mexican-American poverty and low self-esteem. Tijerina's principles, however, raised little support at home or abroad, especially in a Mexico that was dominated economically and ideologically by the United States since the 1930s. In June of 1967, a frustrated Tijerina and his followers in the Alianza Federal de Pueblos Libres (Federal Alliance of Free City States) raided the courthouse at Tierra Amarilla with weapons and were arrested. Tijerina was temporarily acquitted in 1968. However, he was jailed again in 1969, and after considering running for governor, he was convicted for assault with an intent to maim or kill his jailer and false imprisonment of the deputy sheriff. He was paroled in 1971 after promising to leave his Alianza post.

The more radical, less legalistic version of Chicano calls for redress came in the form of Rodolfo Corky Gonzales, born in Denver, Colorado, in 1928.

Leaving a childhood of poverty by boxing, Gonzales at first worked within the political system as the head of antipoverty programs in the early 1960s and of the Crusade for Justice, which promoted social services, legal aid, and vocational assistance. But in 1969 Gonzales broke with his earlier tactics when he proclaimed "El plan espiritual de Aztlán," in which he called for the liberation of what he and others perceived as the Chicano homeland, the Southwest. Gonzales was equally famous for the poem "I Am Joaquin," reflecting his questioning of the price of Americanization which cost him his history, pride, and affection for his parents. The Spiritual Plan of Aztlán and Acosta's *Revolt of the Cockroach People* suggest the impetus behind the call for regaining Aztlán. Members of the movement identified the Southwest as part of the Aztec empire and asserted that Chicanos were all descendants of these Aztecs, that they had never really left the land, and that they were entitled to establishing a separate state because they had contributed the labor that developed it.

Ethnically identified political movements also sprouted up throughout the Southwest. In Crystal City, Texas, José Angel Gutierrez, a master's student in political science, galvanized a third party—La Raza Unida. This party soon took control of both the local school board and city council. As with the broader ethnic and racial movements' questioning of the price of Americanization, the party attracted many with its anti-assimilationist position. In East Los Angeles, approximately 10,000 high school students from six high schools, with some leadership from college students, walked out for a little over a week in 1968. These students were angered by the high rate of Chicano dropouts, and what they perceived as an insensitive history curriculum, the lack of Chicano teachers and administrators, opposition to bilingualism, and a lack of investment in facilities and education that would allow Chicano students to succeed. They were mobilized, in part, by Sal Castro, a teacher who had traveled a familiar route of working within the system, including participating in the Viva Kennedy movement (a Mexican-American grassroots political movement in support of fellow-Catholic John Kennedy's presidential campaign), serving in a war (the Korean War), and using the G.I. Bill to attain a higher education. Ultimately, the protesters won the establishment of a Mexican American Education Commission by the Los Angeles Board of Education. Such blowouts then mushroomed elsewhere in the Southwest, including those in San Antonio and Denver, which had remarkably similar demands. At the university level in 1966–1967, similar sentiments flourished as Chicano students in MECHA (El Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlàn) and other groups advocated, according to Marguerite Marin's *Class, Ethnicity, Gender and the Democratic Nation* (1991), cultural nationalism, central self-determination, an opposition assimilation, and ethnic pride, aligning themselves with the Native American and African-American conquered people forced into poverty and degradation.

Shattering Stereotypes

The assault on stereotypes permeated popular culture as well. Armando Rendón's *Chicano Manifesto* documented and denounced popular and academic stereotypes of the Mexican American as lazy, an outlaw, or good-for-nothing, from Frito Bandito of the chip maker Frito Lay to the Mexican-American stereotype embodied in El Marko, the mascot of Flair pens, to the lazy Paco of L&M who never " 'feenishe[d], . . . anything, not even a revolution." Even history books contained similar stereotypes, ignoring the contributions of Mexican Americans to the agricultural and mining industries of the Southwest, and characterized Mexican Americans as lazy and passive despite nearly a century of resistance to their mistreatment. J. Russell Smith's *North America* (1925) declared that it was "physically impossible for the Mexican to worry. . . . [They] are children."

A number of Mexican Americans argued that the denial of positive images in textbooks and the media denied Mexican Americans positive role models and contributed to the loss of racial pride symbolized in the desire of group members to bleach themselves white like African Americans by marrying a lighter-colored spouse. A participant in the Denver Chicano Youth Conference, Maria Varela notes that participants discovered "the true beauty in their souls during the years of occupation and intimidation. . . . Coca Cola, Doris Day, Breck Shampoo, the Playboy Bunny, The Arrow Shirt Man, the Marlboro heroes are lies. 'We are beautiful.' " The Mexican American Anti-Defamation Committee in Washington, D.C., and Involvement of Mexican Americans in Gainful Endeavors in San Antonio, Texas, worked toward changing these images.

Like the Black Panthers, Mexican Americans began organizing their own paramilitary organization. In 1967, the Mexican Americans formed the Brown Berets for self-defense against the police they viewed as an "occupying army," and organized throughout the Southwest. The Los Angeles chapter existed until

After *Chicago Tribune* columnist Mike Royko wrote an article with an offensive description of Mexicans, outraged readers tossed copies of *Exito*, the *Tribune*'s Spanish-language weekly, into a trash pile at the Tribune building on March 1, 1996. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

it was broken in 1971 and was sympathetic to the idea of Aztlán and curricular reform—indeed, its members often attended rallies to take the blows for protesters. Unlike the Black Panthers, Muñoz's *Youth, Identity, Power* notes, the Brown Berets eschewed Marxist/Maoist politics. The Brown Berets were the brainchild of eighteen-year-old David Sanchez, Carlos Montes, and Ralph Ramirez, a symbol of the repression confronting even the most ardent advocates of working within the system. Sanchez, as head of the Mayor's Youth Advisory Council of Los Angeles, locked horns with Los Angeles Police Department representatives and witnessed the beating of a man unconscious and the brutal arrest of his wife and daughter in 1967. The Brown Berets promoted guerrilla warfare. Playing on the tactics used by earlier movements, including the American Indian Movement (AIM), members of the Brown Berets occupied Catalina Island in 1972, exiting on the twenty-fourth day when ordered to do so, and participated in the Mexican-American equivalent of the Trail of Broken Treaties—La Marcha de la Reconquista from Calexico, California, to the state capitol.

Organizing Farm Laborers

It would be wrong to assert that no group had ever attempted to organize Mexican-American farm laborers. Early efforts to organize the largely immigrant migrant labor force in the first few decades of the twentieth century by the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) had involved a polyglot, multilingual approach, but the IWW's focus was building workers' identities as workers; in the Depression era, the Communists infiltrated the labor movement during the Popular Front era, subordinating their calls for revolution to migrant workers' bread and butter issues. But it was Luis Valdez and the El Teatro Campesino group who worked with Cesar Chavez to build a strong union based on the cultural heritage of its members.

The United Farm Workers is popularly associated with the charismatic figure of Cesar Chavez, a third-generation Mexican American whose grandfather arrived in Arizona in the 1880s, ahead of the major waves of Mexican Americans to the United States. Chavez himself was born near Yuma, Arizona, in 1927, but despite the family's head start in the race for security, the Great Depression wiped out the families' landholdings in 1939. Initially condemned to an existence as a migratory farm worker in California, Chavez temporarily escaped the fields by joining the navy. Then, as a veteran, he joined the Community Service Organization (CSO) to achieve citizenship rights for all Mexican Americans. A formidable player in the farm labor movement, Chavez, as Muñoz notes, was revered as a hero by Chicano nationalists after he launched the first organizing drive in Delano to create a National Farm Workers Association in September of 1965. Chavez dramatized the plight of farm workers confronted by low wages, the lack of fringe benefits, and hazardous work conditions, including subjection to pesticides. But unlike one of his collaborators, Luis Valdez, Chavez was not a nationalist.

Although Valdez was a graduate of San Jose State University, and an adherent of working in the system for awhile through the Viva Kennedy Clubs and MAPA, he was also a convert to the Cuban experiment and a member of the radical San Francisco Mime

Troupe that opposed accommodation. Muñoz's *Youth, Identity, Power* notes that like the other student activists of his generation, Valdez was "repelled by the human disintegration of peoples and cultures as they fall apart in the Great Gringo Melting Pot" of Americanization. Valdez's troupe was especially important in organizing and raising money for the farm workers movement. Blending European and Mexican traditions, El Teatro Campesino drew especially on the "Rasquachi aesthetic" of Felipe Cantú, which in turn, as Yolanda Broyles-Gonzalez's *El Teatro Campesino: Theater in the Chicano Movement* (1994) points out, was "synonymous with . . . Mexican popular tradition" that reached back to the eighteenth century as a "counterhegemonic tool of the disenfranchised and oppressed" and had witnessed "a resurgence in connection with the Mexican Revolution and aftermath." Using stock characters familiar to a Mexican-American audience, El Teatro Campesino educated Mexican-American farm workers about their conditions, and how to change them, as well as asserting a pride in their history.

The movement established its imagined community through journals that acted as the resources of an imagined community, including *Aztlán* at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), *El Grito*, and *Con Safos*; an expanding number of Chicano presses such as *Quinto Sol Publications* (Berkeley), *Barrio Press* (Denver), *Mictla Publications* (El Paso), and the *Chicano Features Syndicate* (Washington, D.C.); and theater companies like El Teatro Campesino. Like the other movements, it would meet its share of repression, but it would also struggle with the problem of a fractured identity as new immigrants were pitted against old as job competitors.

From the schoolyard to the courthouse in the land fight, to the universities and the fields, Chicanos asserted their right to be included in American society at the same time that they critiqued Americanization. No institution was sacred, not even the Church. Movement participant and legend Oscar Zeta Acosta, a Mexican-American lawyer who served a brief stint representing clients in a poverty center in East Oakland before moving to East Los Angeles, makes this clear in his autobiographical *Revolt of the Cockroach People,* which opens with an assault on the established Roman Catholic Church. That assault, Rendón reports, led to a riot and the conviction of ten individuals by an unrepresentative jury and fed the sentiment among some reflected in Rendón's *Chicano Manifesto* that the Catholic Church also needed to provide some redress because it had "helped the Anglo Americans to rob us of our pride" by demanding patience.

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Asian-American Movement

In Joann Faung Jean Lee's *Asian Americans* (1992), Betty Ann Bruno, a mixed-race woman born to a Hawaiian mother and Irish Dutch father, recounts the road to self-discovery that she and her mother took in the 1960s and 1970s. Noting that her mother "subverted her own Hawaiian background when I was growing up because she's tried very hard to mainstream us," Bruno points out that her mother "as a result of my coming to grips with my ethnic identity . . . has gotten back into the Hawaiian thing" and acts as a sort of "guru in a Hawaiian community in Southern California," teaching "Hawaiian, lei making," folk lore, and "found[ing]" a Hawaiian civic club. In making this observation, Bruno makes two assertions that bear scrutiny in trying to understand the origins of the less well documented, less visible Asian-American movement: "none of that was happening during the forties and fifties. That all happened in the sixties and seventies. It's all a product of civil rights. When black people decided they would go back to their roots, I think all the ethnic groups in the country took a cue from that and said, 'Hey, we've got roots too.' "

Indeed, the roots of the African-American and Asian-American movements were quite close, although, as with the other groups, the overlap was not complete. Asian Americans shared with African Americans a desire to assert their cultural pride and urban problems, including poverty. Moreover, a considerable number of Asian-American activists recount their initial involvement in the African-American civil rights movement. And the Asian-American movement focused on many of the same things: asserting the ethnic groups' importance to American history, reforming the curriculum, establishing ethnic studies programs, mitigating poverty and the disparate impact of urban redevelopment, and combating police brutality through the Asian-American parallel to the Black Panthers, American Indian Movement, and Brown Berets: The Red Guards. But striking differences also existed. Established in 1969, the Red Guards were patterned after the Black Panthers' emphasis on self-determination, opposition to police brutality, and community service, with a twelve-point program that paralleled the Panthers' ten-point program. Yet, language politics set the Asian-American movement apart from the African-American movement, and the complications of Communist red-baiting tied activists' hands a bit more tightly. Moreover, by the 1960s and 1970s, Asian Americans, though clearly able to articulate a vision of a discriminatory past, had by then been proclaimed a model minority; convincing the public and politicians of their needs would be difficult. And lastly, although conquest and forced slavery had united the other ethnic movements in a pan-ethnic umbrella for a much longer period, Asian Americans came from numerous countries, many of which had been at war with each other as recently as World War II.

The first group to encounter discrimination, as the first to migrate in significant numbers, was the Chinese-American. Although public officials greeted the Chinese as laborers, their welcome was not always consistent. Competition exacerbated ill-feeling against the Chinese in the gold mines, where they were subject to foreign miners' taxes; after the railroad was completed and the Chinese workers moved to urban areas, their competition with white workers amidst the recession of the 1870s led to cries for their exclusion. The exclusion movement succeeded, and for generations the Chinese set the basic framework of discrimination and opportunity by which other Asian immigrants were treated.

Under this arrangement, basic rights were checked. The freedom to choose whom one married was limited by antimiscegenation statutes that were in force from the early 1900s up through 1948. The freedom to become a citizen was granted only to native-born Chinese, confirming the inclusion of only

whites and, after the Civil War, African Americans and persons of African descent as citizens. Alien Land Laws, applied mainly because of growing Japanese-American competition in agriculture, were patterned after the foreign miners' tax. When opportunities opened, they came intriguingly to the Chinese first. The Chinese were removed from exclusion and granted the right to become citizens regardless of where they were born in 1943 because of their status as allies; Filipinos and Indians followed in 1946, and Japanese Americans in 1952.

Asian Americans in Postwar America

After World War II, the movement to grant civil rights to Asian Americans gained momentum under the direction of Japanese-American returnees, but pan-Asian-American cooperation was tenuous at best, and the sense that Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Asian Indian, and Filipino American groups had common interests was lacking. Japan had invaded China and the Philippines and had held Korea in thrall since 1904. Asian Indians, who gained independence from Britain after World War II, shared a border with China and feared Chinese aggression.

Working with congressional representatives such as Clare Boothe Luce and Emmanuel Cellar, representatives of the Chinese, Korean, Asian-Indian, and Filipino-American groups labored fervently to ensure that they would see restrictions lifted.

Unlike African-American groups who were tainted with communism, Asian-American groups, with the exception of the Chinese, were somewhat better positioned in the immediate World War II and postwar years to press for their civil rights, given the fact that the United States viewed Asian countries as potential buffer zones in its containment strategy.

Japanese Americans, tainted by association in Americans' minds with Japan, had to await the war's end before they witnessed any progress in their civil rights. However, because of the leadership of individuals such as Mike Masaoka and the Japanese American Citizens League, they were in a strong position after the war to press for the lifting of racially discriminatory laws at the state and national levels. Masaoka insisted that the racist mistreatment of Japanese Americans would hamper American efforts to convert postwar Japan to democracy.

A Confluence of Influences

By the 1960s Asian Americans had achieved major civil rights victories but still lacked a pan-Asian identity. This changed in the 1960s as Asian Americans responded to the mobilization of African Americans and developed a sense of pride in their own past, acknowledged the welfare needs of a group often denoted as the "model minority," and worked to combat the racism.

The complicated influences of the emergence of a significant group of college students, their involvement in the civil rights movement, the influence of the African-American struggle, of decolonization, and more directly of the Vietnam War can be seen in the biographies of Asian-American activists. Helen Zia, now a journalist and formerly executive editor of *Ms.*, began a sheltered life in New Jersey to find her complacency destroyed by the turbulent times while a student at Princeton. Racism, the Vietnam War, and the Third World Center galvanized her involvement in the Asian-American movement and social justice issues.

Nobuko Joanne Miyamoto, member of the famous trio that produced *Grain of Sand* and other albums that helped Asian Americans identify with each other, was inspired to act by the Panthers, racism, and Vietnam. Having played the stereotype in theater to advance her career, Miyamoto returned to her roots to find strength after police killed her son's African-American father and activist. Maxine Hong Kingston recalls in *The Woman Warrior: Memoirs of a Girlhood among Ghosts* (1989) her initiation into the civil rights struggle with her refusal to type invitations for a racist.

As with African Americans, Chicanos, and Native Americans, Asian Americans asserted ethnic pride by rejecting the need to conform to the dominant standards of beauty. Maxine Hong Kingston's confession of her desire to eradicate her "bossy" Chinese voice for a more "feminine" American one suggests a common feeling of disease and its ultimate rejection. Amy Uyematsu's "The Emergence of Yellow Power in America" argued that Asian-American women, like African Americans, also attempted to transform themselves into whites by changing their eyelids, chests, and hair color. This low self-esteem was reinforced by caricatures and stereotypes in the popular media.

Among the images of Asian Americans in the media were the subhuman, the arch-villainous Fu Manchu, the childlike, desexed Charlie Chan, and the evil Dragon Lady. Part of this problem also was rooted in the lack of unstereotypical minority representation in the media. Ben Fong-Torres's *The Rice Room* (1995), recounting the era, noted that there were "no minorities on television commercials or series, except as maids and servants—or, of course, villains." In one of the

most direct challenges to the stereotype, a coalition of groups attacked stereotypes reflected in the use of yellowface or white actors to play Asians in *Miss Saigon.* Asian Americans for a Fair Media also worked to promote social change in the representation of Asian Americans.

Forging an Imagined Community

An imagined community was more pivotal to cementing the Asian-American movement together, and for Asian Americans written words and song became ways of identifying common experiences and goals with other Asian-American groups and communities of color. Movement participants read Fanon and Mao, but also listened to other media. The musical trio Chris Kando Iijima, Nobuko Joanne Miyamoto, and Charlie Chin's album *A Grain of Sand* (1973) performed this function, as did Chin and Iijima's *Back to Back* (1982). The lyrics recaptured Asian Americans' contributions to building the West and the harsh discrimination they faced, but also highlighted the importance of struggle in becoming something. While Chris Iijima emphasized in Steve Louie and Glenn K. Omatsu's *Asian Americans: The Movement and the Moment* (2001) that the music was not about pride, it provided a counter-narrative to "white supremacist narrative," and an "organizing tool." The group continued working to raise consciousness in the 1980s with *Grain of Sand: Music for the Struggle*, released in 1982. After its disintegration, with Iijima moving on to become a law school professor, Miyamoto continued the struggle in Great Leap, Inc., formed in 1978 before the break-up, which produced "Talk Story: A Musical Odyssey of Asians in America" and the multimedia "A Grain of Sand" set in the 1990s.

Further efforts to create an imagined community were apparent in the founding of movement journals *Gidra* (Los Angeles, 1969–1974), *Bridge* (New York Chinatown, 1971–1985), and *Amerasia Journal* (Los Angeles: UCLA, 1971 to present). The longest standing of these efforts, *Amerasia Journal*, offered Asian Americans an outlet to showcase their social science research and literature with others. In addition, the movement generated a number of repositories for the memories upon which the imagined community could be constructed. Among the most important has been the UCLA Asian American Studies Center, which produced *Roots* and recently contributed *The Movement and the Moment*. The Japanese American National Museum, in Los Angeles' Little Tokyo, serves a similar mission.

Asian Americans and Public Programs

The struggle to assert the Asian American's rights to inclusion in public programs was no more intense in the early days of the movement than in the struggle over the preservation of the International Hotel, which began in December 1968. The sixty-unit hotel, situated in San Francisco's Manilatown, housed a number of low-income and elderly Filipino and Chinese bachelors and became a symbol of the right to decent, low-cost housing within one's community. For six years a struggle raged over the building owners' right to evict the elderly tenants so that they could build a parking lot; in 1977 the activists lost.

For Asian Americans, however, admitting to poverty, given the heavy immigrant nature of the community, was a dangerous proposition. Maxine Hong Kingston reflects the community's fear of deportation on the basis of becoming public charges when she notes the community's unspoken rules that opposed reporting crimes or discussing the community's poverty or poor wages. This problem, in turn, was rooted in the fact, as Ben Fong-Torres acknowledges, that a considerable number of the early generation of Asian Americans, faced with the Exclusion Laws, had entered the United States illegally. In fact, when the federal government introduced a confession program in 1957 for illegal immigrants to clean up their status, many refused to participate out of mistrust.

Warren Mar, born in San Francisco's Chinatown in the 1950s, remarks in Louie and Omatsu's *Asian Americans* that "back then, there was no recognition of poverty in Chinatown." But with the emergence of the War on Poverty and erasure of distinction in privileges between immigrants and citizens, activists became bolder. Through the War on Poverty, Wei notes that San Francisco's Chinatown established a North Beach Economic Opportunity Council that provided services such as English Language, Planned Parenthood, and Self-Help for the Elderly. And one might assume that the War on Poverty programs, which Armando Rendon's *Chicano Manifesto* and Carlos Muñoz's *Youth, Identity, Power* note were the training grounds of Mexican Americans, served a similar role in the Asian-American community. Moreover, the programs opened up discussion of the community's problems, including drug abuse as a coping mechanism, gangs, substandard housing, and the damaging effects of urban renewal.

Poverty also often involved poor housing, and

Asian-American activists drew attention to this problem. The Intercollegiate Chinese for Social Action in 1968 publicized information on conditions in Chinatown, including the area's high rate of tuberculosis spread by overcrowding and unsanitary conditions. Harvey Dong suggests in Louie and Omatsu's *Asian Americans* that the I-Hotel battle was more than a fight about cultural preservation; it was also "about the actual conditions, the lack of heat, the overcrowded housing, lack of adequate plumbing, cockroach infestation." At the same time, efforts to change housing conditions could prove a double-edged sword. Two Stockton residents, Maxine Hong Kingston and Nelson Nagai, have recounted the horrible impact slum clearance had on their families, destroying businesses built up over years and forcing elderly immigrants to start their careers all over again from scratch.

Combating Stereotypes

Like the other ethnic movements, the Asian-American movement called for an acknowledgment of past discrimination and a presentation of histories that acknowledged the resilience and contributions of Asian Americans to the building of America. The controversy between authors Maxine Hong Kingston and Frank Chin, however, demonstrated that the effort to produce this history was not without its own difficulties.

Maxine Hong Kingston and Frank Chin, remarkably near in age, education, and career aspirations, found themselves locked in a battle over the representation of Asian America from the 1970s into the 1990s.

In a series of mixed-genre works, Kingston explored the persistence of Chinese Americans in American society, their contributions to American development, and the difficulties of negotiating two cultures. Her well-respected *The Woman Warrior* garnered numerous awards while it purveyed an often ignored female experience. Though often considered more as a story of gender relations, *The Woman Warrior*, based on Kingston's experience growing up from the 1940s through the 1970s, documented the racism Chinese Americans encountered, the disparate and generalizable impact of urban renewal projects on a minority community, the influence of the civil rights and African-American movements on the Asian-American movement, and the particular dilemma of Chinese-American activists, who might be tainted with Communism for their activities or deported for their activities. Her *China Men* (1980), a tribute to the contributions of Chinese-American men to the building of the West, similarly documents the racial hostility confronting Chinese Americans, the most poignant example of which is her insertion of a lengthy section entitled "The Laws," which lists the legal restrictions placed on Chinese Americans. *Tripmaster Monkey: His Fake Book* (1989), part a mischievous response to Chin's criticism, suggests the tensions between movement members.

Although Kingston's *China Men* began the process of claiming America by documenting Chinese Americans' contributions to the building of the nation via the railroads and plantations, Sucheng Chan's *This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860–1910* (1986) and Sandy Lydon's *Chinese Gold: The Chinese in the Monterey Bay Region* (1985) have revealed the pivotal contributions of Chinese Americans to the transformation of California's agricultural economy from wheat farming to fruit and vegetable cultivation at the end of the nineteenth century. Sandy Lydon's work, Charles McClain's *In Search of Equality*: *The Chinese Struggle Against Discrimination in Nineteenth-Century America* (1994) and Lucy Salyer's *Laws Harsh as Tigers: Chinese Immigrants and the Shaping of Modern Immigration Law* (1995) are among the works that have taken seriously Carey McWilliams's claims in *Brothers under the Skin* (1964) to illustrate the agency of Chinese Americans in challenging discriminatory practices, including the enforcement of immigration law. Judy Yung's works *Unbound Feet: A Social History of Chinese Women in San Francisco* (1995) and her collection of edited primary sources *Unbound Voices: A Documentary History of Chinese Women in San Francisco* (1999), have re-created the experience of Chinese-American women in community life and documented their struggles.

While rooted in the experience of Chinese and Japanese Americans, the Asian-American movement has begun to respond to the need to diversify its ranks to include the experiences and needs of the Southeast Asian-American groups that resettled in the United States in a series of waves in the 1970s and 1980s. Chan's *Hmong Means Free: Life in Laos and America* (1994) is just one example of a growing literature on the Southeast Asian refugee experience. And an increasing number of works on South Asians, a group that is both a part of, and yet apart from, the Asian-American community, including Lavina Dhingra Shankar and Rajini Srikanth's *A Part, Yet Apart: South Asians in Asian America* (1998) and Shamita Das Dasgupta, *A Patchwork Shawl: Chronicles of South Asian Women in America* (1998), suggest the vibrancy of this question.

Japanese Americans assemble for their forced relocation to internment camps during World War II. More than 100,000 Japanese Americans—most of them American citizens—were incarcerated for the duration of the war. *(National Archives)*

Reparations

The most radical demands of the Asian-American movement centered around reparations for the wartime incarceration of some 117,000 Japanese Americans, over two-thirds of them American citizens. Some monetary compensation had been paid for losses incurred under the incarceration, and, as noted, the incarcerated generation had gone on to pursue civil redress. But the militant rhetoric of the 1960s, and a sense of the United States government's lack of chastisement for the World War II episode led many to press not only for additional compensation, but also for a formal government apology for the incarceration, and later on, a rehearing of the court cases.

The backdrop for this revolution was partly established in colleges across the country as Asian-American students increasingly demanded and won the rights to establish Asian-American studies classes. These cases had important ripple effects because they sent home curious students, who then asked their formerly incarcerated relatives why they had been so silent about this episode. Take, for example, a pivotal player in the buildup of sentiment for redress: Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston. Incarcerated as a young child, Houston left the camps, enrolled in college, and graduated, then married and left behind her short-lived career as a social worker. But in 1971, her nephew, a student at the University of California at Berkeley (UCB), a center of the Third World College movement, came to visit her in Santa Cruz and revealed that while taking a sociology course he had heard talk of Manzanar for the first time outside the family. Houston's nephew's questions about her feelings drove her to write down her memories of the experience so that she would not go insane. The book, published in 1973 as *Farewell to Manzanar: A True Story of Japanese American Experience During and After the World War II Internment*, introduced a generation to the camp experience and its devastating effects on family life, as well as the mental health of the incarcerated. Indeed, while writing the memoirs, Houston suffered

from hysterical crying until she opened up to her husband.

A mixture of World War II survivors, veterans, and internees also helped the movement achieve its goals, including Michi Weglyn's *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps* (1976). The complicated interplay of these factors is described in two works, Leslie Hatamiya's *Righting a Wrong: Japanese Americans and the Passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988* (1993) and *Achieving the Impossible Dream: How Japanese Americans Obtained Redress* (1999), by Mitchell Takeshi Maki, Harry H.L. Kitano, and S. Megan Berthold. In 1988, the government issued an official apology for the internment and issued survivors checks for $20,000. This movement for redress, and for the overturn of the convictions of the three Japanese Americans who took the internment to court, was made possible, in part, by the Asian Law Caucus, which William Wei notes emerged in the 1970s, combining the talents of lawyers and law students in 1972 using money gained by defending Asian-American conscientious objectors. Since then, the caucus has defended tenants against rent increases, refugees, and bilingualism.

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Mutualista Movement

Unlike nineteenth-century American fraternal associations that were influenced by medieval guilds and English friendly clubs, *sociedades mutualistas*, or Latino mutual aid societies, emerging in late-eighteenth-century New Mexico, were religious. Faced with the removal of Franciscan friars after the Republic of Mexico overthrew Spanish rule, villagers self-organized *La Sociedad de Nuestro Padre Jesus Nazareno*, or the Society of Our Father Jesus the Nazarene, also known as *Los Hermanos Penitentes*. Through annual replication of Lenten ceremonies and corporal acts of mutual aid, *Los Hermanos* provided spiritual support for sick and dying members, offered material assistance to grieving families, and provided moral order for their villages. With population movement northward into the San Luis Valley of southern Colorado, Hispanos transmitted mutual aid traditions into the isolated river valleys they settled.

Shortly after the U.S. military occupation of northern Mexico—what is today New Mexico, California, Arizona, and parts of Colorado, Utah, Nevada, and Texas—in 1846–1848, newspapers racially stereotyped Mexicans residing in land severed from Mexico. This huge region became part of the United States after the Mexican War ended in 1848. Resentment swelled as newly arriving emigrants publicly subordinated Mexicans as "greasers." New Mexicans rebelled, and the *Penitente* Movement was driven underground.

Faced with the need to combat similar incidences of race hate, Mexican Americans throughout the American Southwest formed *sociedades mutualistas*. In his seminal work, *Occupied America* (1981), Rodolfo Acuña attributes the creation of a Mexican-American underclass to the primacy of the railroad, industrialization and monopolization of resources, and speculative capital. In reaction to its members' treatment as outsiders in a region their ancestors pioneered, dispossession of their landholdings, and characterization as a source of cheap labor, the *mutualista* movement spread. The concurrent labor movement in Mexico influenced some *mutualistas* in border areas to undertake union activities.

The model of the *mutualista* movement in the Southwest is the *Alianza Hispano-Americana*. Founded in Arizona in 1894, the *Alianza* was the pinnacle of the *mutualista* movement in the Southwest. The *Alianza*'s successes in organizing Mexicano laborers, its civil rights efforts, and its educated leadership made the group into a political powerhouse. When insurance companies discriminated against its members because they all had "tuberculosis," the *Alianza* established affordable death benefits. Ultimately, the *Alianza* forged inroads for Mexican Americans to be included in the civil rights movement.

The *Alianza* was one of more than 100 *sociedades mutualistas* operating in Texas, California, Arizona, Colorado, and Utah with statewide leagues and affiliated lodges in small towns and urban centers such as Dallas, Tucson, Los Angeles, Albuquerque, and Denver. Although m*utualistas* adopted different names, focused on pressing local issues, and had varying organizational structures, their concerns for labor and common goals of equality and justice made them the early forerunners to the Chicano movement.

The *Mutualista* Response to Land Loss

By the last decades of the nineteenth century, speculators gained control of Spanish and Mexican land grants in New Mexico and southern Colorado after land rings dismantled claims through tainted judicial proceedings. Denial of access to the uplands was ruinous to the pastoral-based society living in the Rio Grande region (an area extending from the San Luis Valley of southern Colorado into northern New Mexico). With stock raising and pastures controlled by outsiders, villagers throughout the region were forced into low-paying jobs as itinerate agricultural laborers and ranch hands.

Undeniably, *mutualista* history in New Mexico and subsequently in Colorado correlates to the arrival of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe and the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad in the late 1870s. With rail access came an onslaught of syndicates specializing in land grant speculation. Acuña points out that the adaptive response of Hispanos was to self-organize the Brotherhood for the Protection of Rights and Privileges of the People of New Mexico to stop "corrupt politicians and monopolies." In about 1887, the Knights of Labor operating in southern Colorado joined New Mexicans in unionizing rail workers in Las Vegas, New Mexico. Because unions in the Southwest fractured along racial lines, the Knights became the first Anglo-American organization to work with Mexicanos. Correspondingly, a Hispano militant resistance movement known as *Las Gorras Blancas*, or white caps, spread into land grant areas from 1887 to 1896. Engaged in a fence and range war to stop homesteaders and land rings from gaining total control over Spanish and Mexican land grants, the *Gorras Blancas* eventually gave way to more moderate groups, including *La Sociedad Protección Mutua Por Ley y Orden*, or the Society for Mutual Protection Through Law and Order.

COLORADO'S *MUTUALISTAS* MOVEMENT

By 1900, *mutualistas* emerged in Colorado. Organized by Celedonio Mondragón, *La Sociedad Protección Mutua de Trabajadores Unidos*, or the Society for the Mutual Protection of United Workers, commonly known as the SPMDTU, formed in Antonito, Colorado, a platted rail town situated near the New Mexican border.

Trained as a *platero*, or jewelry maker, Mondragón opened his business in Santa Fe, New Mexico, in 1890. By 1896, he joined the pacifist-oriented *Sociedad Protección* in Las Vegas, as he frowned on violence. Later, Mondragón attempted to organize his own society in Las Vegas and Santa Fe. Unsuccessful and frustrated, he returned to Colorado.

Mondragón formed the SPMDTU after recruiting six like-minded residents to compose "*reglas*," or regulations, based on the rules of the Order of Saint Francis of Assisi and the organizing principles of *La Sociedad Protección.* Initially, regulations specified that *mutualistas* must be male between eighteen and sixty years of age, mentally competent, and free of legal blemishes. To keep the organization free of domination by special-interest groups, ministers and political bosses were banned. The obligations of *mutualistas* required attendance at meetings, payment of dues, and high moral standards. Mirroring lay Franciscans, members were "obliged to be compassionate and [to show] mercy," by practicing *hermanismo*, or brotherhood. As a means of identification, SPMDTU members used secret passwords and ritual handshakes, and wore *divisas emblemas*, or dual-sided silk badges. During SPMDTU functions, the solid-colored side of the badge was worn. When attending wakes, members reversed their badges to the black side, indicating a time of mourning. To symbolically depict the ideal of brotherhood, each side of the badge was embossed with an encircled pair of clasping hands. Self-identified as *hermanos*, or brothers, the SPMDTU initiated unemployment and sickness subsidies in 1910 and four years later adopted funeral and burial insurance.

Incorporated in Colorado in 1911, the SPMDTU's "Preambulo," or preamble, underscored land loss in the San Luis Valley. Located along the south-central border with New Mexico, the valley was settled by New Mexicans under the auspices of two Mexican-era land grants. Plagued as the valley was with bitter land disputes, it is not happenstance that the stated purpose of the SPMDTU was to provide "Protection against injuries of tyrants and despots, of usurpers of land and justice, and of those who take our lives, our honor, and property."

News accounts in the San Luis Valley's *Alamosa Independent Journal* amplified the need for the forceful preamble. Subsistence stock raisers from New Mexico settled Colorado under the promise of communal pasture, a lot for a home, and a small agricultural plot. With the enclosure of the commons by land companies and baronial ranches, tensions mounted. In January 1902, the *Journal* described how Hispano herders were threatened at gunpoint and forced to watch as their sheep, mules, and dogs were killed and their camp set afire. By June, intimidation turned to murder as Hispano sheepherders and prominent ranchers were killed. Toleration of Anglo-American assailants caused the *Journal* to observe that the "failure to assist in the capture and conviction" gave an appearance of "endorsement of the killing or winking at the methods of the highwaymen." Two years later, the *Journal* condemned the murdering of sheepherders and killing of hundreds of sheep, forewarning that "justice will have to be done . . . in order to stay a body of men whose rights the law fails to recognize."

With the onset of anti-immigrant sentiment after World War I, Hispano residents and workers from Mexico were targeted as unwanted foreigners. Whether through Ku Klux Klan extremism or in 1936

when Governor Ed Johnson attempted to stop Mexican laborers and New Mexican residents from entering Colorado by manning two checkpoints in the San Luis Valley with the National Guard, the xenophobic atmosphere altered SPMDTU membership. José Timoteo López, the SPMDTU's first chronicler, noted that racial animosity prompted the society to exclude non-Hispanos from membership, although individual lodges did not always enforce the regulation if an applicant had intermarried or was considered Hispanicized. With anti-immigrant sentiment questioning the citizenship and loyalty of all Spanish-speakers, the organization deleted "*Compatriotas Mexicano*," or Mexican Compatriots, from its preamble by substituting the term "*Hispano-Americano*."

Organizational Structure

Like the *penitentes*, the *mutualistas* met in the homes of members. Perhaps that is why gathering spaces often resemble domestic dwellings. In the first decade of establishment, eight *concilios* rotated meetings in different communities. Because of the great distances between lodges, members passed a resolution adopting a Spanish-language newspaper as their "official organ" of communication. Since phone service was a luxury in rural areas of southern Colorado and northern New Mexico before the middle of the twentieth century, Spanish-language newspapers were key to the success of the organization. From 1911 into the 1940s, five newspapers in southern Colorado and northern New Mexico published the SPMDTU's minutes and announcements in Spanish.

In 1950, on the golden anniversary of the founding, the SPMDTU counted sixteen lodges in the San Luis Valley, eight throughout Colorado, twenty-one in New Mexico, and three in Utah. Membership declined during World War II as men joined the military or migrated to work in defense industries. After the beginning of the civil rights movement, the SPMDTU deferred to the Chicano movement to challenge racial inequality. By the 1970s, widespread employee insurance caused membership to fall to 1,096. Despite this setback, members passed a 1978 resolution admitting women to the organization. In 1996, insurance coverage was transferred to the Western Slavonic Association, as it was impractical to meet the Insurance Commission's requirements for multistate coverage. When it celebrated its one hundredth anniversary in November 2000, the SPMDTU boasted eight councils in two states and 500 members. The organization continues to hold annual conventions and conduct meetings in Spanish. Currently, the SPMDTU is restoring its *Concilio Superior*, or Antonito headquarters, in anticipation of housing a museum and allowing more access to the community. In addition to their scholarship fund, the SPMDTU is working with the University of New Mexico, Center for Regional Studies, to archive their documents and publish their history.

The long-term success of the SPMDTU can be measured by three trends. Foremost is the self-reliance of individual councils. Traditionally, councils either rented a structure or purchased a lot to construct their lodge halls. Sweat equity and non-financial contributions of membership in the form of labor, dues, and fundraising is a testament to group unity. Situated in accessible locations and constructed of adobe (unfired earthen blocks), SPMDTU lodge halls were prominent features in villages. Used as polling places and for public fundraising events, the largest halls accommodated dances and recreational activities for membership. Second, the SPMDTU is unique as it is one of a handful of early *mutualista* organizations to survive time, outliving even the *Alianza*.

Finally and most poignant, is the ritualized burial of *mutualistas*. The SPMDTU ritual includes a wake, honor guard, and meeting at the gravesite. After taking a roll call, the eulogy commences. Wearing their *divisas* to the grave, the brothers toss *siempre viva*, or stonecrop, onto the coffin. Grave markers of members are often etched with the SPMDTU emblem, demonstrating unending loyalty. Acts of solidarity, continuity of the organization, and group loyalty are the hallmarks of classical social movements. Unlike mainstream benevolent organizations, which disappear after the crisis situation has passed, the SPMDTU continues because the custom of mutual aid in Latino communities has shaped an attitude of perseverance through intergroup cooperation.

Maria Mondragón-Valdéz

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Gray Panthers Movement

The Gray Panthers was created in January 1970 when six older professional women met for lunch to discuss a dual challenge: how to continue their activist protests with young people against the Vietnam War and how to fight forced retirement. That lunch planted the seed for what was to become the Gray Panthers, an imaginative, activist movement governed by a passionate belief in social justice.

Spearheading the gathering was Margaret E. (Maggie) Kuhn, a disciple of the sociologist Charles Elmer Gehlke and a forceful proponent of community activism. An active Vietnam War protester with vast social work experience, Kuhn was herself the victim of forced retirement from an executive position with the national Presbyterian Church. Other women who lunched that day were in the same boat: activists in the civil rights, antiwar, and environmental movements of the 1960s and either retired or on the brink of retirement. Eleanor French was director of the student division of the World YWCA in Geneva; Helen Smith was an executive with the United Church of Christ; Polly Cuthbertson was director of the American Friends Service Committee College Program; Anne Bennett was a religious educator affiliated with the Women's Strike for Peace; and Helen Baker was a United Nations reporter.

This early confluence of political and social commitment and aging was to become the Gray Panthers, a bold anti-ageist coalition of young and old, loud in its demands for increased public expenditure on social programs, cutbacks in military spending, a national healthcare program similar to Canada's, and the abolition of child poverty. Defining its mission as the creation of a better society for all ages, it crafted a broad agenda encompassing cross-generational concerns and using community organizer Saul Alinsky–type tactics to marshal support.

Its first official meeting took place in May 1970 at Columbia University's International House when word of mouth brought together 100 activists to form a new social action organization, the Consultation of Older and Younger Adults for Social Change. It adopted the slogan "Age and Youth in Action." These early members placed "ageism"—a term coined by Dr. Robert Butler to mean prejudices and stereotypes applied to older people sheerly on the basis of age—alongside racism, sexism, and militarism as among the great oppressive forces of the time. The group abjured (despite its burdensome name) identity as an old persons group or as a gray lobby. It was no accident that the Vietnam War was an organizing issue—"it identified us with the young," Kuhn later said, as Gray Panthers staged antiwar protests at draft board offices around the country.

The Gray Panthers came to life at a time when America was growing grayer. Advances in healthcare and quality of life had increased the average lifespan from sixty-four in 1940 to seventy-four by the 1970s. A surge in the over-sixty-five population segment marked the years from 1950 to 1975, as the elderly expanded from 12 million to 22 million, or from 8.1 percent to 10.5 percent of the total population. In 1970 alone, the elderly numbered 20 million (compared with 3.2 million in 1900), or roughly 10 percent of the population, and was growing at a rate of 900 a day. Nearly 25 percent lived below the poverty line, with only 9 percent enrolled in private pension plans.

Response to this burgeoning population came in the form of social and political initiatives to represent the old and their interests. The American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) quickly grew to more than 20 million, and membership in the National Council of Senior Citizens (NCSC) swelled. The U.S. House of Representatives set up a Committee on Aging (complementing the Senate's Special Sub-Committee on Aging), while the White House created the Administration on Aging (AoA) to represent elderly interests and launched the White House Conferences on Aging, forums on problems affecting the old. Passage of Medicare in 1966 helped ease some of the financial

MARGARET E. "MAGGIE" KUHN

(1905–1995)

Born on August 31, 1905, in Buffalo, New York, Margaret E. Kuhn was raised in the North so that she would not be exposed to the racial segregation her Southern parents had experienced. In 1922, she enrolled in Western Reserve University in Cleveland, Ohio, where she majored in English and sociology while also organizing a college chapter of the League of Women Voters. After graduation in 1926, she taught briefly and then took a job with Cleveland's Young Women's Christian Association, where she stayed until 1948 and developed an interest in social activism.

Kuhn's next significant job was as the associate secretary for the United Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia until she was forced to retire in 1970 at the age of sixty-five. She became an activist for social causes such as women's rights, medical care, housing, and the elderly. She resented the church's mandatory retirement policy and after being forced to retire began meeting with other retirees about social issues.

Kuhn and five other retirees founded the Consultation of Older and Younger Adults for Social Change in 1970, an organization committed to bridging the gap between young and old people. A reverend who likened them to the militant Black Panthers dubbed them the "Gray Panthers." The name was officially adopted in 1972. From their office in a Philadelphia church basement, they launched a crusade for nursing home reform, fought ageism and racism, and claimed that "old people constitute America's biggest untapped and undervalued human energy source."

In 1973, the Gray Panthers merged with Ralph Nader's Retired Professional Action Group and began healthcare advocacy for the elderly. Outgrowing their mid-Atlantic base, the Gray Panthers launched a national organization comprised of local "Networks," each of which had a leader known as a "Convenor." The group began investigating fraud in the health care industry and launched a study of nursing homes that resulted in *Nursing Homes: A Citizens' Action Guide* (1977). Beginning in the mid-1970s, the group presented position papers and staged protests at meetings of the American Medical Association (AMA) in an effort to get the AMA to focus on the medical concerns of the elderly. Kuhn later attacked welfare reform for its shortcomings, the negative portrayal of the elderly on television, and the Reagan administration for wanting to cut Social Security benefits. The Gray Panthers succeeded in raising or eliminating the mandatory retirement age in certain jobs. In the early 1990s, a campaign for a national healthcare system was their top priority. Kuhn remained the national convenor of the organization and received several honors for her work. She died at home in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on April 22, 1995. The organization briefly struggled to remain viable after her death, but reorganized and has remained vital since.

James G. Lewis

burdens of healthcare for the elderly, but it did nothing to help the aged to live with chronic diseases and disabilities, find home healthcare services, and get financial help with Medicare when personal funds ran out.

Maggie Kuhn, the driving force behind the Gray Panthers, however, did not hold that the overriding problem affecting the aged was health or money. She concurred with the findings of a 1969 Senate Special Subcommittee on Aging: Old people, it concluded, yearn for involvement. "They are crushed with the feeling of no longer being wanted, useful or important to others. They have been stripped of their value—and so of their dignity as human beings." Kuhn was determined to transform the long-held stereotype of the old as impoverished, frail, and politically impotent people. She eschewed the term *senior citizen* ("old people are old") and advocated the elderly's place at the table: "We'll do it with militancy, demonstrations, badges—anything." She encouraged older people to take control of their lives and to "speak out, even if your voice shakes," and regain a sense of social and political empowerment.

Diminutive, frail, white hair tied back in a wispy bun, granny glasses—Kuhn was a perfect fit for the little old lady every Boy Scout helps across the street. In action she was a dynamic leader, keenly aware of the profound influence TV and local media reports have on the public's view of a movement. She set the tone and shaped the fledgling movement's opposition to the political and economic status quo, clearly differentiating it from the establishment aging organizations, which, Kuhn charged, failed to encourage old people to take control of their lives as well as an activist role in society's larger issues.

Although 70 percent of the elderly impoverished

were women, and black elderly women were more likely to be poor and living in squalor than white, neither the AARP nor the NCSC addressed gender, race, or class inequities. An indication of AARP's base is discernible in its Medicare position: Rather than join a national campaign to mandate legislation that would limit doctor fees to Medicare levels, AARP urged members to join private health insurance groups. Its activities, Kuhn said, were dictated by a "we worked damned hard and we're going to get ours" attitude.

Organization and Activism

Initially a loosely organized group of seniors and college-aged youth (those retired along with those not yet caught up in careers), the Gray Panthers sought people of all ages to work together to achieve a more equal distribution of power and wealth. Panthers took to the streets wafting banners and picket signs protesting the Vietnam War, nursing home abuse, homelessness, and skyrocketing child-care costs. Radical protests by the elderly had not been seen in the United States since the 1930s when the Townsend Movement demonstrated for the enactment of a national pension system, a movement credited with being a factor in the passage of the Social Security Act of 1936.

Headquarters started out as a room in Kuhn's West Philadelphia home, a refurbished house that she shared with several young people. (Panthers advocated intergenerational home sharing as a solution to homelessness.) Although Maggie Kuhn was its most visible leader, she was far from autocratic. Throughout the country, local networks of Panthers and "cubs" (Panthers under thirty) acted independently of headquarters—in ideology and in organization the style was democratic—not authoritarian. It eschewed dues collection and membership cards, differentiating it from mainstream social action groups. With its small numbers and tiny budgets, the Panthers fought for everyone's place at the table.

National recognition exploded when the Panthers set its sights on the White House Conference on Aging (WHCA) in December 1971. Charging that the WHCA was a "whitewash" that ignored the nation's elderly African Americans, the Panthers, in league with the National Caucus on the Black Aged, staged a Black House Conference on Aging. At the time, African-American elderly suffered a disproportionate share of the problems of old age, essentially because the Social Security system was based on white mortality tables and many elderly blacks did not live long enough to receive benefits. Moreover, 50 percent of the black elderly population qualified as poor, with most black elderly men in 1969 bringing home annual incomes of less than $3,000. Reinforcing the rebellious mood was the WHCA's delegate apportionment—rural states held a majority voice rather than urban states where most of the U.S. elderly resided.

Held just two weeks before and a few blocks away from the White House Conference, the Black House Conference brought close to 1,000 people—mostly elderly blacks—together at the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church for the two-day meeting. With no funds for hotel rooms, many slept in the church. At the conference conclusion, attendees marched to the White House gates to present their demands: reduce disparities between blacks and whites in healthcare, housing, and income, and end the war. D.C. mounted police ordered the group to disperse. Fannie Jefferson, a march leader, refused. Whistles rang out. Horses charged. Kuhn was knocked to the ground. Jefferson was handcuffed, swept off in a police car, and charged with disorderly conduct. The melee made national headlines and prompted a reverend to dub the group the Gray Panthers (after the Black Panthers) on the way to taping a television program in New York City. The name stuck.

Meanwhile, back at the White House, WHCA organizers quickly shifted gears. Invitations went out for minority participation, Black House Conference issues were added to the agenda, and the speakers' roster was reconfigured to include academic gerontologists, gray lobbyists, reformers, and high-level Nixon administration bureaucrats. Kuhn was awarded press credentials, allowing her to file salty daily critiques of the proceedings. The final session featured President Richard Nixon, who called for a broad set of legislative proposals covering Medicare expansion, a 25 percent increase in Social Security benefits, establishment of federal standards for private pension systems, creation of a $100 million nutrition program for the elderly, and housing and transportation programs for the poor.

With the headlines came a surge in membership and national recognition, forcing some semblance of organization on the Panthers—although its lack of formal structure was a key attraction. By late 1971, a steering committee was in place, with Kuhn as convener, and business was now conducted from a converted janitor's closet in Philadelphia's Tabernacle Church with a staff of volunteer college students. In October, the first in a series of annual leadership

workshops met at Ghost Ranch, New Mexico. Heads of Panther networks from all over the country attended. Early funding came from the United Presbyterian Church, the United Church of Christ, and national labor organizations. An alliance (and a $25,000 cash contribution) with Ralph Nader's Retired Professional Action Group was the first of many partnerships the Panthers would form over the years. A Gray Panther Project Fund was incorporated to receive funds, and the Internal Revenue Service granted nonprofit status in 1974. The same year produced a seven-point article of agreement on governance, and by 1975 the Panthers had hosted its first national convention, when 400 delegates from thirty-three states came to Chicago to pass resolutions on mandatory retirement, healthcare, inflation, hunger, nursing home reform, housing, and other issues.

Early Initiatives

These early Panthers viewed the world as amenable to change. They espoused diverse social causes, and their tactics echoed the civil rights activism of the 1960s: nonviolent confrontations, street demonstrations, letters, petitions, and heavy media exposure. To protest cutbacks in Philadelphia's transit system, for example, protesters strewed their canes across transit tracks, and their wheelchair-bound colleagues lofted placards calling for service restorations, holding up local transit and attracting local news coverage. A bank in Fayetteville, North Carolina, was picketed from morning to night for refusing to permit old people to use their homes as collateral for loans. Los Angeles saw a tent city go up, a block from City Hall and the *Times* Building, as Panthers fought cutbacks in public housing. Boston's Gray Panthers secured a $15,000 grant to develop interdependent living projects for isolated people. In Omaha, Panthers organized to fight public utility rate hikes, and in Kansas City Gray Panthers successfully sued to eliminate a freeze on welfare funds.

On a national level, the Panthers leveled its sights on healthcare. Panthers demanded that Washington provide a decentralized national health service. The national debate on healthcare had been in full force since the 1950s when a number of programs to resolve problems afflicting the elderly culminated in the passage of Medicare in 1966. But Medicare was not enough. Doctors, the Gray Panthers charged, gave short shrift to the elderly, and few of the 20,000 medical school faculty specialized in geriatrics. Physician training focused on acute illnesses—chronic conditions of old age were ignored.

On April 10, 1984, hundreds of Gray Panthers and older Americans march in Boston to demand the repeal of mandatory retirement legislation. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

Doctors became the next national target. Gray Panthers organized an unlikely coalition of nurses, medical students, Sisters of Mercy, Brothers of the Poor, and doctors to protest at the American Medical Association's 123rd national convention at Chicago's posh Palmer House. Borrowing from the 1960s "Guerilla Theater," members put on a skit in the Palmer House lobby depicting efforts to revive a comatose AMA (a Panther dressed in a hospital gown labeled "Sick AMA"). The body was carried out to the curb where a Sisters of Mercy ambulance waited. A doctor–nurse team employed oxygen, mouth-to-mouth resuscitation, and deep chest massage. Nothing worked. Vital signs returned only after the "medics" pulled wads of money out of the body's chest cavity. A photograph of the "Sick AMA" hemorrhaging dollar bills made the *Chicago Tribune*, drawing national headlines; interest in the Gray Panthers exploded. By 1979, the group claimed 30,000 members in thirty-two states.

Changing Stereotype

The heyday of the Gray Panthers (mid-1970s to the 1990s) coincided with a decline in the liberal-dominated social policies and civil rights activism of the late 1960s and early 1970s and a gradual ascendancy of the New Right with its thrust for reduced social welfare expenditures, tax reductions for upper-income groups and corporations, less environmental regulation, and opposition to recent gains of minorities and women. American politics underwent a dramatic shift as right-wing conservatives reorganized to mount a campaign of persuasion to influence the popular culture. By the late 1970s, their work had begun to bear fruit as generously endowed conservative think-tanks like the Heritage Foundation and the American Enterprise Institute, centers of conservative political thought and writing, emerged. Corporate funding sponsored the airing of conservative projects such as Accuracy in Media, the *American Spectator*, and economist Milton Friedman's "Free to Choose" TV program. Among the issues singled out were federal expenditures on older Americans. Conservative analysts cited the high cost of Social Security, which rose some $60 billion in the decade from 1970; they decried as wasteful special tax exemptions and credits awarded the over-sixty-fives, charging that the entitlements had created an "Old Age Welfare State."

New stereotypes now emerged in the popular culture, portraying the elderly not as the feeble, frail, and impoverished, but rather as greedy guzzlers feeding at the public trough. Political efforts intensified to delegitimize the elderly as deserving recipients and to undermine public confidence in Social Security. The New Right, under President Ronald Reagan and guided by economist Arthur Laffer's supply-side theories advocating tax cuts and reductions in social spending as solutions to the nation's economic problems, made political hay with heavily weighted analyses of government expenditures on the old in comparison to other age groups. It strove to reframe the context within which Americans viewed the elderly. Newsmagazines recast old folks as "greedy geezers" and "savage grannies" whose powerful "geriatric juggernaut" in Washington shamelessly protected their extravagant legislative gains at the expense of the rest of American society. A *Forbes* cover asked, "America's Elderly: Can We afford Them?" One journal referred to Social Security as "the monster that's eating our future," while *Newsweek* termed Social Security the "trust fund that ate America."

With the groundwork laid, the Reagan administration opened its assault on Social Security in spring 1981, introducing legislation calling for reductions in benefits, stricter limits in disability criteria, and delays in implementing cost-of-living allowances. In response, the Gray Panthers mounted a huge letter-writing campaign and testified before House Ways and Means Committee hearings, leading Representative Dan Rostenkowski (D-IL) to liken the Panthers to paratroopers: "They can drop in on you at any time." Kuhn led the Panthers in candlelight vigils from a tent city erected across the street from the White House and staged public demonstrations around the country, culminating in a July 21, 1982, rally at the Capitol. Panthers railed against a "society that throws people away, that views old age as a disease, that says if you don't have a job you're nobody." If, Panthers argued, Social Security is scaled back or withdrawn, elderly poverty rates would increase hugely. Without Medicare, the burden of hospital and medical expenses would be overwhelming. Without a public pension to encourage older workers to retire, employment opportunities for younger workers would diminish. Without the economic independence that federal programs provided for older Americans, an enormous burden of support would fall on the shoulders of younger family members.

By relegitimizing Social Security in the public mind as an earned "right" ("this is their money. They had it deducted from their wages," Senator Howard Metzenbaum (D-OH) told *US News & World Report),* the Panthers and its allies formed an effective strategy to defuse the New Right's rhetorical ploys. The sheer magnitude of the organized political opposition, with the Gray Panthers playing a key role, forced the Reagan administration to settle for far less in Social Security cutbacks.

The *Nation* termed the Gray Panthers as "radically visionary" as they were activist. The movement never lost sight of the social issues that benefit all, insisting on its intergenerational focus. "We are not an old folks lobby and never have been," Kuhn told an interviewer in 1988. The Panthers refused to pit the interests of the old against those of the young. They lampooned the New Right's arguments of generational inequity, noting the naivete of its assumption of static generations—everyone ages. "We're all getting older," Kuhn mused.

The cross-generational nature of its membership helps distinguish the Panthers from the well-funded AARP. Over the years, local Gray Panther networks continued to organize demonstrations on tenants rights in nursing homes, against hearing aid industry

abuses (in alliance with Ralph Nader's Public Citizen, Inc.), intergenerational housing, and social justice. The movement is credited with new legislation governing the hearing aid industry and for the eventual ban on mandatory retirement. The Panthers persuaded the National Association of Broadcasters to amend the Television Code of Ethics to include age with race and sex as areas of media sensitivity. Maggie Kuhn appeared on Johnny Carson's *Tonight Show*, where she scolded the host for his "Aunt Blabby" portrayal, and she publicly chastised President Gerald Ford at a White House press conference for calling her a "young lady." "I'm an old woman," she told him.

The Gray Panthers catapulted into the national consciousness, growing to 100,000 members in forty-two states and a half dozen countries by the mid-1980s. Given its aversion to hierarchical organization (a Washington, D.C., office was not opened until 1981, and the number of national staff members never rose above six), the Gray Panthers has not been a consistent, organized Washington lobby group. Its significance lies in its activist role as among the most vocal of organizations calling for universal healthcare, economic justice for all, and the preservation of Social Security and Medicare programs. It worked within a recognized counter establishment that included Ralph Nader's Public Citizen, Inc., the National Organization of Women, Hospice International, Greenpeace, and the Union of Concerned Scientists. Targets included the AMA, the Gerontological Society of America, Congress, state legislatures, the United Nations, local zoning boards, courts, banks, and insurance companies. Spirited demonstrations and rallies called for public ownership and control of utilities, elimination of the income cap for Social Security benefits, nuclear disarmament, prison reform, and a national healthcare program. By the early 1980s, the Gray Panthers were publishing their own national newsletter, running radio programs in several cities, conducting a media watch to monitor press coverage of old people, and producing *Over Easy*, a public television program on social issues. In 1981, the Gray Panthers were awarded consultant status at the United Nations and opened an office in Washington, D.C.

Always overshadowed by the more centrist AARP, particularly after the death of the charismatic Maggie Kuhn in 1995 (the movement by then had dwindled to less than 40,000 members in 100 local networks), the Gray Panthers still hold some sway in the political debate, particularly on the local level. Social scientist Robert Binstock notes that the Gray Panthers is the only "organization working to solve the problems of human beings rather than those of the profession and the industry" and remains one of the few activist groups to have survived the Vietnam War. Others theorize that the Gray Panthers was perhaps most effective in raising the nation's consciousness about ageism and the problems of the elderly. It drew national attention to the needs of the elderly and succeeded in creating a new public image of the old as a community of vital, involved people who provide a radical conscience for society. Its biennial conventions still feature public displays on the plight of the uninsured, the homeless, and other disenfranchised members of society.

Martha Monaghan Corpus

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Senior Citizens Movement

The social movement on behalf of older people in the United States reflects their growing numbers. Increased longevity, better medical care, and a decline in infectious diseases significantly changed the demographic composition of the nation's population in the twentieth century. Before 1900, people over the age of sixty represented less than 2 percent of the populace; by mid-century, that proportion had grown to 7.8 percent. The 2000 census revealed that 16.2 percent, or 45 million people, were sixty years of age or older. The "baby boom" generation (those born between 1946 and 1964) is expected to double the elderly population by the year 2010.

The terms *old age*, *aging*, and *elderly* have many different contextual meanings that have evolved over time. From Roman times when Cicero first wrote "aging is itself a disease" through the nineteenth century, physicians used a medical definition for old age. Unable to discriminate between physiological changes like graying hair and the characteristic symptoms of chronic illnesses like arthritis, they concluded that old age was a disease for which there was no treatment or cure. Chronological age has also been used as a social or cultural device to frame expectations and control behavior. The onset of old age has been set at various points between forty-five and seventy years. Most recently, the terms "young-old" (65 to 85 years) and "old-old" (85 plus) suggest that elderly people continue to be segregated into age-based categories. Some researchers and practitioners employ other parameters, however. A functional definition of old age considers not age per se, but the ability to perform normal daily activities and be self-sufficient. A biological approach addresses aging on the cellular level and studies the role of genetics. For most people, there are two kinds of aging: the preferred "normal" old age in which the individual is healthy and independent, and pathological old age characterized by dependence and deterioration of physical or mental functions.

The Aged and Poverty

The tradition of community responsibility and public assistance for the needy originates in the English "Old" Poor Laws. Beginning in 1531, a series of laws in Great Britain repressed vagrancy and begging but gave the aged poor special license to ask for alms. The law later mandated the local collection and distribution of charitable alms. By 1601, the Poor Relief Act required each parish to levy a tax on its citizens to provide relief for dependent people, specifically orphans and widows, the sick, elderly, and disabled. Without state guidelines for the local administration of or fiscal responsibility for public charity, arbitrary and discriminatory poor relief practices provided minimal assistance.

Settlers in the American colonies continued this tradition of local responsibility for dependents in the community. Poor relief fell under the jurisdiction of public charity but was implemented under the rubric of private religious beliefs. Older people without family support received assistance in their homes, while others were cared for in the homes of neighbors. Relief assistance was limited, personal, and community based.

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, the democratic ideology of independence began to influence the administration and distribution of charity in the United States. The general public viewed pauperism as a consequence of poor habits, bad morals, or intemperance, and paupers as inferior. In large cities, public almshouses provided food and shelter in a controlled and often punitive environment that sought to reform intractable behavior and inculcate a proper work ethic. The concept of minimum sufficiency, institutionalized as "indoor" relief, presumably deterred slackers and the able bodied but reinforced categorical

With the Washington Monument in the background, senior citizens demonstrate on April 13, 1999, to demand that prescription drugs be covered by Medicare. Older Americans became more numerous and more politically active in the late twentieth century. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

separations between the worthy and unworthy poor. In rural areas, township officials or county commissioners directed poor relief efforts by taxing the local community and providing "outdoor" relief such as food or firewood. Eventually, county administrators constructed "poor houses," which were usually located on working farms that mirrored the conservative and cash-starved ideology of rural life.

The Inadequacy of Private Charity

For the old, sick, and infirm who required long-term custodial care, the institutional constraints designed for the poor were clearly inappropriate. Almshouses and poor farms housed undifferentiated populations that included children and families, elderly, sick, deaf, blind, and mentally incompetent people. By the mid- to late nineteenth century, professional social scientists abandoned outdoor relief, believing that it fostered dependency, and so began to focus on prevention and treatment instead. Reform efforts on behalf of special groups resulted in new institutions that segregated the dependent poor according to age or need. With new asylums for the mentally ill, orphanages, and special schools for the blind and deaf being built, greater numbers of elderly took refuge in almshouses and county poor farms. In the interests of "scientific charity," the charity organization movement and state departments of charities and corrections endorsed better standards, equitable treatment, and efficient operations in public institutions, but local administration and meager funding for deteriorating facilities mitigated against good service for the elderly. Because old age could not be prevented or treated, old people in public institutions became "invisible." Despite the fact that less than 5 percent of the elderly have ever populated institutions, the poor house came to symbolize moral, social, and economic failure, a place inhabited by people whose age, health, social status, and seemingly insignificant numbers precluded any widespread national reform movement.

After the Civil War, religious institutions and private, charitable organizations began operating old age homes that catered to the needs of the "worthy" poor—those who through no fault of their own needed assistance. The Little Sisters of the Poor, a Catholic religious order that opened thirteen homes across the country for the elderly between 1868 and 1872, accepted anyone who was destitute, over sixty, and of good character, regardless of race or religion. More commonly, old age homes closely restricted admissions. Some accepted white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant women or those of a specific ethnicity; others admitted only those old people who were free from chronic disease. Women often played a central role in ascertaining the need for and spearheading support for private, church-related homes. The disparaging "lady bountiful" image belies the important role that nineteenth-century women played in community reform and charitable service. Denominational groups such as the Baptists, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians, as well as church women of the African-American community, opened small homes for the aged that often cared for fewer than twenty people. Other ethnic groups like the Germans, Scots, and Welsh as well as Jewish benevolent societies and fraternal organizations (such as the Freemasons, Odd Fellows, and Fraternal Order of Eagles) created institutions for their older people. Advocates sustained these benevolent efforts through personal networks and private appeals for funds.

These efforts had a minimal impact on the aged. As charity workers and reformers began to work in the community, they recognized not only the inequity of private philanthropic relief and the inadequacy of public provisions but also the injustice of blaming individuals for their situation. After the 1880s, Protestant clergy stressed good works through social reform in a movement known as the "Social Gospel." Rev. Harris R. Cooley, the director of Charities and Corrections in Cleveland, Ohio, from 1901 to 1912, developed an internationally recognized municipal facility for health and elder care. The municipal model, grounded in Christian morality and financed with public funds, was one attempt to mitigate the negative perceptions about public institutions and to remedy the gap between public and private charity. Municipal and charitable hospitals also provided shelter for homeless people suffering with debilitating disease. Lacking public support and denied entrance into private institutions, some destitute and homeless elders turned to charity wards of city hospitals as their last resort. As hospitals became more scientific and catered to acute medical needs, however, this option became less available.

An exception to these local, private efforts were institutions supported by the federal government that provided hospice and medical care for old soldiers and those disabled in battle. The U.S. Naval Home, chartered in 1811 and opened in 1834 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, provided "permanent asylum for decrepit and disabled naval officers, seamen, and Marines." The U.S. Soldiers Home in Washington, D.C., opened in 1851 as an asylum for old and disabled veterans. Monthly payroll deductions of active duty enlistees were placed into pension or permanent trust funds and used to operate both homes. The Marine Hospital Service established by Congress in 1798 provided temporary relief to sick and disabled seamen and was the predecessor of the U.S. Public Health Service.

Post–Civil War Government Efforts

After the Civil War, legislation at the state level authorized the construction and operation of old soldiers' homes and resulted in more than thirty-six facilities in the North and fourteen in the South. The three National Homes for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers in Maine, Ohio, and Wisconsin provided veterans with a place to live and the promise of rehabilitation for eventual employment. In 1898, over 5,000 aging veterans, 64 percent of whom were not U.S. born, lived at the Dayton, Ohio, residential complex.

The federal government played a crucial role in the promise and provision of care for services rendered by veterans. The Continental Congress offered military pensions as an enlistment incentive. After the Revolutionary War, some soldiers received small stipends or land grants as partial payment for their military service. In 1818, Congress approved a general service pension for soldiers. By the following year, more than 28,000 veterans had applied for benefits. Although meager and quite restricted, the pensions nevertheless linked military service with remuneration at a later stage of life and established a precedent for federal participation.

In 1862, Congress set up a full-scale pension program for veterans suffering from war-related injuries. Provisions added in 1884 expanded eligibility to all veterans who were disabled by age or disease and unable to work. As the century came to a close, need and service-related disability were eliminated as prerequisites for benefits. By the early part of the twentieth century, chronological age was the single determinant used by the pension bureau.

Industrial development in the United States coincided with increased immigration and growth in the population, urbanization, and workplace specialization. Living conditions in overcrowded cities and the work environment in unregulated industries and manufacturing plants drew the attention of reformers who believed wage earners to be particularly vulnerable. Anti-aging rhetoric asserted that older people were not as efficient or as productive as younger workers and that modern technology used up the energy reserves of workers. Superannuation, decreased pay, and forced retirement policies controlled unemployment and shortened the overall work life of wage earners. Social theorists concluded that the shift from an agrarian to an industrial economy and the demographic relocation from rural to urban areas had disrupted the economic strategies (such as family support, wage labor, savings) traditionally used by older people. Advocates and welfare workers shifted the blame for dependency (poverty) from individual shortcomings to the broader economic system. Many began to promote a national plan for old age benefits.

Others distrusted federal intervention and believed that the notion of welfare capitalism would result in voluntary benefit programs. Between 1875 and 1900 trade unions, the railroads, a few private corporations, and industries like metal fabrication and mining that were particularly dangerous for workers experimented with death, disability, and retirement benefit systems. By 1908, nearly 500 private funds existed across the country. Most plans stipulated that an employee have a minimum number of years of service (twenty or thirty) and be incapacitated after a specific age (sixty or sixty-five). Underfunded and ineffective company-sponsored plans covered relatively few workers.

Support for retirement plans were not limited to industry. Efforts on behalf of teachers also resulted in some rudimentary pension programs. At the time of the city's consolidation in 1894, New York adopted a retirement system for its teachers. New Jersey enacted similar legislation for educators in 1896. In 1905, the Carnegie Foundation set up a $10 million retirement fund in order to provide pensions for college professors. This led to the creation of the Teachers Insurance and Assurity Association in 1918.

Federal, state, and local governments also implemented retirement programs for civic workers during the first decades of the twentieth century. Massachusetts was the first state to develop a contributory pension plan for all state employees in 1911. Between 1910 and 1920, the federal government implemented mandatory retirement at age seventy, inaugurated a compulsory savings plan, and brought classified civil service workers into the government pension plan. Municipal retirement programs for police and firefighters were widespread by the late 1920s.

It proved difficult to garner support for old age assistance programs at the state level. The private sector feared state intervention, opposed higher taxes, and believed that public pensions compromised the very nature of the private, voluntary, and mutual aid societies that had been the hallmark of the nation's charity system. Some people claimed that a public welfare system was un-American, whereas others believed that state support of the elderly would lead to a breakdown in family ties and discourage workers from saving. Although several state commissions recommended unrestricted pensions for elders, this counsel went unheeded. Early attempts to legislate assistance did not pass in Massachusetts (1903), and similar laws were declared unconstitutional in Arizona (1916) and Pennsylvania (1924).

Government Social Support

Nonetheless, old age assistance became an important rallying point for advocates. Support for state old age pensions gained momentum when interest groups argued that public categorical assistance programs for needy mothers and pensions for the blind and the military were already in place. Following Montana's lead in 1923, thirty-five states enacted state-supported assistance programs for indigent elders who lacked family support. In 1935, the average daily benefit paid to the elderly was 65 cents. Only a small minority of older Americans (3 percent) received any old age assistance. Public debate continued around the issues of need (means testing), use of government resources for public charity for the elderly, and whether social insurance should be voluntary or compulsory.

Although retirement benefits and old age assistance were at the forefront of the aging movement, interest in the elderly went beyond financial issues. In 1903, the American physician and future Nobel Prize winner Elie Metchnikoff coined the term *gerontology* and targeted old age and death as new areas for research. Ignatz L. Nascher, M.D., proposed in 1909 that fellow physicians study the medical aspects of old age in a new specialty that he called "geriatrics." Although neither of these subjects immediately ignited any interest as research topics, the designation of age-specific terms marked the beginning of a new period in the history of aging. Public awareness surfaced in other ways. In Cleveland, Ohio, Benjamin Rose estab-

lished the first nonprofit organization to exclusively address the needs of the elderly in 1908. Massachusetts established a public commission on aging in 1909, followed by studies conducted in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and New York. The American Association for Labor Legislation created a social insurance committee in 1912.

Two advocates of social insurance helped launch a pro–old age reform agenda. Isaac M. Rubinow, a Russian immigrant who held both an M.D. and a Ph.D. in economics, believed that a national plan fully supported by taxes could prevent destitution and obviate the need for relief. He argued that those most in need, women, the elderly, and the disabled, were the ones least able to afford private insurance. Rubinow supported a compulsory national benefit plan and social justice for workers. His ideas influenced the work of the Committee on Economic Security as it hammered out a national old age pension and unemployment plan.

The Emergence of Old Age Assistance

Abraham Epstein directed the Pennsylvania Commission on Old Age Pensions in 1920 and worked for the commission until 1927 when he formed the American Association for Old Age Assistance (later the American Association for Social Security [1933]) to promote a national program for old age benefits. Epstein supported an old age insurance plan based on work history and funded by fixed contributions from the employer and the employee. This contributory feature, he believed, would help separate the concept of old age pension from the negative old age assistance programs associated with need and pauperism. Under Epstein's direction in the mid-1920s, local chapters of the Fraternal Order of Eagles formed useful coalitions with state federations of labor and successfully exerted grassroots pressure for legislative change.

Grassroots movements that advocated social justice and supplemental income continued to proliferate during the Great Depression. Based in Michigan, Father Charles E. Coughlin reached a national radio audience estimated at more than 35 million to galvanize support for his National Union for Social Justice. Huey Long, a ruthless and canny politician from Louisiana, introduced the immensely popular Share Our Wealth plan that urged the government to provide every American family with an annual guaranteed income of $5,000 and a pension for all people over age sixty. The movement claimed to have more than 27,000 clubs in every state with 7.7 million members before Long was assassinated in 1935. Other smaller movements appealed to people on the basis of age and financial need. Upton Sinclair's End Poverty in California (EPIC) plan recommended a $50 a month pension for needy Californians over sixty who had been residents for at least three years. Robert Noble's Ham and Eggs plan attracted 300,000 members with its proposal that the state of California issue scrip worth $30 every week to unemployed.

The Townsend plan addressed both economic recovery and social reform. Put forward by California physician Francis E. Townsend, it proposed that the federal government give everyone over sixty years of age a $200 monthly allowance but stipulated that the entire amount must be spent every month. Funded by a 2 percent sales tax, Townsend believed the plan would encourage spending and help older people. By 1935, 2.2 million members in 7,000 Townsend Clubs supported a national old age pension plan. Public approval reached 56 percent when Townsend groups bombarded Congress with 10 million postcards. Although short-lived and not fully developed, the Townsend plan and other grassroots movements demonstrated the willingness of the American public to put aside views on individualism and minimum intervention from the state in favor of a national social welfare system.

In 1934, in the midst of a national economic depression, President Franklin D. Roosevelt set up a cabinet-level Committee on Economic Security under Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins. Edwin E. Witte served as the executive director along with an advisory committee of twenty-three. The committee at first considered unemployment, old age security, and healthcare but later dropped healthcare from its agenda. With the passage of the Social Security Act of 1935, welfare funding moved from the disparate local, voluntary efforts to a federal, publicly funded system. Part of the sweeping reform movements of Roosevelt's New Deal, Old Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance (OASDI), generically referred to as Social Security, set up a national contributory plan for old age insurance benefits. The compromise plan replaced the needs-based and charity components of Old Age Assistance with a categorical, income-based insurance or annuity system. The plan was implemented on January 1, 1937, and industrial and commercial workers paid 2 percent of their wages (up to $3,000) into an Old Age and Survivors Insurance Trust Fund. Employers matched these contributions. Later amendments to the Social Security Administration (SSA)

increased benefits and extended coverage to agricultural and domestic workers, the self-employed, employees of nonprofits, and those not in federal retirement programs. The SSA established the national identification system of Social Security numbers that insure contributions from every wage earner in the United States. The first federal old age benefits were paid to Ida M. Fuller, a former teacher and legal secretary from Ludlow, Vermont, in January 1940. She collected benefits until her death in 1975.

Philanthropy

Philanthropic organizations also spearheaded reform and blurred the boundaries between public and private efforts. In 1937, the Josiah Macy Jr. Foundation funded the first national conference on aging, resulting in the landmark publication of E.V. Cowdry's *Problems of Ageing* (1939). In 1940, the Macy Foundation awarded a one-year grant to support a partnership between the National Institutes of Health (NIH) and the city of Baltimore. This program evolved into a more comprehensive research program under Nathan W. Shock, who was appointed chief of the Gerontology Unit at the NIH in 1941.

Organizational advocacy for the elderly emerged in the context of science and research. In 1942, a core group of physicians, including Ignatz L. Nascher and Malford W. Thewlis, formed the American Geriatrics Society. This national organization for physicians helped focus attention on the medical and biological aspects of aging and promoted research and education in geriatric medicine. The Gerontological Society was organized in 1946 to establish gerontology as a field of study. It soon attracted a wide range of practitioners and professionals, including social workers, caregivers, nursing home operators, and researchers. Members advocated a multidisciplinary approach to the care and study of older people. The emergence of these two professional organizations signaled a change in how professionals perceived old people. Old age was seen no longer as an incurable disease but rather as a challenging, natural stage of life.

Rise of Member Advocacy Organizations

Other aging interest groups emerged after World War II. They included the National Retired Teachers Association (1947), the National Council on Aging (1950), and the American Association of Retired People (1958). Founded by Ethel Percy Andrus, the National Retired Teachers Association (NRTA) supported improved pension benefits and established a national group health insurance program in 1955. When other retirees tried to enroll in the program, Andrus founded the American Association of Retired People (AARP), a more inclusive association for older people with service, educational, and advocacy functions. In 1982, NRTA became a subsidiary association of the, by then, much larger AARP. In 1983, AARP lowered membership eligibility requirements from fifty-five to fifty years of age. In 2002, the organization had slightly more than 35 million members (about 44 percent of the over-fifty population in the United States), making it the largest membership group for old age advocacy. Thirty-seven hundred local chapters offer community service programs such as income tax preparation and counseling, take advocacy positions on healthcare, housing, and long-term care, and provide critical support for legislative initiatives such as the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967 and the 1986 amendment that eliminated mandatory

On April 16, 2002, Merle Senft (front) and Wenifred Statler (back left) join a rally in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, to urge expansion of the state's prescription drug program. The AARP, formerly known as the American Association of Retired People, has become a powerful lobbying organization on behalf of Americans fifty years of age and older. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

retirement. The National Council on Aging was organized under the aegis of the National Social Welfare Assembly in 1950. Led by Ollie Randall and Geneva Mathiasen, the organization promotes awareness and dialogue about the needs of the elderly, emphasizing social services. By the early twenty-first century, it had expanded its agenda to include intergenerational issues. Its membership includes seniors, voluntary agencies and associations.

These groups signaled a burgeoning social movement that accelerated in the 1960s. A vast network of public and private organizations, professional and institutional groups, trade associations, and nonprofits created an effective "gray lobby." New organizations such as the National Council of Senior Citizens under Aime Forand (1961), Gray Panthers Project Fund founded by Maggie Kuhn (1970), and the Older Women's League (1980) founded by Tish Sommers and Laurie Shields agitated for political reform. By 1970, there was an eightfold increase in the number of aging interest groups. Today innumerable grassroots organizations and affiliate groups specifically address issues related to older people and aging.

Continued Federal Role

After World War II, the nation turned its attention to domestic issues. In 1950, the Federal Security Administration sponsored a national conference on aging called "Man and His Years" to promote awareness and assess the challenges of an aging population. Eight hundred delegates made recommendations that became the guidelines for a broadly conceived national action plan. The conference sparked interest in old age and was the forerunner of subsequent White House Conferences on Aging held in 1961, 1971, 1981, and 1995. By 1960, there were nearly 16.7 million Americans over sixty-five. Poverty and aging came to the forefront as social commentators pointed out glaring economic disparities in access to services and technology. Some began to see age bias in the same context as racial and gender stereotyping.

In 1958, the White House Conference on Aging Act (PL 85-908) authorized the conference and funded public forums in the two-year period preceding the conference. The first White House Conference on Aging (WHCoA) in 1961 brought more than 3,000 delegates and attendees to Washington, D.C. Representatives from over 300 national voluntary organizations and special interest groups like AARP and NCSA participated. These special interest groups became more vocal, and with increasingly sophisticated political savvy, campaigned for national health insurance. The passage of Medicare and Medicaid (Titles XVIII and XIX of the Social Security Act) in 1965 directly resulted from the conference. The Older Americans Act enacted the same year authorized the creation of the Federal Administration on Aging and the Area Agencies on Aging. Its broad scope included healthcare and nutritional programs, housing, legal, educational, and recreational initiatives specifically aimed at older Americans. The Age Discrimination in Employment Act (1967) prohibited discrimination against workers older than forty years.

The 1971 WHCoA encouraged special interest groups to participate and made a stronger effort to coordinate community, regional, and state forums with the national conference. It focused on income maintenance and drafted nearly 200 recommendations. Increased public awareness and advocacy for older Americans resulted in bipartisan legislative efforts that brought a 20 percent increase and an indexed cost of living plan to Social Security benefits, as well as a Supplemental Security Income (SSI) program for needy elders, and a national nutrition program for seniors (nutrition sites, Meals on Wheels). In subsequent years, Congress authorized the Federal Council on Aging and the National Institute on Aging, established the House and Senate committees on aging, and passed the Employee Retirement Income Security Act (1974). Representative Claude Pepper emerged as a leader in elder advocacy. As an original member and later chair of the House committee, Pepper directed hearings on nursing home fraud, elder abuse, healthcare reform, and Alzheimer's disease. At the state level, Area Agencies on Aging identified needs and worked to coordinate services and improve access to transportation for older Americans.

The WHCoA in 1981 employed the same planning model used in the earlier conferences. Older people and activists participated in more than 9,500 local and state forums held in the two-year period immediately preceding the conference. Many advocacy groups took the opportunity to sponsor mini-conferences on topics such as arts, humanities, mental health, recreation, and leisure. Deliberately more inclusive, this conference garnered greater participation by women, minority groups, and the disabled. Attended by 3,100 delegates and observers, the gathering resulted in new attention to elder abuse, long-term healthcare, ageism, adult education, and intergenerational programming. It produced a record number of recommendations (668) for legislative and administration attention. Reforms of the 1980s included protection of

nursing home residents, stricter inspection standards, and the adoption of patients' bill of rights.

The 1995 WHCoA proclaimed "America Now and into the 21st Century: Generations Aging Together with Independence, Opportunity and Dignity" as its theme. The conference proposed few new initiatives but focused on the review, reauthorization, and preservation of existing programs. Once again, local- and state-level forums encouraged broad participation and helped shape an agenda that included health and long-term care issues, economic security, social services, and quality of life.

Early in the twentieth century, reformers used the deplorable conditions in public institutions to focus attention on housing needs. A U.S. Bureau of Labor survey in 1925 concluded that American almshouses were "dilapidated, inadequate and indecent." Title I of the SSA prohibited payment of benefits to those residing in public institutions. This brought growth in the private sector as owners of boarding houses turned their homes into informal domiciliary facilities. Lacking safety, fire, or care standards, the facilities subjected older residents to abuse and corruption.

In the twentieth century, the term *nursing home* was a generic term for any facility that provided care for older people. Some "normal" (disease-free) seniors lived in private nursing homes or residences that did not offer any medical services. Other elders resided in "chronic" hospitals that provided long-term, permanent residency for people with a wide range of disabilities. Public facilities, private board and care homes, and rest homes offered a variety of alternatives for residential care.

The Hill-Burton Act (1946) funded the construction of rural community hospitals. Later amendments in 1954 and 1957 included funding for long-term and ambulatory care facilities. This fostered the growth of proprietary nursing homes built on a medical model and led to the growth of the nursing home industry as a commercial, rather than public, private, or charitable, venture. The enactment of Medicare and Medicaid brought an explosive growth of nursing home beds but did not necessarily ensure quality institutional care for older people. As Robert Butler, the first director of the National Institute on Aging, noted in his Pulitzer Prize–winning book, *Why Survive? Being Old in America* (1975), nursing homes often had no nurses and were not homes. Subsequent federal and state legislation developed standards that required operational certification. The following decades saw greater differentiation of the institutionalized elderly, including skilled nursing, intermediate, maintenance, and rehabilitation facilities that emphasize the welfare and medical functions from which they evolved. Emerging dementia care units and wellness models stressed function, independence, and life continuities in an effort to meet the needs of special populations of institutionalized elderly.

The New Aged in America

As people lived longer and spent a greater number of years as retirees, new living arrangements and leisure activities industries emerged. Astute real estate developers appealed to older people seeking milder climates and a lower cost of living by building senior housing developments. Age-segregated, and in some cases age-restricted, retirement communities like Sun City, Arizona, began to spring up in the 1950s. Northern "snowbirds," retirees who migrated south during the winter months as well as large numbers of older people who permanently relocated to the South, significantly changed the politics, economics, and culture of their new localities. In the twenty-first century, some retirees "age in place," choosing to live independently in familiar surroundings and to utilize elder services that are now almost universally accessible. Others select retirement homes that have the option for outside assistance and at-home services as needed. A late-twentieth-century development in housing offered elders a "continuum of care," a system that includes independent apartment living, assisted living, and nursing home care. Within the senior housing and healthcare system, assisted living was the fastest-growing sector in the early 2000s.

Housing, healthcare, and financial security represent the "three-legged stool" of reform efforts on behalf of older people. Throughout the twentieth century, the hard work and social vision of individuals, grassroots organizations, and private interests aroused public attention and resulted in a national pension plan for wage earners, assistance plans for needy older Americans, a health plan, and a variety of approaches to specialized housing. The Savings Are Vital to Everyone's Retirement Act (known as the SAVER Act of 1997), which calls for three national summits on retirement savings, suggests that financial support during retirement remains a national concern. The demographic composition of the American population and the support of broad, grassroots organizations will undoubtedly bring continued advocacy for important issues for older people, including prescription drug coverage, extension of long-term-care benefits under Medicare/Medicaid, and demands for

continued research into the aging processes and diseases associated with old age.

Beth DiNatale Johnson

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Disabilities Movement

The study of disability in America focuses on the concept of marginalized groups, the concept of social constructivism, as well as the relationship between the meaning and identity of the human body. The concept of social constructivism, developed by psychologist Lev Vygotsky in the 1930s, centers around the critical importance of culture and the necessity of understanding the social context for cognitive development, two concepts essential to the understanding of disability. The concept of disability concerns those underrepresented populations, which historically have included not only those with physical, emotional, or behavioral disabilities, but also the indigent and poor. It was not until the twentieth century that individuals with disabilities began to receive governmental acknowledgment other than government-sponsored rehabilitative homes or poorhouses.

With the advent of the 1973 American Rehabilitation Act and the 1990 Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), the acknowledgment that disability existed in America gained national attention. The concept of disability, however, originated with the Thirteen Colonies and has been defined and redefined over the centuries. The twentieth century brought about a change in terminology from terms such as "deaf and dumb" or "handicapped" to terms such as "visually or hearing impaired" or "individuals with disabilities." The disability movement has essentially switched from a history that emphasizes a medical component to one that focuses on the minority in the study of disability. The concept of disability is one that must be analyzed in the spectrum of gender, race, ethnicity, and class, and the disability rights movement parallels the women's rights and civil rights movements, often encompassing both.

Defining Disability

The concept of disability originally focused on the inability to become a functioning part of society. Individuals with disabilities were unable to become true members of society; as Frank Bowe wrote in his "An Overview Paper on Civil Rights Issues of Handicapped Americans," "Disabled individuals were prohibited from settling in towns and villages of our Thirteen Colonies unless they could demonstrate ability to support themselves independently. . . . Immigration policy effectively forbade entrance into the country of persons with physical, mental, or emotional disabilities." Disability was often seen as "inability," so those who were disabled could not function as true members of society. As a result, those families whose membership included someone with a disability often kept these individuals hidden. Other families would either disown the individual, or neglect him or her, leaving that person to die without proper care. Bowe further noted, "Within disabled individuals, self-perception inevitably reflected prevailing social attitudes, keeping people from even attempting to become self-reliant."

The concept of "hiding" disabled individuals at home continued into the nineteenth century (and beyond as well). Those with disabilities were still considered insults to the family, but practices differed from area to area. Each community attempted to deal with the situation as best as possible; an 1849 Wisconsin law, delegated to "relieve and support all poor and indigent persons, lawfully settled therein, whenever they shall stand in need thereof," reflected similar laws in communities across the United States. The initial social policy in the nineteenth century appeared halfway through the century, mainly as a result of the industrial revolution, and the drive for all individuals to attain the minimal education level, approximately the equivalent of today's third-grade education. Those individuals who could not attain this level were perceived as "feeble-minded," and this included a range of disabilities, not just mental disabilities, but also visual, auditory, physical, or speech impairments, any-

thing that would limit socialization. This concept of inference, in which any disability, regardless of the type, resulted in a typecast of mental inferiority, began during social legislation in this period but remains strong today as well.

Initial Private and Government Efforts to Defend the Disabled

Perhaps the earliest proponent of efforts to aid the disabled was Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, whose work in Boston, Massachusetts, made him a visible supporter of the "feeble-minded." In 1846, he became the head of a new commission that planned to study the "feebleminded" and recommend a policy to assist these individuals. His recommendations resulted in the creation of the Massachusetts School for Idiotic Children and Youth in Boston in 1849, which fostered a rehabilitative approach. The child sent to this school would learn to be "temperate and industrious" and become "better and happier," eventually resulting in the return of the child to his or her family as a better citizen.

This concept resulted in initial success, but it soon became apparent that the parents did not want to resume care of their children; these parents assumed their children were in better care under Howe's staff at the school, a concept that blatantly contradicted Howe's public disregard for institutionalization. He retired in 1874 as the head of the school, vehemently denouncing the segregation of those with disabilities; however, he would be one of the last dissenters until the early twentieth century. Howe did, however, succeed in creating the foundation for understanding the dehumanization of the institutionalized.

Howe's work no doubt also influenced the development of the first nationwide disability income support system, which appeared in the form of pensions for Civil War veterans. The 1862 law essentially provided a level of payment that was consistent with the individual's military rank and type of disability, which, in time, would expand to cover benefits for dependent widows, mothers, and fathers. This first large-scale federal welfare system received some additional support in 1879 with the passage of the Arrears of Pension Act, which entitled a person to all payments he might have received had a claim been filed at the time of the injury.

This resulted in a flood of pension requests; by 1880, veterans' pensions accounted for 20 percent of the federal budget and almost 30 percent by the turn of the century. The 1890 Dependent Pension Act practically legitimized any claim by a Civil War veteran, transposing this disability program into a social welfare program for the aged and leading to criticism for awarding pensions for work-related disability and veterans. Civil service reformers, in particular, were angered by the congressional approach to the administration of veterans' pensions, as well as the handling of work-related accidents. Workers complained about systems that required them to pay large sums of money to attorneys, interpreters, and witnesses, as well as to the doctors. Therefore, between 1911 and 1920, forty-five states passed worker's compensation laws that resulted in a new form of income for work-related disabilities.

Yet, over time, the types of disability would change, and the policies associated with worker's compensation did not, at least until the Social Security Act of 1935 became the legislative initiative for a national disability income support law. Although disability was an indirect component of the legislation, initially calling for support for the elderly and dependent children, a third category was added. During the congressional deliberations for passage of this legislation, a group of visually impaired individuals entered the hearing with their guide dogs, thus providing public acknowledgment of the visually impaired. The states could now offer welfare to visually impaired individuals, but only this category of disability received specific representation. States that wished to financially support individuals with various other disabilities would have to rely on state funding, not federally supported funds.

Intellectual Attitudes: Aversion and Support for Eugenics

Concurrent with the legislative and political trends were the societal perceptions, often fostered publicly in published works. Havelock Ellis, a leader for human rights and author of the book *The Task of Social Hygiene*, published in the United States in 1927, publicly supported women's rights, as well as the rights of the disadvantaged. However, he contradicted his public stance in passages on the "problem of feebleminded ness." He wrote that the "feebleminded" are "not adequately capable of resisting their own impulses or the solicitations of others, and they are unable to understand adequately the motives which guide the conduct of ordinary people." Viewing them as a burden to society and a menace to the future of American society since they formed "the reservoir from which the predatory classes are recruited," Ellis represented the contradiction between the public and private conceptions of disability which were so com-

mon to American life. He argued that "feeble-mindedness is an absolute dead-weight on the race," and the "very existence [of those with disabilities] is itself an impediment." The residential schools advocated earlier in the mid-nineteenth century by Howe had become something along the lines of custodial warehouses, leading to an advocacy of an early form of eugenics. In *Feeble-mindedness: Its Causes and Consequences* (1914), H.H. Goddard, the director of the Research Laboratory of the Training School in Vineland, New Jersey, argued that "the feeble-minded person is not desirable; he is a social encumbrance, often a burden to himself. In short it were better both for him and for society had he never been born. Should we not then, in our attempt to improve the race, begin by preventing the birth of more feeble-minded?"

This advocacy of sterilization became common during the early to mid-twentieth century. Havelock Ellis, despite his harsh words, only advocated involuntary "sterilization" of those with disabilities. Others, however, would go much farther, arguing that no "feebleminded person" should be allowed to marry or give birth, and that "certain families should become extinct." The idea that sterilization would resolve the indigency of the feebleminded grew throughout the early twentieth century.

In 1922, Harry Laughlin, a leading proponent of eugenics, created a model sterilization law that would require sterilization of the feebleminded, the insane, the delinquent, the "diseased" (including those with tuberculosis or leprosy), the deaf, the crippled, and all dependents, such as orphans. Similarly, a 1911 New York City ordinance warned that "No person who is diseased, maimed, mutilated, or in any way deformed is to be an unsightly or disgusting object or improper person to be allowed in or on the public ways or other public places in this city, shall therein or thereon expose himself to public view." By 1938, thirty-three states had adopted a sterilization law based on Laughlin's model, and between 1921 and 1964, over 63,000 individuals were sterilized involuntarily for "genetically related reasons." Although the sterilization policies were challenged in court, the challengers rarely won. A 1927 case in Virginia, *Buck vs. Bell*, is a prime example. The U.S. Supreme Court upheld the sterilization policy, arguing that sterilization was a necessity. Although the law in Virginia was repealed in 1968, sterilizations in Virginia continued until 1972, when twenty-six states still had a sterilization law on the books. Even in the twenty-first century, sterilization cases still appear before state courts.

Public Attitudes on the Disabled

The public perception of disability and the concept of disguising disability even went so far as to affect elected officials. For example, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, crippled by polio, was seen as an individual who was a "cured cripple"; the general public preferred to avoid seeing him as impaired. On only two occasions during his two terms in office did Roosevelt allow the public to see evidence of his disability, namely, at the dedication of a new building on the campus of Howard University in 1936, in which he walked slowly and painfully to the podium from his wheelchair for his dedication speech, and in 1942, when he entered a hospital on foot as a way to identify himself with the injured and those disabled by the war.

Emergence and Growth of a Disability Movement

Nevertheless, opposition to the treatment and public humiliation of the disabled increased; the first wave of the disability movement resulted in the creation of various groups to address the rights of those with disabilities. Veterans of World War I who had been blinded, as well as other visually impaired individuals, created the American Foundation for the Blind (AFB), which became instrumental in the education of the public regarding visual impairments. The League of the Physically Handicapped, which helped to make disability discrimination visible as one of the first organizations to articulate a sense of purpose, included mainly individuals who suffered from mobility impairments, but also polio victims such as Florence Haskell, who had contracted polio during the first major polio epidemic in the United States in 1916. In addition, various organizations were organized by parents and friends of those with developmental disabilities, such as the New York Association for the Help of Retarded Children (AHRC), founded in 1949 by the mother of a child with Down syndrome, Ann Greenberg, and the Association for Retarded Citizens (ARC), founded in 1950.

Organizations such as these were organized on a local and national level, and increased public awareness of the need for federal disability support. A new type of disability organization began in the latter part of the twentieth century, with the founding of the Boston Center for Independent Living in Boston in 1972 and the Center for Independent Living in Berkeley, California, later that same year. Both were concerned with the civil rights of individuals with disabilities

North Dakota governor John Hoeven speaks with reporters in his office on February 10, 2003. To better understand the challenges faced by people with disabilities, Hoeven and other officials "adopted" a disability for a day. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

and argued that, without the necessary services, individuals with disabilities would be denied a role as citizens.

This resulted in passage of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, which contained Sections 503 and 504, both of which broadened the concept of those who could perhaps benefit from rehabilitation assistance. Section 503 requires those who hold federal contracts to implement Affirmative Action programs for hiring individuals with disabilities, while Section 504 prohibits any type of discrimination because of a disability in any federally funded program. The latter section has received the most coverage because of its inclusion of students with disabilities in education. As part of this act, the term *disability* finally received a national definition, in respect to (1) a physical or mental impairment that substantially limits one or more of the major life activities of such individual, (2) a record of such an impairment, and (3) being regarded as having such an impairment. The definition of major life activities includes mobility, self-care, education, communication, socialization, and employment, whereas the concept of "substantially limits" refers to the inability to perform a major life activity. Title V of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 has been regarded as the first national civil rights legislation for individuals with disabilities.

Perhaps the greatest outcome of this act was the push for inclusion in the school system, and as a result of Section 504, schools are required to demonstrate compliance with this section. For example, quotas for admission of persons with disabilities are prohibited by Section 504; therefore, students cannot be excluded solely on the basis of a disability. Similarly, preadmission inquiries regarding the presence of a disability are prohibited as well; therefore, schools cannot ask questions about either the existence of, or the limitations of, a disability on an admission application.

However, as disability advocate Jane Jarrow noted in her work, *The Impact of Section 504 on Postsecondary Education* (1992), "After admission, it is appropriate for the institution to ask for any information that may be pertinent to [a student's] enrollment."

Americans with Disabilities Act

The radicalism continued with the 1990 enactment of the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), signed on July 26, 1990, by President George Bush, who commented, "Let the shameful wall of exclusion finally come tumbling down." Even with such a public acknowledgment, the general public has avoided acknowledging information on disability. In a 1998 study of adults, including adults with disabilities, only 54 percent of the respondents had heard of the ADA, which in itself is a good demonstration of the educational challenges involved in promoting awareness of disabilities.

As authors Doris Fleischer and Frieda Zames noted in *The Disability Rights Movement: From Charity to Confrontation* (2001), "while critics of the ADA overestimate the cost of such accommodation, they also underestimate the cost of discrimination, not only to individuals with disabilities, but also to society in general." Yet another commentator, Kathi J. Pugh, wrote in the Winter 2000 issue of the American Bar Association human rights journal, "The ADA opened up the private sector in the same way that its counterpart, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act, required government entities to provide access to public facilities and programs for people with disabilities." In creating the ADA, Congress specified three major goals: the elimination of arbitrary barriers; inequality of opportunity; and unnecessary dependency; the ADA specifies that any legal action alleging any type of violation be brought against state governments as well as private entities.

Learning and Psychiatric Disabilities

Perhaps the most recognizable form of disability is the category of learning disabilities. Individuals with learning disabilities have been typecast as unable to learn, but it is essential to remember that these disabilities usually affect only certain limited areas of a child's development.

A learning disability is a hidden disability, and affects an individual's ability to interpret what he/she sees or hears and then link that information from different parts of the brain. The ability to integrate a student into the postsecondary learning environment is an important key not only for retention efforts, but also for the well-being of the student. The development of meaningful academic support services, including disability support, can ease student transition from the frequently more structured secondary school environment to the less structured academic and social systems of a postsecondary institution.

An academically supportive environment may offer services, including remedial and academic advising; disability support services; counseling services; and assessment. Each of these support services can be instrumental in a college education, but the provision of disability support is crucial for students with disabilities. Colleges have as their goal the achievement of certain desired student outcomes, and education can be defined as a threefold process that prepares students for the development of knowledge; the training of mental capabilities; and the development of character. For students with disabilities, the development of these three characteristics is augmented by an even more important capability, the ability to self-advocate.

According to a recent survey from the National Clearinghouse on Postsecondary Education for Individuals with Disabilities, one in eleven full-time first-year students entering college in 1998 self-reported a disability. This translates to approximately 154,520 college students, or about 9 percent of the total number of freshmen, who reported a wide range of disabilities, varying from auditory and speech-related to learning or physical disabilities. This same survey compared this 9 percent figure with the other 91 percent of students and noted that both disabled and nondisabled students listed similar reasons for wanting to attend college.

These reasons included a desire to increase their knowledge, to prepare for graduate school, to become more cultured persons, and, most important, to get "better jobs" through a college education. Students from both groups had also met or exceeded the recommended number of years of study in high school for English, history and American government, computer science, and arts and/or music. However, when comparing disabled students with nondisabled students who enrolled in college, great discrepancies became apparent in the numbers who had not met or exceeded the recommended years of high school study in math, foreign languages, and the biological or physical sciences.

Students with disabilities tended to take fewer courses in the latter criteria areas, and they also scored remarkably lower in tests of self-esteem, emotional well-being, and academic or physical ability. This sur-

vey observed that more students with disabilities were entering college, but the number of students with learning disabilities has increased the most—from 25 percent in a 1991 survey to 41 percent in the 1998 survey.

A learning disability refers to a multiplicity of disorders that limit the ability to listen, speak, write, reason, use quantitative skills, and socialize. The disability is either inherited or is related to a dysfunction of the central nervous system. The National Center for Learning Disabilities defines learning disabilities as "a group of disorders that affect the ability to acquire and use listening, speaking, reading, writing, reasoning, or math skills." Yet, often those students classified with learning disabilities have average or even above-average intelligence. In an article in the January 1998 edition of *Phi Delta Kappan*, Louise Spear-Swerling and Robert Sternberg argue that students enter school with individual differences in cognitive abilities that make some students more susceptible to school failure. In addition, the negative attitudes of faculty members toward providing accommodations may in fact provide some explanation for why some students with disabilities are not successful at the postsecondary level.

Access is the key to a successful college experience for students with disabilities, and faculty play an essential role in providing this access. The role of faculty members when working with students with disabilities is no different from their role when teaching nondisabled students. Their role is that of teacher and mentor, but faculty awareness of disabilities varies from comprehension to distrust of students with disabilities, particularly of those students with learning disabilities. In Tonette S. Rocco's 1997 research on the perception of faculty members regarding disability, he found that most faculty members "questioned the existence of certain conditions or, if they existed, the appropriateness of classifying the condition of a disability."

The situation becomes magnified when faculty encounter a student with learning or psychiatric disabilities, since these are "hidden" disabilities. In an article entitled "Accommodating College Students with Learning Disabilities," Sally Scott stated: "Surveys of faculty attitudes reveal that the large majority of faculty are willing to accommodate students with learning disabilities but struggle with ethical concerns in balancing the rights of students with learning disabilities with the academic integrity of the course, program of study, and institution." This statement can also be applied to any student with a disability, not only those with learning disabilities. Faculty oblivion can be resolved with the assistance of academic support professionals, particularly disability support service providers.

Disability support service providers often have a constant struggle explaining their position to faculty and staff who either prefer to remain oblivious to the constantly changing educational trends or prefer their close-minded approach to one of awareness. This challenge includes constant explanation of the law, particularly Section 504 of the 1973 Rehabilitation Act, which requires that faculty and staff be apprised of the following stipulations:

1. that no student may be excluded from any course or courses of study solely on the basis of disability;
2. that modification or waivers in degree or course requirements may be necessary to meet the requirements of some students with disabilities;
3. that prohibitive rules, such as those banning tape recorders from the classroom, be waived for students with disabilities;
4. that classes be rescheduled to permit access for students with mobility impairments;
5. that it is discriminatory to counsel students with disabilities toward more restrictive careers than their counterparts without disabilities.

Academic accommodations, including the tape recording of lectures; extended time on exams, as well as the opportunity to take exams in a distraction-free area; no penalty for spelling errors on in-class writing assignments; and the opportunity to take oral, instead of written, exams, are a direct result of the provisions of the 1973 act. The most important role of the disability support provider is to assist students in becoming successful, independent learners. Students with disabilities do not lack an ability to use learning strategies, but they often do not possess an understanding of how to apply appropriate strategies. An understanding of social implications is useful for students of all types, both disabled and nondisabled. It is important to know why students think they succeed or fail at learning, since this impacts on their self-image as college students. Due to a history in elementary and secondary education, students may feel that since they were failures before college, they might be failures in college as well, and that, if they succeed in a particular course, this success is due more to luck than to effort. Through years of internalizing labels of stupidity, these students' self-esteem is weak. Conse-

quently, these students have a critical need to adopt strategies for learning; this is where the interaction between faculty and academic support services is crucial to the well-being and self-efficacy of the student.

The student movement, as well as the disability movement in general, has forced the concept of disability to be recognizable by policymakers. As David Pfeiffer noted, "The passage of the ADA marked the political maturation of the disability movement." The movement itself faces problems, particularly with the poor implementation of the ADA, as well as the occasional public backlash against the ADA. The economy has a direct link to the efficacy of the ADA; if there are few open jobs, then those unemployed individuals with disabilities will not be able to use the ADA to gain employment. Quite possibly, the court decisions could weaken the efficacy of the ADA, as well as other disability-related legislation, particularly in terms of funding for services. The concept of disability is one that is constantly changing, and the history of the disability rights movement encompasses all aspects of civil rights, as well as the concept of American individualism.

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13

Environmental Movement

Introduction

Human beings have always altered their environment. Yet it took hundreds of years encompassing the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, and the rise of capitalism for the idea to take hold that conquering the natural environment will advance human civilization. Indeed, for most of human history, people understood nature as a given, as an integral aspect of their society, and not as something apart. In taking from their environment, people recognized the need to give back, whether that meant migrating from one hunting ground to another or leaving a field fallow so that it might regenerate its nutrients. With the rise of market economies and scientific reasoning, however, human beings began to break their ties with the environment. Nature became an instrument of progress, a set of resources to be consumed in the development of human society. Technological advancement, itself the result of the human manipulation of the physical world, increased the possibilities for the exploitation of natural resources. Water could power factories; heat could shape iron into tools; steam could drive machines. Whole new industries transformed society, reducing human vulnerability to natural disaster and reshaping the relationship between people and nature.

Rather than search for a balance between nature and civilization, economic, intellectual, and political leaders increasingly juxtaposed the two. They insisted that a materially prosperous and enlightened society required the subordination of primitive nature to human design. But in extolling material, scientific, and intellectual progress they ignored the environmental and human costs. Environmentalists, by contrast, paid very close attention to those costs. They still do, as they seek to redress the balance between nature and civilization.

In the United States, the focus and form of environmental activism varied over time and place. The two main poles of environmentalism have been conservation and preservation, with many activists combining the two in some fashion. Conservationists have sought to regulate the human use of nature, while preservationists have sought to keep the natural environment in its original form. Some environmentalists, including many who are neither conservationists nor preservationists, have been most concerned about the impact of environmental destruction on human beings. Others have worried most about the degradation of the natural world itself, such as the disappearance of endangered species, the loss of water and forest ecosystems, or the obliteration of beautiful geological formations. To achieve their goals, environmentalists have engaged in lobbying, advocacy, lawsuits, private conservation and preservation, public protest, nonviolent direct action, and, in a few extreme cases, violence against property. Their success has fluctuated, determined not just by their strategies and tactics but also by technological advancements that both harmed and protected the environment, by political developments that expanded the meaning of rights and altered the balance of power between competing interests, by economic changes that modified how people work with nature, and by cultural developments that transformed how people play with nature.

The first American environmentalists were the Transcendentalists, a group of literary, philosophical, and religious thinkers centered in New England during the first half of the nineteenth century. They reveled in the glory of nature, which held for them spiritual significance as a reflection of God's work and as a source of inspiration for individuals to find the God within them. Transcendentalists counterpoised the sanctity of nature to the profanity of civilization and condemned the pursuit of wealth and power for its destruction of nature, its anthropocentrism, and its corruption of the human soul. Their reverence for nature unconsciously echoed ideas about the natural world held by premodern peoples around the globe, such as some Native Americans, Buddhists, and animists. Although later environmentalists found more rational justifications for protecting the environment, the veneration of nature has remained a more or less powerful undercurrent within environmental thought.

Conservationism has been a more practical form of

environmentalism. Emerging in response to environmental degradation caused by industrialization and led by middle-class reformers, conservationism has sought to curb the excesses of industrial capitalism by regulating the use of natural resources. Conservationists believe that the public interest in natural resources must be protected from individual abuse, which the competitive economy makes likely. Thus, they have sought government limits on fishing, hunting, tree cutting, oil drilling, dam building, coal mining, waste disposal, and pollution. Unlike the Transcendentalists, conservationists believe that the application of scientific principles to natural resource management can achieve a balance between the requirements of civilization and the maintenance of natural resources. Despite their professed public concern, conservationists have had a reputation for elitism, due in part to their emphasis on expert decision making for resource management, their middle- and upper-class social status, and their disregard for the environmental impact of industry on poor communities. Wealthy conservationists have demonstrated this elitism by purchasing large tracts of land rather than fighting to put the land in the public domain where its use might be democratically determined. Conservationists protect nature so that human beings can enjoy its beauty and, within limits, its bounty. Nature, especially in its monumental formations such as the Grand Canyon and Yosemite National Park, also serves to give the United States a distinctive national character.

Preservationists have shared much with conservationists, though they have been more skeptical about regulating the impact of industry and more reverent in their appreciation of nature. They have insisted on removing as much of the natural world from human exploitation as possible, through the designation of national parks and protected wilderness, hunting and fishing bans, logging prohibitions, and the enumeration of protected species. Whereas conservationists have seen nature as a source of both sustenance and pleasure, preservationists protect nature for its own sake. Early preservationists, such as John Muir, drew on religious inspiration, much like the Transcendentalists, in their campaigns to establish national parks. Later preservationists found aesthetic and recreational justification for their efforts. Since the late twentieth century, a more holistic approach derived from ecology has infused the preservationist wing of the environmental movement. This approach places human beings within a larger ecosystem that includes the living and nonliving elements of the natural world, stressing the connectedness among all the elements.

Since industrialization, a more human-centered form of environmentalism has sought to ameliorate the toll of industrial activity on urban populations. Since the late nineteenth century, this urban environmentalism has fought for the establishment and professionalization of sanitation, water treatment, disease prevention, pollution control, toxic substance regulation, and occupational safety. Preventing the industrial degradation of both the natural and built environments has been seen as key to improving public health. The late twentieth century has seen the environmental justice movement apply a similar approach in fighting the placement of toxic industry and waste facilities near concentrations of poor people and people of color. It has been no coincidence that such communities suffer disproportionately from health problems associated with pollution and other forms of environmental destruction. Combining the lessons of early urban environmentalists and later civil rights activists, the environmental justice movement has challenged the elitism of mainstream environmentalism, government, and industry.

Environmentalism has experienced considerable growth and success in the United States. The movement has preserved enormous tracts of wilderness and many species of wildlife, while improving the nation's urban settings. Environmentalism is now extremely popular. The United States' prosperity and the growth of tourism have given more people the chance to experience wilderness and develop an appreciation for preservation. Even people who do not hike, camp, fish, surf, ski, or hunt have the opportunity to experience natural beauty through art and photography, which have popularized the value of untouched nature. Today, environmentalism is a diverse movement that draws support from many sources, including, but not limited to, the lingering romanticism of the Transcendentalists, the nationalism and scientific rationalism of conservationists, the reverence for the nature of preservationists, the expanded rights consciousness of the environmental justice movement, the holistic ecology of scientific environmentalism, and the simple enjoyment of the natural world by so many millions of people.

This section on environmental movements examines the conservation movement from the 1880s to the 1920s. The movement transformed American consciousness of the need to preserve the environment for future generations during a time when economic and corporate interests predominated. Thus, American natural treasures such as the Grand Canyon were protected. The objective of the conservation move-

ment, led by Gifford Pinchot, was to preserve the environment for as many people for as long as possible.

The American appropriate technology movement, originating under British economist E.F. Schumacher in the mid-twentieth century, sought to preserve the environment not just in the United States but also throughout the entire world. The founders of the appropriate movement believed that the Western industrial model of development would lead to the degradation of the environment and would not solve the problem of poverty in the Third World. Western models of development, Schumacher argued, would lead to mass urbanization, urban blight, and the destruction of fragile ecosystems and traditional cultures. The notion of "appropriate" technology was based on small-scale development rather than the development of enormous projects. The leading themes of the appropriate technology movement were democratic participation, ecological sustainability, and widespread distribution of productive wealth. Rather than engaging in huge projects, the movement sought small-scale sustainable development of industry and agriculture.

The environmental justice movement emerged in the late 1980s based on the recognition of the class and racial impact of pollution in American society. Scientists and researchers have demonstrated that hazardous waste sites, dumps, and air and water pollution are unevenly concentrated in poor communities of color. Those communities that were more affluent were able to shift the pollution to those that were working-class and poor. Thus, environmentalism came to be seen as a class problem, with typically poor and minority communities devastated by contaminated land, unsafe drinking water, and hazardous waste sites. The environmental justice movement exposed the inequalities of the American system, one in which environmental pollution was patterned by class and race. Although the movement has highlighted the issue of class and racial bias in pollution, it has not yet significantly transformed the pattern of pollution. Protests and legal battles do have an important influence in diminishing the extent of environmental pollution but are not as successful in significantly addressing the system. The activism among community residents, however, remains strong and vibrant, as working-class people of color seek to demonstrate the inequitable effects of pollution. Since the battle is fought on the legal terrain, against powerful government and corporate interests, community groups have not yet succeeded in fundamentally resolving the problem.

The movement against nuclear weapons began after the United States used atomic weapons against civilian targets in Japan during World War II. The movement picked up steam with the rise of the Cold War and the possibility of global annihilation if the nuclear weapons were to be put to use. Although today the very notion that the United States and the former Soviet Union were willing to use nuclear weapons seems far-fetched, the antinuclear movement gained adherents in the 1980s with the help of scientists who documented the threat to humans posed by nuclear weapons and nuclear power. By the 1980s, the antinuclear movement had gained momentum as a result of the growth of a diverse grassroots movement of peace activists, environmentalists, physicians, labor unions, and students. Still, the mounting proliferation of nuclear weapons throughout the world is posing a significant threat. As more and more countries gain the capacity to produce nuclear weapons, regional and global threats are creating ominous world prospects. The two major nuclear powers, the United States and the former Soviet Union, have sought to reduce the use of nuclear weapons through various arms treaties since the 1970s, but nuclear arsenals on both sides remain sizable.

Nuclear power plants present yet another significant threat to the environment. Popular opinion turned against nuclear power facilities in the wake of the partial meltdown at Three Mile Island in 1979 and the Chernobyl disaster of 1986. The accidents occurred at opposite ends of the globe, increasing the fear that nuclear power plant disasters could occur anywhere. An increasing number of residents living in the vicinity of nuclear plants fear accidents as well as the threat of terrorist attack on the plants.

Animal rights is an environmental movement that frequently gets overlooked, yet since the 1980s a greater number of Americans have become cognizant of the need to protect and preserve other species both in the United States and abroad. Animal rights proponents oppose the exploitation of animals for food, hunting, entertainment, clothing, medical research, and product testing. Although the animal rights movement represents a large array of positions, including animal liberation, ecofeminism, and animal welfare, it has focused national attention on the plight of animals as a growing number of Americans voice their opposition to human cruelty against other species on the planet.

Aaron Brenner

Environmental Movement
Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

The United States of America originated in protest and revolution, and one of the successes of American society has been the expansion of political rights to more and more members of the society. In the twentieth century, environmental protest became an increasingly important element in American culture, and the power and complexity of this protest movement increased over the century. By the turn of the new millennium, many Americans considered themselves environmentalists without understanding the nature of American environmentalism or the changes it has undergone.

It is challenging to locate the exact beginnings of American environmentalism. Although it is true that American history is marked by conflicts over control of natural resources dating to the eighteenth century, these battles were not really environmental as the term is defined today. It is more typical to begin a discussion of American environmentalism with the Romantics, transcendentalists, and early wilderness advocates such as David Thoreau, and yet it is equally valid to look to the cities for its roots. The efforts to protect the environment and its health from the worst of Americans' excesses can be more effectively detected in the efforts made in the middle of the nineteenth century to curb pollution in the nation's burgeoning cities, the heart of the exploding Industrial Revolution.

Many Americans are familiar with the story of environmentalism emerging from conservationists and preservationists who fought to create national parks like Yellowstone and Yosemite and set aside vast tracts of forest and grazing lands through the national forest system. The story of American environmentalism is remarkably more complex than this, however. Historian Robert Gottlieb identifies two strong strands of environmentalism that emerged in the twentieth century. Part of the impetus arose from the well-known tradition of conservation and preservation, but another major factor in the emergence of twentieth-century environmentalism was the tradition of combating urban air pollution and waste problems—in short, environmentalism addressing problems with a negative impact on human health. In the 1960s, American environmentalism would bloom into a complex and wide-ranging movement combating air pollution, species extinction, water pollution, and habitat loss among other issues.

There is a long tradition of municipal reform and efforts to combat pollution in the cities as an equally important historic tradition for tracing the roots of the environmental movement. Another leader in the environmental tradition, to be accorded value equal to that of John Muir, Robert Marshall, and Gifford Pinchot, is Alice Hamilton (1869–1970). Gottlieb characterizes her as "a tenacious reformer, a compassionate advocate, a cautious and careful researcher," and then proceeds to call her America's "first great urban/industrial environmentalist." Hull House is well known as a model of the settlement house and a center for reform activities in Chicago during the Progressive Era, providing the model for other settlement houses around the nation. Hamilton attended medical school and then took a position as professor of pathology at Northwestern University. Later, Hamilton's activities at Hull House allowed her to explore the relationship between environment and disease. Along with many other reform activities, Hamilton began to pursue investigation into the connections between work chemicals and various diseases. She led the way in investigating work risks in the United States and while working in the area of community health, researched a wide range of industries and the exposure of workers to toxic materials.

Decades before the emergence of the roles of science and technology in environmental crises, Hamilton warned about the dangers of chemical and petroleum products to human health. She was a pio-

HENRY DAVID THOREAU (1817–1862)

Henry David Thoreau is considered one of the most influential figures in American thought and literature. A supreme individualist, he championed the human spirit against materialism and social conformity. Though he was largely a failure during his lifetime, his work gained widespread popularity in both the civil rights and environmental movements of the twentieth century. When he died on May 6, 1862, he was little known outside his hometown.

Born in Concord, Massachusetts on July 12, 1817, Thoreau grew up in Concord and attended Harvard, where he was known as a serious, though unconventional, scholar. During his Harvard years, he was exposed to the writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson, the transcendentalist writer who later became his chief mentor and friend. After graduation in 1837, Thoreau worked for a time in his father's pencil shop and taught at a grammar school. A canoe trip that he and his brother John took along the Concord and Merrimack rivers in 1839 confirmed for him that he ought to be not a schoolmaster but a poet of nature. In 1841, he was invited to live in the Emerson household, where he remained intermittently until 1843. He served as handyman and assistant to Emerson, helping to edit and contributing poetry and prose to the transcendentalist magazine *The Dial.* Along with Emerson, Thoreau stands as one of the two giants of the American transcendentalists. He adapted ideas garnered from the then-current romantic literatures in order to extend American libertarianism and individualism beyond the political and religious spheres to those of social and personal life.

In 1845, Thoreau built himself a small cabin on land Emerson owned on the shore of Walden Pond, near Concord. There he led a life free of materialistic pursuits and supported himself by growing vegetables and by surveying and doing odd jobs in the nearby village for the next two years. He devoted most of his time to observing nature, reading, and writing, and he kept a detailed journal of his observations, activities, and thoughts. It was from this journal that he later culled his masterpiece, *Walden, or Life in the Woods* (1854). Thoreau's experience at Walden has become a symbol both to libertarians because of the perceived success in living by himself and to environmentalists because of the nature writings it produced.

The personal journal, begun in 1837 at the suggestion of Emerson, was also the source of his first book, *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* (1849), as well as of his posthumously published *Excursions* (1863), *The Maine Woods* (1864), *Cape Cod* (1865), and *A Yankee in Canada* (1866). His books sold very poorly during his lifetime. After his stay at Walden, he then returned to Emerson's home for two more years and worked odd jobs before taking over his father's business. He also became a dedicated abolitionist, aiding fleeing slaves who had come north via the Underground Railroad.

One of Thoreau's most important works, the essay "Civil Disobedience" (1849), grew out of an overnight stay in prison in 1846 as a result of his refusal to pay a poll tax that supported the Mexican War, which to Thoreau represented an effort to extend slavery. Thoreau's advocacy of civil disobedience as a means for the individual to protest those actions of his government that he considered unjust has had a wide-ranging impact. The work heavily influenced the British labor movement, the passive resistance independence movement led by Mahatma Gandhi in India, and the nonviolent civil rights movement led by Martin Luther King Jr. in the United States.

Thoreau's early reputation came as a nature writer, though he declined membership in any scientific societies. He emphasized the dynamic ecology of the natural world. He was a pioneer ecologist and conservationist, and was among the first Americans to recognize that the country's natural resources were not inexhaustible. In his writings, Thoreau was concerned primarily with the possibilities for human culture provided by the American natural environment.

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neer in an important component of American environmentalism, that is, the human living and working environments. Her investigations revealed the extent to which lead was damaging workers' health, and she led the efforts to clean up workplaces and find healthful solutions to the impacts of lead. While working in Illinois, she found 578 cases of lead poisoning in seventy-seven lead-dependent industries. As a result of her discoveries, Illinois passed stricter laws regulating the use of lead, arsenic, brass, and other materials in 1911. This reform movement gained greater strength in the early part of the twentieth century with the participation of important thinkers and leaders such as Hamilton.

American cities in the late nineteenth century were overwhelmed by vast amounts of refuse and the

ALICE HAMILTON (1869–1970)

Alice Hamilton was known for her research on industrial diseases and became a leading American authority on lead poisoning and one of a handful of worldwide specialists on industrial diseases by 1916. By actively publicizing the danger to workers' health from industrial toxic substances such as lead and mercury, she contributed to the passage of workers' compensation laws and to the development of safer working conditions.

Born in New York City on February 27, 1869, to a grocer and his wife, Alice was raised in Indiana. She received her medical degree from the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor in 1893 and continued her studies at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland. She traveled to Germany with her sister, Edith Hamilton, and together they attended the universities of Munich and Leipzich for a year, where Alice attended lectures in bacteriology and pathology on the condition that she make herself inconspicuous to male students and professors. Edith went on to become a famous author and classicist.

From 1897 to 1919, Alice was a resident of Hull-House in Chicago. Her friendship with reformer Jane Addams led to her combining scientific research with her latent reformist zeal. Later during World War I, the two traveled as part of a delegation to Europe to argue for an end to the war. During the typhoid fever epidemic in Chicago in 1902, Hamilton made a connection between improper sewage disposal and the role of flies in transmitting the disease, and her findings led to reorganization of the Chicago Health Department. She then noted that the health problems of many of the immigrant poor were due to unsafe conditions and noxious chemicals, especially lead dust, to which they were being exposed on the job. At the time, there were no laws regulating safety at work, and employers routinely fired sick workers and replaced them with new ones looking for jobs.

Hamilton became director of the Occupational Disease Commission when it was created in 1910, the first such commission in the world. As a result of its findings, Illinois passed several workers' compensation laws. The laws introduced a new concept that workers were entitled to compensation for health impairment and injuries sustained on the job. Her reports on lead, and later on rubber and munitions, led to improved safety standards nationwide. Focusing on industrial diseases, she served as a special investigator for the United States Bureau of Labor from 1911 to 1921 in an unpaid position. She became the first female faculty member at Harvard University's Medical School in 1919 and then Harvard's first professor of public health in 1925, where she taught until 1935. She eventually published hundreds of studies on industrial toxicology, several books, and an autobiography. Hamilton died in Hadlyme, Connecticut, on September 22, 1970.

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sickness and disease that it brought. As industrialism produced more and cheaper goods while centralizing labor in cities for factory work, the amount of pollution produced by city residents increased dramatically. At the same time, continued dependence on horses for transportation and labor in the cities worsened the urban sanitation woes. In Brooklyn horses produced about 200 tons of waste a day, and in Milwaukee the amount was approximately 133 tons a day. Cleaning that waste was difficult enough, but disposing of horse corpses provided yet another sanitation problem. As a result, disease ran rampant in urban centers. Sanitation became professionalized in the 1890s and early twentieth century, reflecting trends in the Progressive Era, a time of substantial reforms in the United States and the professionalization of many occupations.

Air pollution was so bad in Chicago that the first professional group to deal with such issues was organized there in 1891 in order to clean the air for the upcoming 1893 Columbia Exposition. Furthermore, a national association called the International Association for the Prevention of Smoke was formed in 1907 in order to remedy air pollution issues.

George Waring, commissioner of sanitation for New York City during the 1890s, sought to create a rational and effective garbage collection system for the polluted city. Anything would have been an improvement on a "nearly nonexistent garbage collection system." Waring was also an important symbol of this new professional field and urban reform movement. Historian John Opie has explained his importance as a symbol, writing that Waring would arrive at a trouble spot in "a spotless uniform, pith helmet, and shining boots." Waring's was truly a war on garbage and pollution, and his "White Wings" sanitation workers attacked multiple problems such as the heaps of horse manure in the streets, garbage, factory waste, and human waste. As a result, they helped improve the health and livability of New York City. Other large

cities followed this model. In addition, sanitary engineers dealt with city health by creating healthy water supplies and wastewater disposal facilities.

Women organized in St. Louis, Missouri, in an effort to reduce the dangers of smoke pollution. In 1910, the Wednesday Club, an organization of 500 women, took on this issue and proceeded to look for solutions. Although a law was in place to restrict smoke, there was no enforcement authority; the women of the Wednesday Club, therefore, worked to solve this problem. They provided educational forums explaining the dangers smoke pollution presented to human health, housekeeping, city planning, and other issues, and they also sought to recruit more people to their movement. By 1912, the Women's Organization for Smoke Abatement in St. Louis had 1,300 members. Gaining financial assistance from a local citizen, they organized the city into districts and went out to report and enforce smoke pollution restrictions in the city. They achieved a great deal of success, forcing private homes and industry into compliance with smoke abatement regulations.

Pittsburgh exemplified the worst excesses of the American industrial era. Situated at the juncture of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, this once beautiful site became a center of coal mining and steel production by leveling and destroying the hills to the point that the original landscape became unrecognizable. The bucolic countryside now was marred by ubiquitous railroad coal cars entering and leaving mines and mounds of debris dispersed throughout the area.

The conditions of the city attracted the attention of reformers during the Progressive Era. A cooperative effort among the Russell Sage Foundation, the government of Pittsburgh, and the local citizenry led to an investigation into the quality of life in the city. The conditions revealed by the study provided a devastating indictment of industrial capitalism in Pittsburgh, where laborers generally worked twelve-hour days, seven days a week, for low wages, and industrialists did little to curtail the worst excesses of business and urban life. For example, in the years 1883–1908 approximately 55,000 Pittsburgh residents caught typhoid, and roughly 7,500 men, women, and children died from the disease during that time period. The Pittsburgh mortality rate was 130 per 100,000, a rate that at the time was thirty times worse than the rate in Berlin, Germany, and six times worse than that in New York City, which was also known for its frightful conditions. The typhoid problem arose from extreme water pollution. According to Opie:

> Pittsburgh's drinking water was drawn from the Allegheny or Monongahela rivers several miles upstream of the city. Unfortunately, the upstream industries along the river shores dumped soluble chemical products—"organic and inorganic, acid and alkali; oils, and other carbon compounds." Further upstream the human sewage of 350,000 people of 75 towns flowed untreated into the rivers. The Russell Sage Foundation reported "flesh-disintegrated and putrescent" dead animals and the "off-scourings of iron and steel mills, tanneries, slaughter houses" floating on the rivers. The report told of a family of five with a 16-year-old daughter who caught typhoid and tuberculosis. "Not being strong enough to return to her former employment, she secured work in a bakery where she was subsequently seen coughing as she wrapped up bread for customers.

For reasons beyond disease, Pittsburgh was a grim place to live for the average worker. Tenements were rundown and poorly maintained, crowded, and prone to fast and devastating fires. Worsening the situation was the discrepancy in property tax rates between the poor and middle classes, who actually paid a higher property tax rate than the upper class, which included industrialists such as Andrew Mellon and Andrew Carnegie. National outrage and embarrassment in Pittsburgh prompted the city to enact reforms over the next few decades to address air and water pollution and improve living conditions within the city.

Many activists successfully fought to better health conditions in the cities, improving the environment for the people living there. Others fought another battle, trying to preserve resources and wild places against the excesses of industrial capitalism. Conservation and preservation would become important movements in twentieth-century American environmentalism.

MANAGING NATURE: THE PROGRESSIVE ERA 1894–1920

During the Progressive Era, the conservation movement emerged in response to overexploitation of natural resources and environmental degradation. Most Progressive leaders of Progressive movement organizations were members of the professional classes—people of high education and status in American society. Doctors, editors, college professors, small businessmen, and lawyers were active in the Progressive movement. The movement gained momentum in a period of economic and political stability. Rather than

seeking major change, the Progressives sought to adjust the existing order to better adhere to the values of restraint, conservation, support of the community, and participatory democracy that they had been raised in and still valued in the face of a changing society, which in their view, assigned undue power to those accruing massive capital. In their eyes, the creation of a system of bureaucratic management through government would allow them not only to curb the excesses of industrial capitalism but also to ensure continuation of traditional preindustrial values in American society. The movement is most commonly understood as an effort to curb the worst excesses of capitalism. As members of the Progressive movement, conservationists sought to regulate and correct the excesses of industrial capitalism in regards to its exploitation of natural resources as well as the American people. The conservationists saw themselves as the conservators of democracy, bringing restraint over a new capitalist era that, while running amok, threatened not only natural resources but the freedom and opportunities of American citizens as well.

Conservationists sought to manage the use of natural resources efficiently. They were disturbed and angered by capitalism's exploitation of natural resources, leading to the overharvest of different resources like lumber and fish, and environmental degradation resulting from wasteful practices. Conservationists believed that laws and management based on good science would allow the government to manage resource use in such a way that present needs could be met while preserving species for the use of future generations. Gifford Pinchot and President Theodore Roosevelt were leaders of this movement and remain strong symbols of the progressive conservationists. Some historians refer to the split between preservationists and conservationists as a conflict between amateurs (the preservationists) and professionals (the conservationists). The conservationists were better organized and more effective politically, and led by Pinchot, the head of the Department of the Interior under President Roosevelt, they imposed a conservationist model on American environmentalism that would last until the years following World War II.

Gifford Pinchot: Conservationist

A member of the upper class, Gifford Pinchot (1865–1946) had always been interested in nature. In the late 1880s, after graduating from Yale University, Pinchot traveled to Europe to study professional forestry in Germany and at the Ecole Nationale Forestiere in Nancy, France. Upon his return to the United States in 1891, Pinchot became America's first professional forester. He was critical of managers of industry, miners, and ranchers who had laid waste to the American landscape, and, like many other conservationists, he sought to ameliorate their impact through the application of science to resource management. Later, as chief of the Division of Forestry in the Department of Agriculture, he was able to promote the professionalization of forestry and also influence political opinion on the need for professional forestry and the preservation of forests. He also managed to have the nation's federal forest reserves transferred to his agency in 1905.

Pinchot's close friendship with President Roosevelt allowed him to consolidate his position and promote conservation in the federal government. Under his leadership, more and increasingly stringent regulations were passed on mining, grazing, and other natural resource activities. However, his dedication to the conservation ideology compelled him to ignore legitimate preservationist goals. He tried, and failed, to have National Park lands transferred to his department so that the forests could be logged, and he supported the effort to dam Hetch Hetchy, a river in Yosemite National Park, and flood the valley in order to provide water for San Francisco. The 1908 Governor's Conference on Conservation, from which he excluded John Muir owing to the split that had emerged between them and his desire to promote the conservationist agenda, did help propel the cause forward. His career came to a close in the Taft administration when he attacked both President William Taft and Secretary of the Interior Richard Ballinger, who wanted to turn public lands in Alaska with coal into private land. He was fired for his attack, and the American public was furious at both Ballinger's efforts and the firing of Pinchot. Pinchot remained active in conservation issues and played an important role in making it the dominant American environmental ethic for several years.

Pinchot was a hardheaded and determined advocate of the conservation ethic and earned many enemies in his lifetime; in later years, he also came under severe criticism by environmentalists and some historians. Although others worked in conservation before Pinchot and he did not invent the field, he did play a central role in promoting the conservation ethic in forestry and other areas. Although he was overly critical of the preservationist approach and too willing to accommodate industry, he also helped enact conservation measures that helped protect important natural resources such as forests and grasslands.

Holding a walking stick, John Muir sits with fellow naturalist and environmentalist John Burroughs in Yosemite National Park in California in the early 1900s. *(Colorado Historical Society)*

President Theodore Roosevelt is well known as an early conservationist leader and played a central role in this important early stage of American environmentalism. As a boy, he was fascinated with nature and became an amateur naturalist; he entered college intending to become a professional naturalist until politics caught his interest. After the nearly simultaneous deaths of his mother and wife, Roosevelt headed West searching for solace in the badlands of South Dakota. Hunting and traveling across the Western landscape reinforced Roosevelt's belief that nature could and should be protected while also being used for the benefit of humankind.

As a true Renaissance man, Roosevelt read widely and demonstrated a remarkable knowledge of nature, among many other topics. After he became president, he would walk the White House grounds in the mornings listening to bird song and recognized various species and their migration patterns. His natural inclination toward preservation and his love of nature would contribute greatly to the expanding conservation movement.

President Roosevelt was a classic conservationist, believing that the chief value of nature lay in the uses it could be put to for humans. He also believed in managing nature efficiently and in preserving resources for the use of future generations, reflecting a strong sense of stewardship. In his administration, he supported and passed increasingly stringent regulations on grazing, mining, and logging. Furthermore, at the stroke of a pen as his administration came to a close, he also set aside millions of acres of forestlands. While he was a conservationist, he also loved nature for its recreational qualities and for its beauty and wildness. In this sense he shared, at least for a while, a lot in common with John Muir. Muir and Roosevelt formed a relationship that would have important ramifications for the future of Yosemite Na-

JOHN MUIR (1838–1914)

John Muir was born in Dunbar, Scotland, on April 21, 1838. He attended local schools until 1849 when the Muir family emigrated to the United States, settling first at Fountain Lake and then moving to a farm near Portage, Wisconsin. In his free time he liked to wander in the woods near his home, and he became an astute observer of nature. In 1860, he entered the University of Wisconsin. He made sufficient grades, but after three years left Madison to travel the northern United States and Canada, odd jobbing his way through the yet unspoiled land.

In 1867, after sustaining and recovering from an eye injury, Muir resolved to return to the fields and woods and began his years of wanderlust. He walked a thousand miles from Indianapolis to the Gulf of Mexico, sailed to Cuba and later to Panama, where he crossed the Isthmus and sailed up the West Coast, landing in San Francisco in March 1868. California became his home thereafter.

A self-taught naturalist, Muir concentrated his studies on California's Sierra Nevada and Yosemite Valley, which brought him national attention. Famous men of the time like geologist Joseph Le Conte, botanist Asa Gray, and transcendentalist writer Ralph Waldo Emerson came to visit and share in his enthusiasm for nature. Beginning in 1874, a series of articles by Muir entitled "Studies in the Sierra" launched his successful career as a writer. He left the mountains and lived for awhile in Oakland, California. From there he took many trips, including his first to Alaska in 1879, where he discovered Glacier Bay. In 1880, he married Louie Wanda Strentzel and moved to Martinez, California, where they raised their two daughters while managing the family fruit ranch with great success. After ten years of ranching, Muir returned to his travels. He went to Alaska several times, to Australia, South America, Africa, Europe, China, Japan, and, of course, to the Sierra Nevada Mountains.

To support himself and promote his cause, he turned to writing, publishing 300 articles and 10 major books that recounted his travels and expounded his naturalist philosophy. Muir's love of the Sierra Nevadas gave his writings a spiritual quality. Through a series of articles appearing in *Century* magazine, Muir drew attention to the devastation of mountain meadows and forests by sheep and cattle. With the help of *Century*'s associate editor, Robert Underwood Johnson, Muir worked to end this destruction. In 1890, owing in large part to the efforts of Muir and Johnson, an act of Congress created Yosemite National Park. Muir was also personally involved in the creation of Sequoia, Mount Rainier, Petrified Forest, and Grand Canyon national parks. In 1903, President Theodore Roosevelt visited Muir in his beloved Yosemite. While there, Muir helped lay the foundation of Roosevelt's pioneering conservation programs. Muir is often called the "Father of Our National Park System."

Johnson and others suggested to Muir that an association be formed to protect the newly created Yosemite National Park from the assaults of stockmen and others who would diminish its boundaries. In 1892, Muir and a number of his supporters founded the Sierra Club to continue working for the protection of natural areas. Muir served as the club's president until his death in 1914. Muir and the Sierra Club fought many battles to protect Yosemite and the Sierra Nevada, the most dramatic being the campaign to prevent the damming of the Hetch Hetchy Valley within Yosemite National Park. In 1913, after years of heated debate, the federal government decided to dam and flood the valley for a reservoir to supply the water needs of a growing San Francisco. The following year, after a short illness, Muir died on December 24 in a Los Angeles hospital after visiting his daughter Wanda. His personal and determined involvement in the great conservation questions of the day was and remains an inspiration for environmental activists everywhere. In recognition of his efforts as a conservationist and crusader for national parks and reservations, Muir Woods National Monument was named for him.

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tional Park when Muir took Roosevelt camping for several nights within Yosemite. Impressed with each other's knowledge of and love for nature, they discussed the subject at length.

John Muir: Wilderness Prophet

John Muir (1838–1914) was the spiritual descendant of Thoreau and the earlier romantics, and he helped create a new way of valuing and understanding nature. He was born in Scotland, but his family moved to central Wisconsin when he was eleven years old. He was raised in a strict Calvinist tradition and was ingrained with a strong work ethic, as were his siblings. On the edge of the settler's frontier as a child and young man, he developed a love for wilderness even as he worked to convert nature into farmland.

Muir left the farm and attended the University of Wisconsin where he studied geology, a field of great importance throughout his life. As a student, he studied botany and gained a grounding in natural sciences, but significantly, he also became familiar with the romantic poet William Wordsworth and transcendentalists Ralph Waldo Emerson and Thoreau. Thoreau's transcendentalism merged religion and the study of nature and would contribute to Muir's interpretation of landscapes as the revelation of the hand of God and as deeply infused with spiritual meaning and importance.

Muir left the university after two and a half years and in an accident in a machine shop was left blind for about a month. Compelled by this experience, he came to believe that God had sent him a message to make more of his life, and he thereupon decided to head for the wilderness. He started off with a thousand-mile walking trip from Indiana down to the Gulf of Mexico, and in his journals from this trip may be found "the seeds of the most basic of his ideas." He wanted to travel up the Amazon and find its source but was deterred by a case of malaria and headed for northern California instead. It was in the Sierra Mountains of California that he found the wilderness he sought, although it was often damaged by human activities. Through his reading of transcendentalists like Emerson and Thoreau, he began interpreting the value of wilderness on its own terms.

Muir drew on his religious faith to interpret nature as containing mighty cathedrals and as replete with spiritual significance. His interpretation of nature attracted many followers. Distraught at the destruction of nature by lumber companies, sheepherders, and many other groups, particularly in his own sacred Yosemite, Muir began working specifically to seek greater protection for wild places. Writing articles for East Coast magazines like *Harper's* and publishing many books on his travels and explorations and leading important figures on adventures into Yosemite, including Roosevelt, Muir strove to inculcate his spiritual appreciation of nature in others. With the cooperation of Robert Underwood Johnson, a publisher from New York, Muir worked to gain federal reserve status for a Yosemite park overrun by concessionaires, recreationalists, butchers, and others looking to make a profit in what Muir considered a cathedral. After Muir gained the support of the Southern Pacific Railroad, which controlled railroad access to the park, a bill protecting 1,500 square miles in the Sierras, including Yosemite, and the Tuolomne River watershed along with other sites, was passed in 1889. In 1890, Yosemite became the nation's second national park, the first being Yellowstone. Following on the heels of this victory, the Sierra Club was created in 1892. The creation of the Sierra Club is one of the most significant events in the history of American environmentalism. The early Sierra Club sought to preserve important natural sites and also led recreational trips into the mountains. The club helped to promote the idea of nature as a useful recreational space in the early twentieth century as well as fighting to preserve outstanding natural sites.

The Hetch Hetchy Battle

The great battle of the early preservationist movement and the young Sierra Club was the effort to block the damming of Hetch Hetchy Valley twenty miles northeast of Yosemite in order to provide drinking water for San Francisco. The Sierra Club emphasized the natural beauty of the valley, with Muir writing, "dam Hetch Hetchy! As well dam for water-tanks the people's cathedrals and churches," asserting his opposition to the building of the Hetch Hetchy dam in Yosemite National Park. Preservationists, dismayed by the dominance of conservationists in determining the future of nature and determined to protect this beautiful valley, organized to fight the city of San Francisco. They were at first successful, blocking early efforts to flood the valley, but without the support of President Roosevelt for preservationist goals and with Pinchot's active support of the project, their efforts were doomed to failure. Although Hetch Hetchy now lies under a reservoir of water, the loss of this particular battle would motivate preservationists in the future and echo as they fought other proposed dam projects.

San Francisco needed a larger and more dependable source of drinking water both because of its fast growth and because the local water company provided poor service and charged high rates. Earlier efforts to dam Hetch Hetchy had been blocked with the help of the Sierra Club, but the city of San Francisco tried again in 1901 to acquire passage of a bill to approve the damming of the valley. Ethan Allen Hitchcock (1835–1909), U.S. Secretary of the Interior from 1898 to 1907 under President McKinley, held strong preservationist values and accordingly blocked this effort in 1903 and 1905. The project to dam the valley gained steam when Pinchot threw his support behind it. Under a new secretary who was more amenable to Pinchot's utilitarian philosophy, a hearing was held in San Francisco while the Sierra Club was away on an outing in the Sierra Mountains.

Muir and Johnson, together with the majority of the Sierra Club members, opposed the damming of Hetch Hetchy. Like Yosemite, it was a beautiful site that deserved to be protected. One historian, Alfred Runte, has argued that preservationists like Muir and early members of the Sierra Club fought to preserve monumental nature, sites like Yosemite, which offered awe-inspiring views, mountains, and waterfalls. Runte, contended that the urge to create parks and monuments arose in part from a strong sense of American cultural inadequacy which could be traced to its violent separation from Europe and its cultural legacies entailed by the American Revolution. By emphasizing the wonders of nature such as Niagara Falls, and later, places like Yellowstone and the Yosemite Valley, Americans could replace the lost cultural monuments of Europe with natural monuments that were already available on their own magnificent continent. Indeed, for many preservationists, the wonders of nature represented a higher value than that of European art and architecture. Muir wrote, in reference to his beloved Merced Valley, "The whole landscape showed design, like man's noblest sculptures. How wonderful the power of its beauty!"

Americans at the turn of the twentieth century viewed nature as a romantic landscape that filled a cultural niche missing for citizens of a young republic. Monumental landscapes, waterfalls, mountains, and geysers served as a replacement for the lost and longed-for European heritage of ancient cathedrals, castles, and ruins. These monumental places also suggested the golden future awaiting the young republic. This attitude engendered a tendency to set aside lands not based on their resource values or ecological significance but, rather, on their beauty as reflected in a monumental way: towering granite cliffs, cascading waterfalls, and awe-inspiring glaciers.

Counting on his friendship with President Roosevelt, Muir appealed to him to save the beautiful valley, but Roosevelt responded that there was broad support for the dam and he could not afford to appear to be blocking a state's progress for the sake of protecting a river valley. Muir began working to get popular opinion opposed to the dam. The Sierra Club officially opposed the dam and contacted other organizations like mountaineering clubs to oppose the damming of Hetch Hetchy. Supporters of the dam attacked Muir and the preservationists' approach, deriding the idea of nature holding more aesthetic or spiritual values than utilitarian uses, in this case, drinking water for a growing city.

While dam advocates spoke only of drinking water, they resisted suggestions of using alternate sites outside of the park because Hetch Hetchy, located at a high elevation in the mountains, could provide hydroelectric production as well. Voters in a referendum in San Francisco supported the damming of Hetch Hetchy by a vast majority, although one contemporary observer noted that the popularity of the dam probably resulted more from San Franciscans' hatred of the Spring Valley Water Company than from other reasons.

In federal hearings in 1909, dam opponents managed to delay the project for the short term, until 1912, with groups on both sides launching national publicity campaigns. Muir dedicated himself to the effort, using his writing, as in the past, to try to sway public opinion nationwide against the dam. According to Stephen Fox, "he worked fifteen hours a day to finish a book on the Yosemite." It concluded with a ringing chapter on Hetch Hetchy. "These temple destroyers, devotees of ravaging commercialism, seem to have a perfect contempt for Nature and instead of lifting their eyes to the God of the mountains, lift them to the Almighty Dollar." Many conservationists supported the construction of the dam, seeing not only utility in nature but also the possibilities of recreation through the presence of a new reservoir in the mountains. More important, Fox argues that this battle over Hetch Hetchy was a battle between the professionals who had an economic interest in gaining the approval of the project and the amateurs who used their free time and their resources to fight the plan. In the following years, this became a typical pattern in fights over development: proponents of development were able to apply more money, time, and political support to their projects, while amateurs had to cobble together resources and coalitions in basically rearguard actions.

The bill to dam Hetch Hetchy was passed in 1913, and Muir died soon thereafter—of pneumonia in 1914. It took another twenty years to get the dam built and over $100 million, which was twice what dam supporters had originally estimated. The electric power generated by the dam was illegally turned over to a private utility company, and as the opponents had predicted, the dam created an ugly reservoir that seemed an open mockery of the beauty that once existed there but now lay deep beneath the water's surface.

Although the preservationists lost this battle, it demonstrated the strength of these advocates of nature and established a precedent for the large-scale battles over wild and beautiful places that would be-

come a hallmark of the American environmental movement in the years after World War II.

Fighting for Wildlife

An important aspect of American environmentalism was the effort to protect wildlife that began in the early twentieth century. The advocates of protection for wildlife were an eclectic mixture of hunters, fishermen, ammunition and weapons producers, and northeastern nature lovers who, both together and in opposition to one another, produced a series of laws that enabled the recovery of numerous endangered species and their preservation into the future.

The creation of the Audubon Society by George Grinnell marked an important early step in trying to stem the tide of eradication of birds and animals. Although the group was created in 1886, it didn't really gain steam until 1896, when Boston activists led by Augustus Hemenway organized to protest the destruction of the southern heron's habitat. Many local Audubon chapters were quickly formed, and these groups played an important role in the first federal legislation passed for bird protection, the Lacey Act, in 1900. There were other successes, such as the new Tariff Act, which outlawed the importation of wild bird feathers into the United States. This movement became stronger over the next twenty years, although it remained mostly localized in the Northeast, and helped pass more and stronger laws protecting birds and wildlife, as well as hiring wardens to supplement state wardens whose staffs were always woefully undermanned.

The founding of the Izaak Walton League in Chicago in 1922 provided another arm to protect wildlife. Primarily made up of businessmen, middle-class Americans, and hunters who provided substantial financial support, the Izaak Walton league grew quickly through an appeal for protection of threatened species. Three members of the league's nine-man executive committee were directors of one of the largest banks in the country, and they gave substantially from their own pockets.

The group experienced exponential growth that pushed it ahead of other groups such as the Sierra Club and the Audubon Society. Although these two groups had memberships of approximately 7,000, the Izaak Walton League reached the 100,000-member mark within three years of being created. As Fox points out, "In the month of February 1924, 52 new chapters were formed; in March, another 118; in April, another 124. The local chapters in turn formed state divisions. It was a phenomenon—the first conservation group with a mass membership. Although concentrated in the Midwest, practically every state was represented."

Because of the decreased habitat resulting from the expansion of agricultural production during World War I and increased hunting, there was a precipitous drop in migratory waterfowl numbers. A debate emerged between conservationists on the best possible solution: whether to control hunting or preserve habitat.

Robert Marshall

Robert Marshall (1902–1939) was an important figure in the early American environmental movement and in formulating the idea of wilderness in American society. His background and upbringing inculcated in him a love of both nature and liberal values, such as opposition to discrimination and support for the rights of people of color. Marshall's father supported conservation interests and encouraged him to attend the Forestry School at Syracuse University. Working for the U.S. Forest Service after his graduation, Marshall, according to Gottlieb, began to "develop strong feelings about forests as a necessary retreat 'from the encompassing clutch of mechanistic civilization,' a place where people would be able to 'enjoy the most worthwhile and perhaps the only worthwhile part of life.' "

His experience in the Forest Service also compelled Marshall to emerge as a vocal critic of commercial logging practices and the impact of development on forests. His criticism echoed that of the conservationists in decrying wasteful and destructive practices, but it also sounded the preservationist note when he reflected on the beauty of nature.

Marshall is as well known for his back-country travels as for his efforts on the part of nature and society. As a young man he backpacked across the rugged Brooks Range in northern Alaska, a still remarkably remote and challenging landscape. His 1930 bestseller, *Arctic Village,* recounted his experiences in northern Alaska.

Over the course of his life and career, Marshall became a strong advocate for the preservation of wilderness areas. Like Muir, he felt that it was important to value and preserve nature for its own sake, but he also believed that wilderness could serve a useful function for American society. He was critical of the gross commercialization of nature by the National Park Service under Stephen T. Mather and worried that wilderness and its soothing qualities were not accessible to the working class. "Marshall argued that

wilderness belonged to all the people, not simply an elite who wanted such areas available for their own use. By 1925, Marshall was writing that "people can not live generation after generation in the city without serious retrogression, physical, moral and mental, and the time will come when the most destitute of the city population will be able to get a vacation in the forest."

Although given the responsibility of running outdoor recreation for the Forest Service during the New Deal, Marshall continued his implacable criticisms of both Forest Service and National Park policies and in one book argued that all forests should be publicly owned because they would then be better regulated and protected than private forests. This was in fact true. Although the Forest Service made a lot of mistakes in managing national forests, private landowners and logging companies devastated the stands of trees on their land, leaving behind devastated and heavily eroded landscapes and making no effort to remedy the destruction rendered. During the New Deal, the Forest Service acquired millions of acres of private lands that became part of the national forests and used the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) to replant stripped forest lands.

Through his work in the Forest Service and in the Wilderness Society, a group he helped found and financed in its early years, Marshall tried to break down the association of wilderness with elites and find ways to make parks and forests more accessible to low-income people and discriminated ethnic groups. Unfortunately for Marshall and for environmentalists, he died of a heart attack at a young age and his vision was not realized. His model of protecting wilderness while making nature more accessible to more Americans of different economic status and ethnic backgrounds may have moved American environmentalism to a more inclusive model that could have led to a stronger movement over time.

The conservation ethic was firmly ingrained in American society by the 1930s. The Sierra Club was primarily a recreational organization and adapted a conservation approach to the management of nature, an approach that was particularly that of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration. Raised to appreciate and love nature, he enacted numerous measures during his multiple administrations to deal with natural crises across the nation. The Olympic National Park boundaries were expanded during his tenure. The Civilian Conservation Corps, a New Deal agency that hired young men to work in numerous projects nationwide, did as much to restore nature as some activist movements. The government acquired heavily eroded private forest land that had never been replanted, and the Civilian Conservation Corps planted hundreds of millions of trees that have grown into many of the mature national forests that we see today. They also embarked on erosion control efforts, fought large-scale forest fires, and built lodges, picnic cabins, and other structures on national forest and national park lands that helped enhance the outdoor visitor's pleasure. At the same time, many state fish and wildlife agencies were making serious efforts to restore habitat as the newly born discipline of wildlife management revealed the importance of forests, brush, and grass for many species. Their efforts helped many game species to rebound in the late 1930s and 1940s. Conservationism was the dominant ethic in American environmental thinking and would remain so until after World War II.

Post–World War II Environmentalism

After World War II, the American environmental movement underwent radical changes and expanded rapidly from a basically conservative resource-oriented movement to one whose mandate increasingly included a multiplicity of perspectives and issues from wilderness preservation and protection of rivers to cleaning up toxic waste sites and protecting endangered species. In the years following World War II, American environmentalism broke away from its conservationist past and became more preservationist in outlook.

Although preservationism emerged in the early twentieth century, it never really took hold until the years following World War II and the emergence of the modern environmental movement. Following the war, the environmental movement blossomed and began a series of successful campaigns to protect rivers, canyon lands, and wild places. Samuel Hays has provided several explanations for this postwar environmentalism in his book *Beauty, Health, and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States, 1955–1985* (1987). According to Hays, several events converged to lead Americans to view nature in a manner radically divergent from the development philosophy of the early twentieth century. Most important, the prosperity concomitant with and following World War II, urbanization, and increasing industrialization, particularly in the Northwest, allowed Americans to view nature in terms other than economic, perceiving, instead, aesthetic and recreational values in the American landscape.

After the war Americans embarked on the high-

ways in station wagons, towing campers to visit the great outdoors. Members of the postwar generation strapped on backpacks and laced on Vibram-soled boots, venturing deep into forested mountain ranges and the heart of the desert. According to historian Paul Hirt, "in 1945 the Forest Service estimated that approximately 10 million Americans visited the national forests; in 1950 it was up to 27 million visits, in 1955 almost 46 million visits, and by 1960 the estimate had climbed to 92.5 million—a 900 percent increase overall during a period in which the total population increase was about 35 percent." The national parks experienced a similar increase in visitation. Whereas Yosemite and Yellowstone National Parks averaged between 400,000 and 500,000 visitors annually before the war, in 1955 Yellowstone had 1.4 million visitors and Yosemite, 1 million. Rising incomes, increased savings, and shorter workweeks gave families more opportunity for travel and leisure. Automobiles were more affordable, gasoline was cheap, and the highway building boom following the war made it increasingly easy for Americans to venture to distant locations for recreation and edification.

This was a period when tourism became firmly ingrained in American culture from the weekend trip to the campground on the slopes of Mt. Rainier to long summer trips cross-country to see such wonders as the Grand Canyon, Mesa Verde National Park, Acadia, and the Adirondack Mountains, among many others. Experiencing the great outdoors became an essential part of the expanding American dream. As Hays concluded, "Environmental and ecological values were an integral part of the continuous search for a better standard of living. They reflected changing attitudes about what constitutes a better life. The natural and the developed became intermingled as coordinated, mutually reinforcing aspects of the quality of living." Americans' quality of life increased and was defined by their ability to live in and recreate in spectacular and healthy natural regions throughout the country.

This ability to travel and recreate along with movement away from resource-based jobs and efforts to promote nature appreciation by groups like the Sierra Club inculcated a greater enjoyment of nature by Americans. In addition, the promotion of motorized tourism by the National Park Service—an effort that began prior to World War II—along with creation of more public spaces for Americans to visit and enjoy helped them to perceive nature as a special and even spiritual place separate from the mundane world of work and housekeeping. They increasingly saw nature as beautiful, pure, and pristine. The use of black-and-white and color photography in the growing environmental movement was critical for generating support of environmental goals. According to Hays, photographs were essential to maintaining memories of visits to beautiful natural places as well as generating support for these sites by those who had not visited them. Organizations such as the Sierra Club and Friends of the Earth employed these photographs, most famously the stunning images created by Ansel Adams, to inculcate a preservationist ethic in Americans. Hays writes that "visual images stirred the imagination of many Americans who had not visited natural places in person, and these images were important in the political drive to establish national wilderness areas and especially the campaign to manage significant areas in Alaska as natural environments."

Accordingly, even those unable to travel to parks and monuments, or able to go only rarely, treasured nature as something special and removed from an increasingly urbanized and commercialized American society and deserving preservation and protection. Many Americans grew increasingly supportive of environmental goals; they sought to preserve "nature" from development and destruction, as is indicated by the widespread opposition to the construction of the Echo Park Dam in the Dinosaur National Monument and support for the 1964 Wilderness Act.

The new love for nature and dedication to preserving wild places was clarified in the Echo Park Dam battle in the 1940s and 1950s. The Echo Park Dam battle emerged as a central, defining event in the postwar environmental movement. The Dinosaur National Monument lies astride the Wyoming and Utah border and includes stunning desert terrain and rivers as well as a wonderful collection of dinosaur fossils. The federal Bureau of Reclamation announced its intention to build a ten-dam water storage system, beginning with a dam on the Green River within the boundaries of the Echo Park Monument. Agency officials must have been surprised by the hornet's nest of trouble they stirred up with these plans.

In general, the environmental movement in the post–World War II years took on a more preservationist agenda as environmentalists fought battles to protect scenic, grandiose river canyons, fought for legislation to set millions of acres of wild lands aside as wilderness, and staked new ground in the fight to protect the environment. Numerous historians pinpoint the fight over the Echo Park Dam as a pivotal

event in the emergence of the post–World War II environmental movement.

The dam was to be located inside the Dinosaur National Monument and would have flooded the beautiful river valleys of the Yampa and Green rivers; stunning desert terrain and riparian habitat would have been drowned under the proposed reservoir. The Bureau of Reclamation planned this dam as part of a ten-dam water storage project and anticipated following the Echo Park Dam with yet another within the national monument. This plan arrived at the tail end of a frenzied period of dam building throughout the West, and the bureau likely anticipated little opposition for a project so integral to economic development and so nationalistic in nature. The Sierra Club and Wilderness Society, under the leadership of David Brower and Howard Zahniser, organized a well-orchestrated attack on the Bureau of Reclamation's plans. With the support of Wallace Stegner and Bernard DeVoto, environmentalists garnered widespread national support for their efforts to block the dam. This contrasts markedly to the regional focus of the battle against the Lower Snake River dams occurring simultaneously. As historian Mark Harvey writes, "Numerous articles appeared in conservation journals, including the *Living Wilderness*, the *National Parks Magazine*, the *Sierra Club Bulletin*, and *Planning and Civic Comment*." It was also important that well-known writers like Stegner, a novelist, historian, and essayist, and DeVoto, a historian and essayist for the *New Republic,* embraced the fight, and their writing gained the effort a nationwide audience.

Obviously, many factors came into play, such as a strong national media and emerging environmental ethic, but nationwide support was probably the key to victory in the Echo Park battle. At the same time, another battle was occurring to protect the Lower Snake River in Washington State from four dams proposed by the Army Corps of Engineers. The failure of the ten-year effort in the Pacific Northwest was due primarily to the conservationist focus of those seeking to protect salmon runs: fish biologists, fishermen, and so on. A fundamental shift occurred in Echo Park, where preservationism as a part of American environmentalism attains dominance. This is also a fundamental difference from the battle to block the Lower Snake River dams. That effort never moved beyond its regional focus. Furthermore, the fact that Echo Park was located in a national monument and the Lower Snake River was not also helps explain the different results in the two battles. Dam opponents could appeal to strong feelings of nationalism and employ the argument of protecting a national treasure. Although the Lower Snake region is beautiful, it doesn't compare with the dramatic scenery of Dinosaur. Furthermore, it was not a part of the national park system.

There was another significant difference between the efforts to stop the Lower Snake River dams and the Echo Park battle. According to Harvey, a specific new strategy was key to the activists' success:

> The Dinosaur battle could not be won by appeals to science alone . . . defenders of Dinosaur realized that they must appeal to a broader segment of the public and link the preservation of the monument with a new generation's appetite for recreation. Americans were hungry for an experience in the outdoors and eager to taste the wilderness. Dinosaur offered a landscape of breathtaking beauty that had the potential to draw such people. First, it must be made known by advertising its scenic wonders . . . it required poetry and pictures and films—in this case of the winding, twisting canyons and rivers of an obscure national monument in a remote corner of the American West.

In *Beauty, Health, and Permanence,* Hays argues that prosperity and structural economic changes enabled Americans to become environmentalists. Increased discretionary income allowed the means to travel and engage in tourism, visiting places like Yellowstone and Yosemite. With the economic freedom to visit these places of beauty and inspiration, a greater proportion of Americans found themselves emotionally attached to these natural/national monuments and began to think in environmentalist terms. Structural changes such as the increased movement away from a resource-extraction-based economy to more service and manufacturing jobs enabled Americans to see nature as a recreational space rather than a source of income and livelihood. Forests could be seen for their trees rather than their board-feet, mountains for their glittering streams, craggy peaks, and glaciers rather than the precious ore they might contain. Not being directly dependent on nature's resources for survival enabled Americans to increasingly view nature in preservationist terms.

The increasing focus on recreation also played an important role in the emerging environmentalist movement. The increased popularity of a variety of outdoor recreations such as hiking, camping, and touring introduced a greater number of Americans to the scenic landscape of their country and rendered them more susceptible to the appeals and publicity of

environmental groups such as the Sierra Club in the postwar years. Visits to national parks and the forests increased dramatically in the prosperity of the postwar years. The healthful benefits of exercise such as hiking also played into Americans' increasing outdoor recreation, seeing national parks and forests as recreational areas where they could enjoy the aesthetic pleasures of nature as well as hiking, camping, fishing, and boating. Interestingly, supporters of the proposed Echo Park Dam recognized the increasing interest in outdoor recreation and characterized rafting the Green River as dangerous in pro-dam rallies in an effort to undermine the recreational aspects of the river.

This interest in and increased love for nature were facilitated and strengthened by the Sierra Club and other environmental groups. The Sierra Club used images like those created by Adams to capture the beauty of places like Yosemite in winter, capitalizing on the monumental in nature, as Alfred Runte refers to it, to build support for their environmental program. These pictures helped create a love for place and sense of loyalty for those who had spent time in the parks, mountains, deserts, and forests and even evoked feelings in those who were unable to travel to those places, but saw the beauty in them through images produced by environmental groups. Both Hays and Runte speak of the nationalistic feelings generated by images of monumental sites such the Grand Canyon, Niagara Falls, Yosemite, and other grand places. These feelings helped create a constituency for environmental legislation and were vital to the environmentalism of the late twentieth century.

Beautiful pictures were used in the Echo Park fight to generate mainstream support for blocking the dam. *This Is Dinosaur: Echo Park Country and Its Magic Rivers* (1955), edited by Stegner, was, according to Harvey, the beginning of the large-format book tradition of the Sierra Club that Hays finds so integral to the success of the environmental movement in the second half of the twentieth century.

Appealing to a nationwide audience propelled the issue from the West to the attention of Americans across the country. The writings of both Stegner and DeVoto were integral in creating a constituency for national parks and wild places in general and Dinosaur specifically. According to John L. Thomas,

> DeVoto went on record in July 1950 in determined opposition to the Echo Park Dam project, first in two "Easy Chair" columns and, more prominently, in the *Saturday Evening Post*, which had a circulation of more than four million. "Shall We Let Them Ruin Our National Parks?" was widely read and stirred nationwide interest in park preservation when a condensed version appeared in the November issue of *Reader's Digest*. The article, which was DeVoto's first and last appearance in the pages of the *Post*, opened the conservationist assault on the Army Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation as the two most dangerous enemies of parks and forests in the country.

The Bureau of Reclamation came under heavy attack and, settling on an alternative dam site in Glen Canyon (to the environmentalists' later regret), abandoned the proposed dams in Dinosaur National Monument. This victory marked the emergence of the postwar environmental movement. The Echo Park Dam battle emerged as the biggest preservationist battle since Hetch Hetchy and, with victory, as a turning point for the emerging environmentalist movement. Robert Gottlieb points out an important element of the Echo Park battle. "The Dinosaur fight served to distinguish between those conservationists still wedded to reclamation and other multi-use projects and those groups such as the Sierra Club and Wilderness Society that sought to recapture their preservationist or protectionist roots by emphasizing the need for protection."

Creating Wilderness

The wilderness movement emerged directly from the successful opposition to the Echo Park Dam. Revitalized by their organizing efforts, the Sierra Club under Brower's leadership and the Wilderness Society under Zahniser's guidance immediately began working toward the vision of preserving vast tracts of wilderness that was pristine or close to that state. This vision also represented a resurgence of a preservationist ethic in environmental circles. Activists would begin working on a project that would have warmed the heart of Muir, an effort to set aside countless millions of acres of wilderness for protection from human use.

The wilderness advocates were borne forward on the shoulders of a generation of Americans who had fallen in love with wild places and increased their visitation both by car and on foot.

The Wilderness Movement differed significantly from earlier environmental efforts in that it applied a general principle and sought to protect vast areas of land across the country instead of fighting a battle over a particular location. They would no longer sit back and fight to protect threatened places but rather would take the offensive and put lands off-limits per-

manently by assigning them wilderness status. During the 1960s, many organizations concerned with the protection of wild nature experienced rapid growth. What had once been considered marginal, the preservationist approach, became a central tenet of the American environmental movement as groups like the Sierra Club, the National Wildlife Federation, and the Wilderness Society grew in membership and power. They also played critical roles in expanding parks, protecting more natural sites, and expanding and solidifying the role of environmentalism in American culture.

The plan to create a national wilderness system followed quickly upon the victory at Echo Park at Zahniser's initiation. This early effort to preserve 160 national important wilderness sites reflected a change in the American environmental movement. It took seven years to fashion the final wilderness bill and gain its passage. In that time, there were nine separate hearings, and the bill went through significant modifications as the debate continued among wilderness preservationists and those with resource interests, government agencies, and advocates of mechanized outdoor recreation who worried about access to wilderness playgrounds.

After decades of conservationists and their multiple-use mandate setting the terms for environmental action, the limitations that would be imposed by wilderness designation seemed onerous to miners, loggers, professional foresters, and others. There was some agreement that the idea of wilderness protection was valid, but opponents worried about access and the process by which land would be designated "wilderness." In response, wilderness advocates assured their opponents that this program would not "remove" land and resources but would give official sanction to land that was already effectively managed as wilderness. Moreover, they argued that the system would never amount to more than 50 million acres, that is, 2 percent of the nation's landmass, hardly a dire economic impediment.

Congressional testimony on the bill from the 1950s through 1964 revealed the legacy of romanticism and wilderness ideas in American culture, proving the importance of the ideas held by people like Emerson, Thoreau, Muir, Leopold, and others in crafting an idea of wilderness and its worth for nature's and human's sakes. The chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular affairs, Senator Clinton P. Anderson (D-NM), referred back to his interactions with Leopold forty years earlier as the reason for his current support of the wilderness bill, enacted in 1964. In his support of the bill, Secretary of the Interior Steward L. Udall emphasized ecology and the idea of the land ethic and also referred to Leopold as an important figure in the wilderness movement. Other key figures mentioned the writers and ideas that influenced their worldview and helped provide the foundation for the wilderness philosophy. In 1958, Senate hearings in several western states generated the mailing of 1,003 letters in favor of the wilderness bill and a mere 129 in opposition.

The wilderness protests and the opposition to the proposal to build dams in the Grand Canyon did not arise in a cultural void but were rather part of a larger cultural conflict that increasingly questioned assumptions about American life and values. The same generation that protested the Vietnam War and fought for civil rights saw a value in the preservation of wilderness. A culturewide critique of corporate society, of materialism, of success at any cost supported the converse, an idea that nature has a value of its own, outside of human economic and material needs. Furthermore, wilderness would be a place that would always remind people of the way nature once was and would provide a sanctuary for contemplation as well as recreation. The 1960s and 1970s were decades of protest, and the effort to pass a wilderness bill was part of that general movement.

Aldo Leopold and the Wilderness Ethic

Aldo Leopold (1887–1948) is well known among environmentalists for his collection of essays titled *Sand County Almanac: And Sketches Here and There* (1949), which was written toward the end of his life and published posthumously after numerous rejections. This collection articulated a new land ethic that declared the need for a human value system that prized habitat, land, and the protection of nature. Leopold is perceived as important today, particularly with regard to the wilderness movement, for articulating the need for a land ethic and for protecting wild places. In so doing, he helped propel an idea of nature that had been gaining in strength and coherence since the writings of Thoreau.

Leopold began his career as a classic conservationist. Growing up in the rural countryside of Wisconsin, he loved hunting and fishing and carried that love into his career in wildlife management. His first approach was to remove as many predators as possible in order to increase deer populations, the favorite target of American hunters in the early twentieth century and a species in many states that seemed on the edge of disappearing. But his approach changed

as he realized that eradication of predators had the opposite effect that was originally intended. The growth in the deer population created a larger deer population that was unable to live off the land, and thus, due to starvation, the species became weaker and died off.

Leopold was at the center of a new era in wildlife management and helped create the field of wildlife management as an academic discipline. His work and the work of others in the field such as Olaus Murie and Rudolf Bennitt at the University of Missouri stressed the importance of habitat to the success of species survival and prosperity. Their studies of wildlife populations emphasized the role of the loss of habitat as well as poaching and market hunting in the devastation of numerous species such as deer, wild turkey, and other species. Deer harvests in Missouri in the early 1930s were around 100 a year. Compare that to over 230,000 deer in 2001. Deer, often considered a nuisance today in many suburbs and on many highways, were close to extinction in many parts of the country in the 1930s. Other species such as wolves, bears, cougars, and bobcats continued their precipitous decline both from habitat loss and from government-sponsored bounty programs. While achieving success in his career, and seeing through the birth of the nascent wildlife biology movement, Leopold continued to work toward a more radical vision. His writing of the essays that compose *The Sand County Almanac* provided an important piece of the puzzle for American environmentalists moving toward a wilderness philosophy.

Man-Made Environmental Dangers

The shift in and expansion of American environmentalism was predicated on Americans learning to view the world in ecological terms. The idea of ecology was popularized with the publication of Eugene Odum's textbook, *Fundamentals of Ecology*, in 1953. Building on the earlier work of other ecologists and scientists, Odum created a model of analysis based on the ecosystem, "any entity or natural unit that includes living and nonliving parts interacting to produce a stable system in which the exchange of materials between the living and nonliving parts follow circular paths." Implicit in this textbook was an assertion of the fragility of ecosystems and the capability of humans to destroy ecosystems.

This textbook was published during the golden era of chemicals and synthetics. In what agricultural economists have termed the Green Revolution, chemical insecticides, herbicides, and fertilizers fueled an explosion in American agricultural production in the years following World War II. DDT was one of those miracle chemicals. It had been effectively employed in the 1940s to kill mosquitoes worldwide and, for a while, stop the spread of malaria, almost eliminating the disease in many countries. Farmers also used it to reduce insect populations that fed on their crops.

Rachel Carson had long been aware of the impacts of pesticides on nature, and the reports of massive bird dieoffs as a result of DDT inspired her to write a warning to the human race, *Silent Spring* (1962). When she began to conduct research for her book, she realized the situation was worse than she had thought—that in fact, pesticides were causing a great deal of environmental damage. Carson knew her critique could have significant impacts and that the petrochemical industry would not take her attack lying down.

Historians have located the publication and public response to Carson's *Silent Spring* as the major turning point in the emergence of a vibrant environmental movement in the 1960s. This book testified to the destruction being wrought by chemicals, specifically DDT, on the natural world. *Silent Spring* painted a picture of a world greatly reduced by the excesses of human activity but also human health in the balance. Carson's book helped stimulate the environmental fight against chemical poisons in the environment.

Attacks on Carson originated from the chemical industry as well as the general media. These attacks often questioned her scientific "objectivity" and accused her of mysticism. The criticisms were also gendered. Attacks came not only from the defenders of the capitalist status quo but from potential allies as well—some members of the Sierra Club were disturbed by the new book. This seeming conflict speaks to the tension in the environmental movement among various agendas. Carson's powerful work eventually gained a wide following and proved important in the environmentalism of the 1960s, educating Americans to the dangers in the air and water to nature and to themselves. As Donald Worster points out, *Silent Spring* represented more than an alarm about the dangers of DDT. It also spoke of the "need for ethical change, away from a spirit of conquest and a respect for all forms of life and an acknowledgement of our dependence on them." Historian Vera Norwood argues that, although many historians have acknowledged the importance of *Silent Spring* in the emergence of the environmental movement of the 1960s and 1970s, they have generally ignored Carson's

RACHEL LOUISE CARSON (1907–1964)

Born in Springdale, Pennsylvania, on May 27, 1907, Rachel Carson early developed a deep interest in the natural world. She entered Pennsylvania College for Women (now Chatham College) with the intention of becoming a writer but soon changed her major field of study from English to biology. After taking her bachelor's degree in 1929, she received her M.A. in zoology from Johns Hopkins University in 1932. In 1931, she joined the faculty of the University of Maryland, where she taught for five years. From 1929 to 1936, she also taught in the Johns Hopkins summer school and pursued postgraduate studies at the Marine Biological Laboratory in Woods Hole, Massachusetts.

In 1936, Carson took a position as aquatic biologist with the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries (from 1940 the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service), where she remained until 1952, the last three years as editor in chief of the service's publications. An article in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1937 served as the basis for her first book, *Under the Sea-Wind*, published in 1941. It was widely praised, as were all her books, for its remarkable combination of scientific accuracy and thoroughness, with an elegant and lyrical prose style. *The Sea Around Us* (1951) became a national best seller, won a National Book Award, and was eventually translated into thirty languages. Her third book, *The Edge of the Sea*, was published in 1955. These books constituted a biography of the ocean and made Carson famous as a naturalist and science writer for the public.

Her prophetic *Silent Spring* (1962) was also a best-selling book, creating a worldwide awareness of the dangers of environmental pollution. In it she challenged the practices of agricultural scientists and the government, and called for a change in the way humankind viewed the natural world. She urged that pest control not be abandoned and that more research be undertaken to enable pesticides to be used safely and to find alternate techniques for pest control. Carson died at her home in Silver Spring, Maryland, on April 14, 1964, before she could see any substantive results from her work on this issue. In 1969, the U.S. Department of the Interior named the Coastal Maine Refuge the Rachel Carson National Wildlife Refuge.

James G. Lewis

other significant contributions to the environmentalist attack on pollution.

Carson had already had popular success before *Silent Spring* with the publication of *The Sea Around Us* (1951) and as a result had in place a constituency of women who wrote to her asking for advice on nature writing, looked for her support on environmental issues, and awarded her for her writing and work. In fact, according to Norwood, it was women who supported and sustained Carson during the early years when industry-paid scientists and conservative defenders of the petrochemical industry mercilessly hammered at Carson's conclusions and launched vitriolic personal attacks against her. National women's organizations played a pivotal role in supporting Carson and helping to spread her message. Groups like the National Council of Women, the Garden Club of America, and the American Association of University Women provided recognition of her message when she suffered the slings and arrows of industry and science's attacks.

Furthermore, women conservationists, particularly in the Audubon Society, were also concerned about the health of wildlife and played an integral role in conveying the central message of *Silent Spring.* In fact, Norwood argues that Carson believed that women served a special role in transmitting cultural values regarding nature to young generations. She felt that beyond that women needed to find a way to turn those values into action and recognized that women's groups could serve that function.

Other works of literature contributed to the movement that emerged during that decade. Writers such as Herbert Marcuse and Murray Bookchin provided critiques of modern society and arguments for the need to reconstruct an industrialized capitalist society on stronger ecological terms.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Americans increasingly understood the scale of environmental destruction surrounding them. Books like those written by Bookchin and Carson articulated a critique of capitalism and a culture of consumption, waste, and overdependence on technology. As the theories of ecology were popularly expressed and understood, it became increasingly clear that not only were humans rendering extensive damage on organisms at all levels but also that humans were suffering from their own worst polluting excesses. The increased use of chemicals, air pollution, and atomic bomb tests introduced toxics into physical systems that presented an increased and frightening threat to nature, including people. Samuel Hays clearly characterizes the understanding of the

spreading environmental catastrophe, writing about the spread of "toxic agents" so that they could be found almost anywhere floating in the air, in the water, and salted in the soil. Before it became popular to talk about the world as a global village, people were beginning to understand the scale of environmental destruction and pollution and its extended reach as lead produced in cities was found in the glaciers of the Antarctic and Greenland and radioactive iodine from the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the end of World War II showed up in the lichens of Alaska. The distribution of the ecological threat was demonstrated in examples such as these.

The atomic age propelled its own form of terror into the consciousness of Americans. Fallout from atomic weapons testing both at Bikini Atoll and the secret tests in Nevada is central to the emergence of environmentalism in America. One can argue for prosperity and the popularization of ecological ideas in the mainstream, but the seemingly unlimited power unleashed by science in the form of atomic bombs and the ecological ramifications of atomic weapons testing created a deep-seated unease in Americans, even in a time of cultural conformity, that often bordered on terror.

In 1958, a group of scientists at Washington University in St. Louis began publicizing information about radiation fallout from atomic testing in Nevada. This effort spread to groups organized around the country. After passage of the 1963 agreement to limit above-ground testing, members of the St. Louis Committee and scientists in general focused their efforts on publicizing the dangers of chemical pesticides and opposing their use. One of the leaders was plant physiologist Barry Commoner, who later inserted himself into the debate over population growth and participated in the environmental movement. Scientists from other disciplines increasingly joined this campaign.

This trend marks a strong environmental movement to combat various types of pollution in the environment, cognizant that excesses in science and industrial development threatened humans as well as birds and fish. Incidents like the burning of the Cuyahoga River in Ohio symbolized the extent to which the human/nature relationship had gone wrong. Continuing threats to human health strengthened the idea that people were at risk and led to greater protest.

Love Canal stands as one of the strongest examples of this model of this form of environmentalism even as millions of Americans continue to fight chemical pollution in their own backyards. A new housing complex was built along a toxic waste site outside Niagara Falls, New York, in the mid-1970s. The homeowners who put their savings into these new homes were not informed of the waste site. The construction of an elementary school on top of the covered dump led to a rapid increase in various illnesses among schoolchildren. Children suffered from various ailments such as asthma and other respiratory problems. The community in general experienced a significant rise in rates of cancer, birth defects, miscarriages, liver ailments, and nervous system disorders. Local residents, led by Lois Gibbs, organized in an effort to gain support from the state even as toxic wastes drained into their basements and surfaced in backyards, and children burned their feet walking across lawns. Angered at state government indifference to their plight, local community members organized the Love Canal Homeowners' Association (LCHA), which forced the state and federal government after years of stalling and halfway measures to agree to provide funds to Love Canal homeowners for home purchase and relocation. They effectively used environmental groups and scientists to strengthen their arguments and educated themselves on complex issues, but the community residents themselves organized strategy and decided that the dump site itself would have to be purchased as the only reasonable solution to their horrible situation.

This was only the beginning of the battles that would take place over industrial pollution in communities across the country. The exponential increase in environmental group enrollment and the ecological dangers understood by Americans led to transformative legislative changes. The creation of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) in 1970 represents the effort to curb the worst excesses in pollution. The Endangered Species Act (ESA), passed in 1973, also reflected the growing American consciousness that something was terribly amiss in Americans' relationship with nature and an increasing recognition that other species deserved some status, some right to actually exist in spite of human economic interests. The force of law embodied in the Endangered Species Act (ESA), though not always fully applied in later years, would restrict the scale of development and resource extraction activities and its corresponding impacts on species ranging from darter fish to bald eagles.

One can view the ESA as the culmination of the environmental movement, a statement that preservation of various species, regardless of majesty or economic value, should trump development and economics. In *The Rights of Nature: A History of Environmental Ethics* (1989), Nash writes that the ESA "ex-

emplified efforts to modify human contact in the interest of the rights of other species." Although the vision of the Endangered Species Act has not been completely realized, the act has played an important role in preserving several species such as the bald eagle and has slowed the decline of salmon and steelhead in the Pacific Northwest. The ESA has been the lever to force discussion and some measures to preserve salmon in the Columbia and Snake River system and therefore is important. But do agencies really follow the letter of the ESA, and how have they failed in their mandate to preserve endangered species?

Other important legislative changes resulted from the increasing environmentalism of Americans in general and have improved nature and the American quality of life over the years. The Clean Water Act and the Clean Air Act both imposed regulations on industry that have returned many rivers to a state that, while not pristine, is much healthier than it was thirty years ago. Industrial rivers like the Kennebec in Maine and the Cuyahoga in Cleveland (which actually caught on fire on more than one occasion) were once seen as industrial sewers, with no aquatic life and dangerous to human health. These rivers and many others like them are much cleaner and are once again healthy river ecosystems.

Human Population Growth

The effort to curb population growth has also been an important part of American environmentalism. The exponential growth of human populations worldwide puts habitat at risk, generating excessive consumption and waste of natural resources and contributing to human famines and social chaos. Population growth is a more complex issue than conservation and preservation because it necessarily involves problematic cultural and religious values as well as economic problems.

William Vogt's *Road to Survival* (1948) launched an attack on the human population problem. His book announced that the U.S. population of 147 million (it is roughly 275 million now) was excessive and that Americans were self-indulgent and consumed too much of the world's resources. Vogt also singled out the automotive industry and car culture for attack as wasteful of natural resources and destructive of human culture.

This book was very popular and was followed by a government commission in 1952 chaired by William Paley, the president of Columbia Broadcasting System. This panel declared its agreement with Vogt's conclusions that the U.S. population should grow more slowly and consume less. But in an era of prosperity and growth, little else happened in this area following these developments. The population problem would again become a major focus in the 1960s as environmentalism spread and became more popular and included more approaches.

A now famous debate emerged when Commoner, environmental researcher, activist, and politician, attacked a casual comment made by Paul R. Ehrlich—a Stanford University biologist and author of *Population Bomb*—calling for compulsory birth control. Commoner felt that the population control movement was politically and socially repressive, and he argued that by giving people more opportunities and education, much more progress could be made in reducing human population growth, an approach that since then has been proven to be correct. Their argument grew increasingly heated when each accused the other of manipulating statistics, and the argument continued for a while. It is one of the more troubling debates because, although human population is clearly the cornerstone of many environmental problems in a fundamental way, political repression, the cornering of resources by a small minority of the world population, and poverty all contribute to both human population growth and worsening environmental problems. In fact, over time Ehrlich came to accept some of Commoner's arguments, acknowledging that other factors must be considered as well.

The debate over population growth and increasing concern over that issue led to the creation of a group called Zero Population Growth, which continues to devote its energy to combating world population growth.

Nuclear Power

Nuclear power was once seen as a clean energy source for the future, but Americans' increasing ecological awareness, as well as the fear triggered by both atomic weapons testing and incidences of radiation poisoning, made Americans distrustful of expanding dependence on nuclear power in the 1960s and 1970s. American society's growing sense of unease was also fueled by the social unrest created by the divisions surrounding the Vietnam War. The antiwar divisions of the 1960s and 1970s undermined Americans' faith in government and experts, and the expansion of activist groups in the civil rights movement and environmental issues paved the way for an expanding antinuke movement.

Early protest against nuclear power centered on issues of waste, and by the 1970s the opposition to

nuclear power included concern over accidents and their consequences. Some nuclear physicists and engineers joined the effort, arguing that the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), which was the governing and regulating federal agency, was entirely too friendly and lenient to the industry, thereby making the danger of potential accidents higher than necessary. The creation of the Union of Concerned Scientists at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1971 increased the level of opposition to the nuclear power industry and also increased the credibility of the movement. The defection of the scientists and engineers did not stop there. According to Hays, "some engineers who had been employed in nuclear facilities, both private and public, resigned their posts to join citizen groups to help press these concerns; three of these engineers were from the General Electric Corporation and two were from the AEC. Their technical expertise enabled the citizen antinuclear movement to participate effectively in the varied administrative proceedings pertaining to the safety of nuclear energy."

These defectors used their expertise to predict the possibilities of nuclear meltdowns and radiation fallout, which was much grimmer than the somewhat more optimistic predictions of the AEC. As a result of these attacks, in 1975 the AEC required new plants to include an emergency cooling system in order to prevent meltdowns of the reactor core.

Direct action protest groups dramatically changed the antinuclear power movement in the mid-1970s. In 1974, a man in northwest Massachusetts knocked down the tower of a local utility in order to protest its plans to build a nuclear power plant. This action attracted other determined opponents and helped radicalize the movement. Inspired further by the successful German efforts to block a nuclear power plant by use of massive sit-in protests, New England antinuclear protestors organized themselves into a group called the Clamshell Alliance.

In August 1976, following the successful German model, members of the Clamshell Alliance sat in at the site of the proposed Seabrook Nuclear Power Plant in New Hampshire. Within a few weeks another 180 protesters joined the original eighteen. As Gottlieb writes, "These events electrified the antinuclear movement, with the occupation capturing the imagination of antinuclear groups around the country. The action of the Clams, as they were called, also helped coalesce with respect to the nuclear issue constituencies with roots in the New Left and the counterculture who had been largely dormant since the 1960s." Another protest in 1977 drew 2,400 activists and generated massive press coverage that left activists unsatisfied with their coverage of the nuclear power issue.

The Clamshell protests paved the way for further action by more direct action groups such as the Abalone Alliance, which protested the construction of the Diablo Canyon Power Plant on the California coast in the late 1970s. They were able to accelerate protests by focusing on the existence of a fault line at the proposed location, suggesting the possibility of an earthquake under a nuclear power plant, and by escalating to the use of civil disobedience.

Criticism of nuclear power continued but accelerated exponentially in the wake of the Three Mile Island incident in 1979. A combination of mechanical breakdowns and human error nearly resulted in a meltdown, eerily echoing the motion picture *The China Syndrome* (1978), in which the nuclear power industry is portrayed as dangerous and using violence to cover up a meltdown. In the real-life case, at the Metropolitan Edison Company Nuclear Reactor Three-Mile Island in Pennsylvania, meltdown was avoided, but a small amount of radiation was released into the atmosphere, resulting in local evacuations and near panic.

This near meltdown undermined the nuclear power industry's promises of safety and provided evidence for the dire predictions of the opponents of nuclear power. Thus, the era of nuclear power development in United States history slowed dramatically.

Robert Gottlieb details some of the protest that arose:

> Like the Clamshell Alliance, the Abalone Alliance was able to attract enormous attention for its protests, particularly in the wake of the Three Mile Island accident . . . and the release of the film *The China Syndrome*. . . . Between April and June 1979, several major Abalone protests took place. These included a demonstration involving more than 25,000 people in San Francisco, the picketing of ninety-three different offices of PG&E (the utility constructing the facility) throughout the state, and a local demonstration in San Luis Obispo that started out at the movie theater playing *The China Syndrome* and ended at the local PG&E office. Those events culminated in the largest anti-nuclear protest at the time, as 40,000 people gathered in San Luis Obispo on June 30 to hear rock music, proclaim their support for alternative energy, and vow to stop Diablo.

Opposition to uranium mining arose as well. High rates of lung cancer among uranium miners and the abandonment of contaminated mine waste in tailing piles and retaining ponds generated anger and opposition. Furthermore, tailings from mines were used in the landfill of new homes in Grand Junction, Colorado, exposing homeowners pursuing the American dream to high levels of radioactivity. In other communities, there were incidents of radioactive tailings that were left exposed or that leaked into groundwater supplies.

Strong opposition to uranium mining in Vermont in 1980 resulted in referendums in thirty-nine towns, thirty-seven of which decided to ban uranium mining. Soon after that, a county in South Dakota voted to ban uranium mining on its land, and in 1981 the New Jersey Legislature passed a seven-year moratorium against the practice. The push for nuclear power lost its support; even in the face of threats to oil overseas in the early twenty-first century, few voices have called for a return to development of nuclear power.

Greenpeace

Greenpeace was initially organized by Canadian and American antinuclear activists to protest nuclear weapons testing in Alaska. It gained much fame in 1973 when the skipper of a Greenpeace boat sent to protest French nuclear weapons testing in the South Pacific was filmed being beaten by soldiers. Greenpeace expanded its range in the mid-1970s when it adopted a deep ecological approach, trying to protect all species of nature. In this period, Greenpeace focused on the protection of sea mammals such as whales and seals. According to Nash in *The Rights of Nature* (1980):

> The mammals' welfare had first drawn environmentalists' concern in the late 1960s, when Montreal-based Artek Films documented the Labrador seal hunt for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. The film's intent was to portray stalwart hunters carrying on an age-old frontier tradition. But this was the 1960s, and what many Americans as well as Canadians saw was incredible brutality against cute, defenseless creatures. Controversy flared in the media, and Brian Davies, a Canadian humanitarian, along with the New York author Cleveland Amory, organized a massive protest.

Davies and others believed that these animals had the right to live and that the only response, like the earlier response to slavery, was to end the hunt. By organizing boycotts of Canadian marine products, anti–seal hunt activists were able to almost completely end the seal hunt by the middle of the 1980s.

On July 21, 1994, members of Greenpeace rappel down the World Bank building in Washington, D.C., after unfurling a sixty-foot banner protesting the bank's lending policies. Activists claimed that the policies of the World Bank, founded in 1944, promoted pollution and environmental degradation. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

In their protests against sealing and whaling, Greenpeace activists adopted the Quaker practice of nonviolently witnessing acts of injustice. Confronting Russian whalers, photographing the whale hunts, and a Greenpeace member's chaining of herself to a harpoon helped to build the popularity of Greenpeace and raise not only their U.S. but also their worldwide profile. In July 1985, a French operative bombed and sank the *Rainbow Warrior* while it was docked in Auckland, New Zealand, killing one crewmember. Although Greenpeace gained greater popularity because of this incident, it challenged its nonviolent ethic. The actions of one member of the group, a Canadian named Paul Watson, contributed to the further radicalization of the movement, involving many American as well as other nationalities. Having led the anti-whaling efforts directed against the Russians, Watson stepped up his commitment against the har-

vest of seal furs. He and other members of Greenpeace used helicopters to observe and photograph "seal pups being skinned alive in front of their distressed mothers." They turned to spraying dye on the furs in order to render them worthless; then Watson began trying to protect the pups by covering them with his own body. The result was a beating and dousing in the cold waters by the fur harvesters. He was left unconscious on the ice.

After being cast out of Greenpeace for violating Canadian laws, Watson formed a new, more radical group, the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society. With a 200-foot ship in his Sea Shepherd navy, Shepherd and his international crew continued their opposition to seal and whale hunting and generated a good deal of popular support. They also targeted Russian whalers, opposed the extermination of wolves in British Columbia, and in one particularly newsworthy event that propelled them into household knowledge around the world, they sabotaged a whale processing station and sank two empty whaling ships in Reykjavik, Iceland, in 1986. This cost the whaling industry $4.6 million and reflected Watson's belief that destruction of property was legitimate in the defense of nature. The right of an organism to exist, in other words, could not be legislated away.

The movement clearly continued to radicalize over the last half of the twentieth century, even as the mainstream organizations like the Sierra Club and the Wildlife Society increased in strength and size and seemed to represent more moderate environmental positions.

Nash has argued that American environmentalism has expanded its reach over the last 100 years, that what has occurred in this movement, corresponding with other events in American history like women getting the vote and the civil rights movement, is the expansion of rights in American society. From a constitution that declared political rights for a limited group, white male property owners, political reform and social dissent have consistently compelled the expansion of the original document not only to include more people in American society that were originally excluded but also to move beyond the species to consider, as he says, "the rights of nature."

Environmentalism During the Conservative Ascendancy

With Ronald Reagan's presidency began an era of politics that eroded the liberal welfare state that had been constructed from the New Deal through Lyndon Johnson's Great Society. Similarly, the Reagan administration launched multiple attacks on the environmental policies and safeguards in a backlash against the environmental era and its successes. Reagan entered office clearly bent on rolling back environmental policies and regulations in order to help businesses and the wealthy. In this interest he took advice from conservative think tanks like the Heritage Foundation and the American Enterprise Institute as well as from pro-business and anti-environment organizations like the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Reagan filled his administration with ideologically like-minded representatives. The new secretary of the Interior, James Watt, best exemplified the administration's anti-environment philosophy. This was only the beginning. His administration read like a conservative corporate roll call. The general counsel of the Louisiana-Pacific Corporation, the U.S. Forest Service's largest logging customer, became the assistant secretary of agriculture, placing him and corporate interests in direct control of the U.S. Forest Service. Anne Gorsuch, a leader of the Republican Party's right wing in the Colorado legislature, took over as the new administrator of the EPA, and a Colorado rancher and state legislator was appointed director of the Bureau of Land Management. There were many other appointments of this nature, and those most critical of environmentalism were delegated the authority to legally roll back decades of environmental progress and protection.

A supposed free market advocate and a dedicated opponent of environmentalists, James Watt embarked on an effort to turn back decades of environmental progress. He gained a great deal of conservative support, particularly from those conservatives and landowners in western states associated with the "sagebrush rebellion"—an effort to remove the federal government from the control of land within western states like Nevada and Idaho. Ignoring the now well understood and long western tradition of dependence on federal government funds and intervention, these anti-environmental conservatives and many state politicians now demanded that federal land be turned over to the states to be managed and controlled at the state level, for economic use, in disregard of "oppressive" federal environmental laws. The Departments of Interior and the EPA were reduced greatly in staff and budget during the Reagan administration.

Part of the Reagan administration philosophy was to cut or at least limit budgets for agencies with en-

vironmental missions as well as creating a milieu of lax enforcement of environmental laws.

The extremism of the conservatives and their attack on reasonable environmental legislation and management policies spurred the rise of extremist environmental groups who increasingly viewed American society as corrupt and unwilling to take the steps necessary to preserve nature. The mainstream environmental groups struck back and in so doing achieved success, while their enrollments and donations to their causes increased dramatically. The Sierra Club's membership jumped from 181,000 in 1980 to more than 346,000 in 1983. The Wilderness Society increased from 48,000 in 1979 to approximately 100,000 in 1983 and 333,000 by 1989 and incredibly, approximately 600,000 in 1995. While these environmental groups grew more powerful and led the backlash against the Republican attack on the environment, other environmentalists questioned the tactics and dedication of traditional groups while growing angry at the arrogance of the Reagan administration and in response created even more radical environmental protest groups.

The creation of Earth First! represents the extension of liberal rights to nature to a degree unparalleled in American history. Members of the Foundation for Deep Ecology, a global conservation organization, argue for the very value of nature itself, for its own sake—value that is not to be determined by human recreation, economic, or even health needs. Deep Ecologists maintain that traditional beliefs regarding nature have left it open to economic exploitation. This continues a long tradition extending from the romantics through the transcendentalists through Muir to the present day. The key tenet of the current belief is that humans are part of nature, and therefore what is good for nature is good for humans as well. Many Deep Ecologists also state that government is too beholden to business to restrict its economic activities; therefore, illegal action is actually necessary and morally right in defense of nature. Deep Ecologists believe in the value and sacred nature of wilderness and fill the ranks of groups such as Earth First! and other so-called radical groups.

Earth First! came into existence under the leadership of Dave Foreman, Mike Roselle, and others after conflict and restructuring within the Wilderness Society and discontent with the bureaucracy of central environmental organizations such as the Wilderness Society and the Sierra Club. Earth First! was modeled on the ad hoc eco-saboteurs from Edward Abbey's novel *The Monkey Wrench Gang* (1975). Abbey is probably most famous for his beautifully written *Desert Solitaire* (1968), a book reminiscent of Thoreau's *Walden* (1854). Abbey spent summers as a ranger in the Arches National Monument, which at that time was an underdeveloped and barely visited site in the desert. He wrote fiction and other essays in which he critiqued cattle farmers, the Bureau of Land Management, the National Park Service, and capitalism in general and the development of the West that was destroying a hauntingly beautiful landscape. His critique evolved into a set of ideas about the possibilities of eco-sabotage as a way of slowing ecological destruction—an idea most popularly articulated in *The Monkey Wrench Gang*. Roderick Nash explains the development of this idea in Abbey's work:

> In 1975 Abbey published a rambling novel entitled *The Monkey Wrench Gang*, source of the term "monkeywrenching." Its headquote from Walt Whitman—"Resist Much. Obey Little"—and its dedication to Ned Ludd, whose sabotage temporarily slowed England's industrial revolution in the eighteenth century, set the tone . . . the book described the adventures of a small group of desert-lovers who came out of the mesas and canyons to throw the proverbial monkey wrench into the gears of modern American environmental exploitation. The targets of their raids ranged from bulldozers of roadbuilders to the helicopters of law enforcers and the railways that carried strip-mined coal. The gang even contemplated blowing up Glen Canyon Dam and "liberating" the Colorado River from the stillness of Lake Powell. After considerable debate, Abbey's protagonists resolved not to kill people, but their commitment to the rights of nature brought them to the brink of such extreme action.

The slogan of Earth First!—no compromise in defense of Mother Earth—summarizes the philosophy of the group, a willingness to employ extreme measures in an effort to protect not only natural resources or national parks, but nature itself. Although many members of Earth First! did not engage in eco-sabotage but rather organized rallies and guerrilla theater, many other members have sabotaged earth-moving equipment, spiked trees, and removed surveying stakes. They have also engaged in guerrilla theater in efforts to gain public attention to their causes. One example was the unfurling of a long crack down the face of Glen Canyon Dam in 1981. This action has been undertaken on other dams as well such as the Glines Canyon Dam on the Elwha River in

Washington State. The American media played up the extreme aspects of the group. Members argued that strong measures were required in a society and economy that set few limits on the exploitation of nature for profit. They have had their successes, particularly the ability to slow down the pace of logging on old growth forests. In those cases, they have built platforms in trees and lived in them in an effort to prevent the trees from being cut down.

One positive consequence of the emergence of these groups was to move the parameters of discussion of environmental issues to the left. Thus, old radical groups like the Sierra Club and the Wilderness Society were made to seem more moderate and more attractive to a wider range of Americans, including government and corporations. The extreme groups such as Earth First! moved the debate to the left and thereby created more space in which the formerly radical groups such as the Sierra Club and the Wilderness Society could operate.

The emergence of activists fighting for the rights of animals exemplifies the expansion of political rights to species other than humans. The People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) falls between categories. Although their approach is environmental in nature, treating animals ethically will naturally preclude a lot of recreational and economic activity that endangers and destroys habitat and species. It also echoes past efforts such as the abolition movement in its determination to accord rights to a group that has been deemed unworthy of such protection and has suffered as a result.

A more dangerous and effective variation on members of Earth First! is the Earth Liberation Front (ELF), which uses vandalism in opposing development, bioengineering, and other actions deemed dangerous to nature and human health. The movement was propelled into the media limelight with the destruction of ski resort facilities in Vail, Colorado, in 1998. Local opposition and lawsuits had failed to block the planned expansion of the ski resort into a healthy and important habitat of Canadian lynx, a threatened species. Springing into action, the ELF destroyed three buildings and four ski lifts, causing millions of dollars in damage. According to one member of the ELF, the incident "put the concepts of economic sabotage and covert direct action to protect the environment in the minds of billions. Many of those who felt the earth was defenseless against the capitalistic drive to destroy it now felt hope . . ."(ELF Web site) The group received a lot of media attention, but most of the response was negative and critical. In particular, mainstream environmentalists criticized the use of destruction as a way of fighting development. In October of that same year, members of the ELF targeted a mink farm in Michigan where minks were bred for fur production. They have also released wild horses gathered for sale and targeted facilities for pest management research. Although the ELF is definitely a fringe, nonorganized movement that carries on a long tradition of protest in the form of sabotage, it does represent a certain level of frustration with the capitalist political economy to enact and continue meaningful environmental reforms.

The administration of George W. Bush has resembled that of the Reagan era in a number of ways. The administration is comprised of a number of individuals with key ties to the petroleum industry, including Vice President Dick Cheney and National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice. Bush has broadened an attack on the environment, seeking to open the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil drilling, increasing exploration for oil and coal on fragile desert lands in the West, delaying vehicular emissions standards, allowing increased logging in national forests, and striving to reduce regulatory restrictions on numerous environment-threatening activities. A backlash similar to one that took place during the Reagan administration seems to be growing, as evidenced by the rejection of drilling in Alaska by the Republican-controlled Senate in early 2003.

The Environmental Justice Movement

The environmental justice movement emerged in the early 1980s in response to growing evidence that a disproportionate concentration of pollution was located in low-income communities of color. The belief that minority populations were unequally hurt was demonstrated by scholarly research showing that hazardous materials were dumped in their communities at a much higher rate than in others.

In 1982, the environmental justice movement burst onto the scene with protest and civil disobedience in Warren County, North Carolina. Hundreds of local residents, the majority of them African-American women and children, placed themselves in harm's way, physically blocking trucks from dumping dirt filled with PCBs into a landfill located near their community. The movement gained its name from a speech by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People executive director Benjamin Chavis in 1987, and in 1990 a coalition of groups emerged. This coalition sent letters to mainstream environmental

groups, criticizing them for a number of issues. According to the letter:

> There is a clear lack of accountability by the Group of Ten environmental organizations towards Third World communities in the Southwest, in the U.S. as a whole and internationally. Your organizations continue to support and promote policies which emphasize the clean-up and preservation of the environment on the backs of working people in general and people of color in particular. In the name of eliminating environmental hazards at any cost, across the country industrial and economic activities which employ us are being shut down, curtailed or prevented while our survival needs and cultures are ignored. We suffer from the results of these actions, but are never full participants in the decision-making which leads to them.

While the mainstream environmental groups came under attack from members of EarthFirst! and Greenpeace for their purported centrist positions, they also came under attack from members of the environmental justice movement for a number of issues. The charges against groups like the Sierra Club and the Wilderness Society are that they were groups of upper- and middle-class whites who preferred to protect streams, mountains, and wildlife rather than deal with another ecological crisis—the crisis of pollution of chemicals and petroleum and dumping of waste in the poor communities of many people of color. The mainstream environmental groups were also criticized for their almost complete dependence on whites for staff and leadership and encouraged to hire more people of color. The movement has expanded in both size and scope in the last decade. Environmental justice groups like Greening Network in San Francisco supports farmers' markets, works on creek restoration, and builds gardening projects in local prisons. Other groups have turned vacant lots into community gardens while planting native trees and plants in order to embrace the idea that nature is not only wilderness but an important part of urban life as well and that an improvement in urban nature can lead to an enhanced urban human lifestyle.

The Nature Conservancy

American environmentalism has taken on a number of faces and followed numerous approaches. The Nature Conservancy has constructed a model of environmentalism that has become remarkably effective and has led to the protection of hundreds of millions of acres of healthy ecosystems in the United States and even more throughout the world. Although this is not a protest movement, it provides an important avenue for attempting to preserve and restore important ecological communities outside the political realm. Through collecting and channeling money, conservation easements, property protection covenants, and cooperative working relationships with ranchers and farmers, the Nature Conservancy has created a middle route outside politics in an effort to preserve nature.

Tearing Down Dams to Restore Rivers

One of the most important environmental efforts has been the project of restoring rivers that have suffered numerous decades of deterioration.

A dam built in 1837 on the Kennebec River in Maine devastated fish runs on that river for over a century. Early protest against the building of that dam by those dependent on shad, alewives, salmon, and other species was ignored in favor of economic development. Over the following 160 years, the river degraded into an industrial sewer as textile mills and lumber mills dumped chemicals and waste into the river and communities along the river dumped untreated sewage into the river. After passage of the Clean Water Act in 1973 requiring industries to clean their effluent and cities to treat sewage, the river began to come back to life, inspiring many fishermen and activists along the river to consider the possibility of the river restored to its former life as an actual ecosystem filled with fish. Organizing into the Kennebec River Coalition, they pursued removal of the Edwards Dam in Augusta, Maine, the state capital, in order to open another seventeen miles of river habitat to spawning fish. The state government joined the activists in pursuing removal of the dam, and finally in 1999, the dam was removed while a large crowd of local residents, reporters, members of local and state government, and activists watched from the shorelines. The result has been the river's remarkable recovery of health. The river runs much cleaner now, the aquatic microorganisms and insects in that stretch of the river have exploded in numbers, and many fish have returned up the river past the old dam site to another dam seventeen miles upstream. The river, from the shoreline in Augusta, looks like a river as water flows by and giant sturgeon can be seen leaping in the water.

This group in Maine is representative of a nation-

wide effort to remove dams and restore fishery populations. A key group in this nationwide effort has been Trout Unlimited, an organization that supports and promotes trout fly-fishing as well as conservation and restoration efforts. This group has targeted numerous small and often useless dams across the country. American Rivers is another important organization that has participated in larger efforts like that to remove the Edwards Dam on the Kennebec River and other smaller projects nationwide. Thanks to these groups and other efforts, thousands of small, irrelevant dams have been removed nationwide, and in the process, river and stream ecosystems have been brought back into better health.

What has emerged is a movement that poses the question as to the value of dams. Are dams sufficiently useful economically to justify the ecological harm they create? In many situations it is proving ecologically and economically beneficial to remove small- to medium-range dams.

Another center of protest against dams has been the effort to have four large dams removed on the Lower Snake River in southeastern Washington State. Beginning in the late 1990s, salmon advocates called for the removal of the dams because of the destruction they wreaked on salmon and steelhead runs from that river and its numerous tributaries. Several species of salmon have gone extinct since the construction of the dams, and many others rest on the edge of extinction. This protest pitted activists against the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, the builders and managers of the dams, local farmers, Weyerhauser Industries, the owner of a mill in Lewiston, Idaho, that benefits from the existence of the dams, and local conservatives.

Interestingly, this movement centers around endangered species, salmon and steelhead, and uses existing legislative requirements to try and gain removal of the dams. The fact that the dams remain speaks of the strength of farming, industrial, and commercial barging constituencies in blocking the implementation of environmental law. However, a compromise was fashioned in which the dams were to be retained for now but their removal would have to be considered if fish runs on the Snake and Columbia rivers continued their declines.

Restoration is being pursued in other areas as well. Activist groups and many agencies are putting a lot of money and effort into mitigation efforts such as building up streambanks to limit erosion and planting trees to restore forests, control runoff, and recreate habitat for numerous species. The creation of community gardens, prairie grasslands, and small ecological zones represents efforts showing the growth of the environmental idea in American society and the degree to which it has become ingrained in community improvement efforts as well.

The last century has been dedicated to creating a legal structure for protecting nature and human health, as well as constructing environmental philosophies to enable American society to improve its protection and use of nature. The American environmental movement must still use the courts and laws to restrict the abuses of industry and others, while pursuing restoration of ecosystems in the twenty-first century. The future of American environmentalism suggests a movement that will create coalitions between activist groups and property owners, between private business and government, and so on, in order to find ways to preserve what nature remains, as well as bringing dammed rivers back to health, replanting forests, planting grasslands, and restocking the Great Plains with bison. The alternative to a century of restoration is one of continued decline and environmental crises.

Jeffrey Crane

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Conservation Movement
1880s–1920

The conservation movement, which arose at the end of the 1800s and hit its peak during the early 1900s, helped shift Americans' perception of the environment from something to exploit to something worth preserving for future generations. Conservationists favored preserving unique places like the Grand Canyon, but they also pointed out the economic value and necessity of the government "conserving" natural resources for use by future generations. By doing so, in the words of forester Gifford Pinchot, conservation would provide "for the greatest good to the greatest number for the longest time."

Origins of the Movement

Though concern over the rabid consumption of natural resources and its impact on the land had been expressed as far back as the colonial period, the immediate roots of the conservation movement were more recent. During the forty years before the Civil War, the United States evolved rapidly from a rural, agricultural economy to a commercially based, industrialized one. Wood was the essential component of this expansion, used as the chief construction material and fuel source for a growing, expanding nation. From Maine and New England in the early 1800s, operators had moved westward to the Great Lakes region by the Civil War and then down to the South and out to the Pacific Northwest by the 1880s, leaving behind barren lands subject to injurious soil erosion. Roads, canals, and later railroads continually opened new supplies of timber needed to meet the demand.

Besides lumbering, farming, grazing, and fire also stripped the land of vegetation needed to protect watersheds. Denuding the land upset the delicate balance of nature. The loss of fertile soil made farming more difficult, leading some to abandon their land and move on to new lands, thus perpetuating the destructive cycle. The displaced topsoil inevitably made its way into the waterway systems where the increased amount of silt caused river navigation and water supply problems. Only after comparing conditions between Europe and North America did Americans make the connection between deforestation and watershed protection and turn to science for a solution.

Individuals and Organizations Respond

The decimation of American forests increasingly alarmed a coterie of largely self-taught American scientists and intellectuals. By the time of the Civil War, they had started making predictions of devastating timber shortages. Although some were well versed in botany and knew about individual trees, they had only a minimal understanding of forests as a biological unit. They also knew little of the forests of the Rocky Mountains and farther west. Nonetheless, their concerns led them to investigate matters. The investigations laid the groundwork for later legislative action.

The shift to concern and then to intervention began with the publication of a book in 1864 by George Perkins Marsh, the man widely regarded as the "father" of American conservation. Though a career politician and diplomat from Vermont, Marsh wrote informatively about the impact of human activity on the environment, a phenomenon he had observed throughout his life. Appointed minister to the Kingdom of Italy in 1861, Marsh spent his time researching and examining the environmental conditions and history of southern Europe and the eastern Mediterranean. In 1864, Marsh published *Man and Nature; or, Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action* (revised in 1874 as *The Earth as Modified by Human Action*), the first systematic analysis of humanity's destructive impact on the environment. In this work, he summarized his encyclopedic knowledge of agri-

cultural practices and argued for conservation strategies. The work immediately influenced thinking in America and Europe, and provided the intellectual foundation for the late-nineteenth-century conservation movement and the science of ecology.

Nature, Marsh argued, could not heal itself. Land subdued and then abandoned did not revert to its previous primitive state, but was left impoverished. But Marsh's faith in science led him to conclude that humans could control the environment for good as well as ill, and could, as countries like France were doing, restore the balance of nature. Although Marsh noted how various human activities, such as logging, dam construction, and farming, could adversely affect the land, he also discussed how Europeans were taking measures to stop or reverse the process. European states had recognized the connection between forest cover and soil erosion and began developing forestry as a science in the late 1700s, partially in response to the problem. Forestry also developed in response to the shortage of wood. Instead of discarding slash in a wasteful and ultimately dangerous manner as Americans did, European foresters used every part of the tree, down to scraps the size of pencils. Germans took the lead in developing scientific forestry and utilitarian management to ensure a steady timber supply and a steady profit for the landowner.

Franklin Hough was one of several Americans directly influenced by Marsh's work. Hough, a physician by training who had a strong interest in forest preservation, was a central figure in the establishment of the American Forestry Association, formed in 1875 to promote tree planting and to work for the "protection of the existing forests of the country from unnecessary waste." He was also an early member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Both groups provided him forums to voice his fears regarding the destruction of American forests and the environmental damage it was causing.

At the annual AAAS meeting in 1873, Hough presented a paper, "On the Duty of Government in the Preservation of Forests," which drew heavily from Marsh's work. Inspired, the organization asked Hough to write a petition to President Ulysses Grant. In this petition, Hough summarized the problems facing American forests, described the disruption of water flow and its impact, and predicted a dire future if the current practices continued unchecked. The association requested a government-funded forestry investigation into the quantity of lumber, as well as its rate of consumption and waste throughout the country; the influence of forests upon the climate; and, finally, a full statement about European forestry methods and schooling. The petition called upon Congress and state legislatures to pass legislation protecting the forests and acknowledging the economic benefits of preservation. In 1876, Hough was appointed as federal forest agent. Five years later, Congress established the U.S. Division of Forestry within the Department of Agriculture and appointed Hough its first chief.

Hough reported on the widespread destruction of American forests and emphasized that only government ownership of the land and implementation of forestry practices on a national scale could avert catastrophe. In *This Well-Wooded Land: Americans and Their Forests from Colonial Times to the Present* (1985), Thomas Cox credited Hough with pioneering two critical breakthroughs in American forestry: the concept of sustained yield of lumber (defined as high-level annual or regular periodic output) and the system of national forests that emerged at the turn of the century.

Carl Schurz, who had seen the benefits of scientific forestry in his native country of Germany, shared Hough's outrage over the timber destruction in his adopted country of the United States. As secretary of Interior (1877–1881), he tried to institute a national forestry policy when the country had no professional foresters and little interest in forestry management. Schurz called for the establishment of a federal forest reserve system, the initiation of reforestation (large-scale tree planting) practices, fees for the users of national resources, stiff penalties for the willful setting of forest fires, and vigorous prosecution of trespassers stealing timber from government land. His attempts to end political patronage and corruption in the department's General Land Office, which regulated activity on public lands, were thwarted by Congress and the businessmen who benefited from the system.

Charles S. Sargent, another follower of Marsh's and director of Harvard's Arnold Arboretum, produced the multivolume *Report on the Forests of North America* (1884) as part of the Tenth Census. Offering the most comprehensive information on American forests and their destruction up until that time, it supported the recommendations made by Marsh, Hough, and Schurz that land laws as they related to timberlands needed modification to prevent further destruction. He also called for instituting scientific management on the public domain.

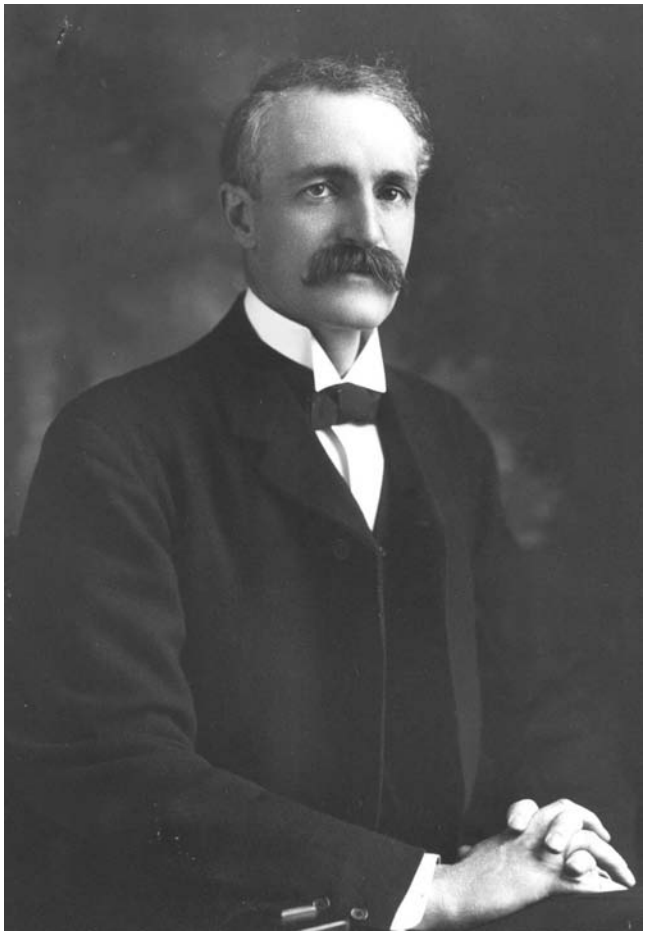
Not all conservationists favored government-controlled development of the public domain. Preservationists drew on the writings of the Transcen-

dentalists and the imagery of the Hudson River school painters for inspiration, but they embraced the science of Marsh and Hough to support their arguments. John Muir, the naturalist who founded the Sierra Club in 1892, and most others viewing the forests from a naturalist perspective, believed that conservation meant preserving the lands in their pristine condition, that there should be no mining, grazing, or lumbering on forest reserves. Forests could provide natural sanctuaries for humans to visit, though some limited development like roads to make the land accessible would be allowed.

This viewpoint, however, ignored the reality of the situation, as Bernhard Fernow, Gifford Pinchot, and other scientists and political economists saw it. America needed huge quantities of wood for its commerce and industry. By 1900, lumbering was the second largest industry in the country, and statistics showed that annual timber consumption was still rising. Western farmers and ranchers competing for water had tangled in shooting wars over water rights. Neither private corporations nor individual Western states could afford to finance the desperately needed irrigation systems to resolve the problem of water shortages. America's options appeared to be narrowing and time was running out.

This group took a utilitarian approach to nature. A forest, they argued, had multiple uses, including providing lumber, water, grazing areas, and minerals, along with recreational uses like hiking and camping. All of these activities, they said, required scientists to employ technology, research, and rational planning to promote the efficient development and use of natural resources, and, at the same time, eliminate waste. Scientists increasingly looked to the federal and state governments, but especially the federal government since it owned so much land, to ensure that the public had affordable access to natural resources for future generations. To maintain economic growth and stave off destructive competition would necessitate the rational development of natural resources.

In 1894, all of these elements collided in the debate over the future of the state-owned land within New York's Adirondack Park. Fear of watershed destruction and soil erosion, along with worry about the loss of idyllic vacation spots in the Adirondack Mountains, led New York State to take action. Utilitarians like Pinchot, Fernow, Schurz, and Sargent wanted to permit selective cutting of timber as a way to regenerate trees for future cutting, to provide income for the state, and to protect watersheds. Preservationists, however, argued for a total ban on development.



Leader of the U.S. Forest Service in the early 1900s, conservationist Gifford Pinchot helped protect public lands, forests, and waterways. He later served as governor of Pennsylvania. *(Forrest History Society)*

Many of them and much of the general public misunderstood the intentions of foresters and feared they wanted to cut all trees in the forests. The state responded with the "Forever Wild" constitutional amendment, which banned any logging on state-owned lands in the Adirondack State Park. The outcome split the budding conservation movement into two factions, conservationists versus preservationists. It also demonstrated to the conservationists that they needed to educate the public about their ideas in order to win their support.

Federal Intervention

Many scientists and progressive reformers alike believed that the federal government should encourage rational, planned management on public lands through regulations that ensured efficient and wise use. The first step was to learn what the country had.

The Bureau of Biological Survey, established in 1885, conducted a series of biological surveys around the country to determine the numbers and habits of birds and mammals. The U.S. Geological Survey investigated possible mineral lands around the country and also made proposals about irrigation projects in the semiarid West. The establishment of the U.S. Division of Forestry in 1881 to conduct scientific research on trees and forests and Sargent's 1884 report filled a substantial gap in forest knowledge.

Appointed division chief in 1886, Bernhard Fernow, a forester born and trained in Germany who emigrated to the United States in 1876, became the first forester employed by the government. Fernow's able leadership placed the agency on a solid scientific foundation. Fernow also served as secretary of the American Forestry Association (AFA). Since the 1880s, the organization had been lobbying Congress for the establishment of forest reservations under public ownership. In 1891, with Fernow's approval and the AFA's support, Congress passed the Forest Reserve Act. The act authorized the president to set aside public land as federal forest reserves for watershed protection and place them under the control of the Department of Interior, but it did not specify what to do with them. Western lumbermen, herdsmen, miners, and water developers resented having the land "locked up" and made unavailable for development. The sponsors of the bill intended forestry to be carried out. All the groups wanted the lands reopened, but each interest group wanted all other activities restricted or prohibited. In the end, they were given restricted and regulated access.

Conservationists continued laboring toward a federal natural resource policy and pushed through the Forest Management Act in 1897. Drafted by Fernow, the Forest Management Act authorized the supervised cutting and sale of timber and basic forestry management, and placed the Interior Department in charge of the work. The Division of Forestry served as technical advisor on forestry to the department for the next eight years. Although the act dictated how the reserves should be used, it only partially but not entirely corrected the Forest Reserve Act. By placing forest reserves under the control of the Interior Department, which included no foresters, rather than in the Agriculture Department, which had foresters, the Forest Management Act left the forests without proper supervision and subject to continued plundering.

Launching the Conservation Crusade

The conservation movement got a much-needed boost when Theodore Roosevelt entered the White House. To many Americans, Roosevelt personified the conservation movement. Though born in New York City, he was a respected naturalist and ornithologist and had been a cattle rancher in the Dakota Territory. His exemplary behavior taught the nation to respect nature and wildlife. While hunting in 1902, for example, he refused to shoot a helpless young bear cub. Editorial cartoonists quickly dubbed the animal "Teddy's bear"—a name soon given to a stuffed toy that became extremely popular and remains so today.

While governor of New York (1899–1900), he invited Gifford Pinchot, recently appointed Fernow's successor as chief of the U.S. Division of Forestry, to Albany to discuss conservation matters. Pinchot, the first American-born professional forester, had made a name for himself by demonstrating the benefits and profitability of scientific forestry management on private lands in North Carolina and New York. Pinchot and Roosevelt found much common ground—patrician backgrounds, a love of the outdoors and the sporting life, a fervent belief that a government using scientific methods could regulate the commercial use of natural resources, and a desire to better the lives of their fellow citizens. The two men became good friends and close allies in the fight to save American natural resources. During his brief tenure as vice president, Roosevelt remained active in the growing conservation movement, often meeting with Pinchot and other experts to discuss issues and plan for the future.

Shortly after becoming president, in September 1901 Roosevelt called Pinchot and Frederick Newell of the U.S. Geological Survey to the White House to help prepare the conservation section of his inaugural State of the Union address and set an agenda for federal management of natural resources. In the address, Roosevelt discussed the need for federal action to save America's forests and rivers with forestry and to bring water to Western farm and rangelands through reclamation. At Pinchot and Newell's urging, Roosevelt requested legislation to transfer the forest reserves to the Agriculture Department and to create a reclamation bureau in the Interior Department, but Congress acted on only the latter request.

In 1902, Congress passed the Reclamation Act. The fees paid by settlers for public land covered the costs of building the dams and irrigation canals needed to bring water to sixteen western states in all. Within the first five years of its existence, the Recla-

mation Service, under Newell's direction, had twenty-one projects under way and initially placed nearly 3 million acres of arid land in a dozen states under irrigation. The federal government supported and ultimately controlled large-scale irrigation projects that transformed the landscape, economy, and social and political structure of much of the semiarid West.

After passage of the Reclamation Act, Roosevelt eased off the volatile political issue of conservation until after the 1904 presidential elections. Elected president in his own right, Roosevelt made conservation one of his central issues and set about educating the general public about its importance. He and Pinchot had learned from the mistakes made during the debate over the Adirondack Park. If the public understood the problem and proposed solutions, they would be more likely to support necessary conservation measures. Pinchot and others flooded the popular press with articles about conservation. Roosevelt himself wrote some along with several forewords for books by naturalists and scientists. Pinchot also designed teaching materials for schoolchildren. Private conservation organizations sponsored informative meetings, helped raise awareness, and bombarded Congress and state legislatures with letters.

The publicity barrage worked. To the general public, conservation became a patriotic cause, described in terms that made it sound like a crusade to save the country. Graduates of newly established forestry and engineering schools flocked to Washington to join the crusade. Pinchot established a professional organization for foresters, the Society of American Foresters, and other professional groups for various sciences quickly came into existence. Like Pinchot and Newell, these men believed that scientific management was the best hope for saving the environment.

Ever the politician, Roosevelt supported preservationists and conservationists alike. Although he was a friend of the naturalist John Muir, founder and president of the Sierra Club, Roosevelt rejected the preservationists' idea of eliminating development in all natural or wild areas as impractical. Instead, Roosevelt promoted Pinchot's program of utilitarian conservation. In 1905, Roosevelt finally convinced Congress to transfer the 63 million acres of federal forest reserves to the Department of Agriculture and to create the U.S. Forest Service to run the "national forests," the new name Pinchot wanted for the forest reserves. (They were officially given this name in 1907.) But like many Americans, Roosevelt also supported the preservation and protection of natural oddities and wonders. He urged Congress to pass the Antiquities (or National Monuments) Act of 1906, which allowed the president to set aside scientifically or historically important areas such as the Grand Canyon for protection. He also established the first federal wildlife refuges to protect wildlife and their habitats.

Pinchot advised Roosevelt to use his presidential authority and appoint commissions to investigate conservation and related matters and gain public support for more legislation. Roosevelt focused national attention on the conservation crusade in 1907 when he appointed the Inland Waterways Commission to design multiple-purpose development of river basins. The next spring, the Governors Conference on Conservation, held at the White House, brought increased publicity for the cause. After the Governors Conference, many individual states copied the federal model by establishing state forests, forest services, and conservation boards. Although the states struggled to catch up to federal activity, Pinchot and Roosevelt continued establishing commissions and expanded the focus of conservation on the federal level to include the health of children, waste in war, and civic beautification. The Country Life Commission, for example, wanted to stop the disintegration of rural life, which reformers considered of vital importance for the survival of America. But by appointing these commissions without specific congressional authorization, Roosevelt ran afoul of the legislative body and alienated its more conservative—and powerful—members.

Growing Opposition

Many westerners and congressmen were displeased that Pinchot, a "lowly" bureau chief, had the president's ear. By 1907, Pinchot's domain had expanded from timber to include coal and mineral lands, oil reserves, and waterpower sites, bringing him into more and more conflicts. Pinchot wanted the Forest Service to spearhead government conservation efforts. Through the enforcement of government regulations and issuance of leasing fees, the Forest Service either directly controlled or had a say in mining, grazing, and lumbering operations within the nearly 132 million acres of national forests, 68 million acres of coal lands, and 2,500 water-power sites.

The appointment of James R. Garfield, a close friend of Pinchot and the president, as secretary of the Interior in 1907, gave Pinchot an important ally in charge of the department with which the Forest Service worked very closely. Together the two decided which tracts of land to withdraw from the public domain for managed development and submitted their

plans to a cooperative president. Large landowners and the corporations that could afford to buy land and purchase leasing rights for mineral or grazing land supported the expanding program, but many small landowners, miners, lumbermen, and ranchers resented the program because they could no longer exploit resources on government land for free. Furthermore, the withdrawal of potential waterpower sites for municipal and agricultural use meant the land could not be used for anything else. It was not surprising that all three men, but most especially Pinchot, all became targets of western hostility.

Speaker of the House Joseph Cannon summed up the developers' side of the argument when he declared, "Not one cent for scenery!" Many western political leaders heard the complaints of their constituents and shared their resentment over the federal government telling them how to handle their land. Some even threatened secession. They accused Pinchot and the president of using "dictatorial" powers to withdraw huge tracts of land without congressional approval. Congress searched for ways to strike back. At the end of 1906, Pinchot's proposal to make the Forest Service financially independent of congressional appropriations gave his enemies on Capitol Hill the opportunity they wanted.

In 1907, Senator Charles W. Fulton (R-OR) succeeded in attaching a rider to a Department of Agriculture appropriations bill reasserting congressional control of all Forest Service revenues. More important, the rider forbade the withdrawal of land in six western states without the consent of Congress. Convinced that it would be unwise to veto such an appropriations bill over the forest reserve issue, the president decided to sign the bill. But while waiting for it to arrive from Congress, he ordered Pinchot and the Department of the Interior to submit their requests for more land withdrawals, an order with which they happily complied. Before signing the agriculture bill, Roosevelt withdrew 17 million additional acres, thereby establishing, or enlarging, thirty-two National Forests. Led by a combination of conservative Republicans and western leaders, Congress retaliated by refusing to fund the work of Roosevelt's many conservation commissions after 1908.

The Taft and Wilson Years

President William Howard Taft, who had served in Roosevelt's cabinet and was his handpicked successor, agreed with Roosevelt on the need for conservation but disagreed on the method. Roosevelt believed that the president, and not Congress, should exercise broad powers, that the amount of the protected public domain should be expanded, and that the federal government should control resource development. In contrast, Taft approached the problem as the lawyer he was. Taft believed that the president should exercise conservative executive power, that Congress should restrict governing to existing federal lands, and that state control was preferred to federal control. He would lease timber, coal, oil, gas and other mineral lands for development by private industry, let Congress determine whether water issues should be under federal or state control, and undertake reclamation projects only on federal public land. He also wanted to consolidate the gains made by Roosevelt and pass laws to affirm Roosevelt's proclamations.

Staunchly protective of the advances made during Roosevelt's administration, Pinchot believed that Taft was not aggressive enough about conservation issues. He became disenchanted with the conservation policies of Taft and Secretary of the Interior Richard A. Ballinger. Ballinger, a reform-minded lawyer from Seattle, had served as commissioner of the General Land Office in the Interior Department from 1907 to 1909. During that time, he repeatedly clashed with Pinchot over land leases issued by the Interior Department. While secretary, Ballinger wanted to turn some Alaskan coal lands in the public domain over to private ownership. Pinchot publicly criticized Taft and Ballinger and interfered in Department of Interior business. After a long public battle, Taft fired Pinchot for insubordination in 1910. The widely publicized congressional investigation into his dismissal returned the spotlight to conservation, much as Pinchot had hoped. Though exonerated by the investigation, Ballinger resigned in disgrace. Pinchot then used his private lobbying group, the National Conservation Association, to continue his crusade after his dismissal.

Pinchot's dismissal brought Theodore Roosevelt out of retirement. Roosevelt, outraged by Taft's handling of the situation, challenged Taft for the Republican nomination in 1912, but was denied and ran on a third-party ticket. The two split the Republican vote, and cleared the way for the election of Democrat Woodrow Wilson, who had little interest in conservation. His secretary of the Interior, Franklin K. Lane, continued the conservation policies of Roosevelt and Taft but without experiencing much of the turmoil of the past. Lane's quiet tenure helped prove the benefits of federal administration of the nation's resources and stifled much of the western opposition to federal control.

Pinchot's successor, Henry Graves (1910–1920), had the difficult task of guiding the Forest Service during the fallout after Pinchot's dismissal. Graves helped save the service from its congressional opponents who wanted to dismantle the agency. In the wake of the catastrophic fire season of 1910, the Forest Service made systematic fire suppression a national policy and the focus of much of its work. Congress responded by passing the Weeks Act (1911), which provided money to promote cooperative fire protection between federal and state governments, and to purchase land to add to the National Forest system for watershed protection. For the first time, the federal government was no longer disposing of land but purchasing it. By 1920, the federal government had purchased more than 2 million acres, almost all of it in the East. The huge demand for wood during World War I led to closer cooperation between the government and private timber companies to cut more timber on public lands, a position that was formalized with the passage of the Clark-McNary Act in 1924. The law promoted a partnership among federal, state, and private interests in promoting fire suppression and other issues, and left private landowners regulating themselves. It has been the mainstay of the Forest Service's policy ever since.

In the 1910s, people increasingly sought to open the forests to recreational use or preserve pristine areas, but wanted an agency other than the Forest Service to oversee areas like the Grand Canyon or Yosemite Park. In light of the Forest Service's mission of developing forests and its support of building a dam in Yosemite Park's Hetch Hetchy Valley to create a reservoir for the city of San Francisco, its critics did not believe that the Forest Service was fit for this duty. Preservationists led by John Muir and the Sierra Club joined with sportsmen, railroads, travel agencies, and highway associations in calling for the creation of a park bureau in the Department of Interior to take charge of national parks. In 1916, over Chief Graves' objections, Congress and President Wilson established the National Park Service within the Interior Department to oversee most of the recreational lands and national monuments once managed by the Forest Service.

Besides land conservation, animal conservation came to the fore as part of the larger conservation movement. Following the publicity surrounding the decimation of the bison and the extinction of the passenger pigeon in the late 1800s, an effort began in earnest first with wildlife preservation and cataloging and then with attempts at propagation. These efforts involved the Forest Service as well as the U.S. Biological Survey, which enforced federal laws and conducted research. By the early 1900s, federal and local governments had fully embraced game management practices aimed at producing sustained populations of wild game for recreational use, such as hunting and fishing. In the 1910s, the American forester Aldo Leopold established game management as a profession, a step that helped formalize and sanction these practices. But as with land conservation, World War I meant suspending or refocusing much of this work for the war effort. Interest in animal conservation remained dormant until the 1930s when Leopold helped found the Wilderness Society (1935) and the Wildlife Society (1937).

Conclusion

Early efforts at utilitarian conservation on local and state levels met with little success, but they provided lessons for those wanting federal intervention. Environmental issues, such as protecting watersheds or preventing soil erosion, required federal solutions. A strong and willing executive branch could formulate the conservation policies, an informed public would support the needed measures, and scientific bureaus populated by nonpartisan scientists and support staff would carry them out. By the time the conservation movement had run its course in the late 1910s, the federal government had firmly established itself as the largest landowner and manager in charge of developing the majority of the nation's natural resources.

Yet problems plagued the conservation movement. The conservation movement never became a truly unified movement. In fact, it split into opposing factions early on. The Ballinger-Pinchot controversy and the fight over Hetch Hetchy Valley left the two sides permanently divided and suspicious of each other. Private organizations supporting preservation and conservation competed with one another for financial support. Government agencies squabbled over their responsibilities and fought for limited budgetary dollars. New projects or commissions began work before the government had a chance to assess the benefits created by earlier ones. Underfunded and understaffed, new federal agencies often had to rely on companies to police themselves. As a consequence, agencies and companies developed close working relationships that limited the effectiveness of regulation. The enormous demands World War I placed on natural resources forced the federal government to set aside conservation and preservation for the sake of the war effort and brought the movement to a halt. The federal government did not enthusias-

tically pursue either of them again until the 1930s. When it did, a second generation of conservation-minded scientists was fully committed to applying technology to resource management.

James G. Lewis

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Antinuclear Movement

The United States' use of atomic weapons against the Japanese during World War II profoundly transformed global military and political tactics, strategies, and philosophies. As atomic weapons became the primary defensive tools of the United States and then the Soviet Union during the Cold War, the two superpowers prepared to unleash a devastating nuclear war, like "scorpions in a bottle, each capable of killing the other, but only at the risk of his own life," in the words of J. Robert Oppenheimer, the head of the Manhattan Project. Throughout the Cold War, antinuclear activists periodically engaged in a movement to counter the political and military mind-set responsible for the environmental, economic, and human threat posed by nuclear weapons and nuclear power. Started by the nuclear physicists who helped create the atomic bomb, the antinuclear movement by the 1980s had changed into a diverse grassroots movement of peace activists, environmentalists, physicians, labor unions, and others. The movement can claim credit for some legislative victories, but its legacy lies more in the widespread cultural diffusion of nuclear fears and themes rather than a significant role in ending the Cold War.

Scientists Begin the Movement
1945–1953

Antinuclear activism began even before the first use of atomic weapons. Many scientists had joined the Manhattan Project because they feared that Germany might build an atomic bomb of its own. When Germany surrendered before the bomb's completion, some scientists felt the bomb should not be used against Japan. Appeals to political elites by prominent scientist Niels Bohr and Hungarian émigré and physicist Leo Szilard, who visualized the chain reaction essential to a nuclear reaction, failed to dissuade the government. On August 6 and 9, 1945, atomic bombs exploded over Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Some of the Manhattan Project's most renowned physicists grew horrified at what they had wrought. Oppenheimer confessed that "the physicists have known sin." Szilard left the discipline of physics for the more life-affirming field of biology. Hiroshima and Nagasaki inspired many Manhattan Project scientists to seek a role in determining influence in—if not control of—atomic policy in the future. By November 1945, scientists from the Manhattan Project had formed the Federation of Atomic Scientists, later renamed the Federation of American Scientists (FAS). One month later Eugene Rabinowitch at the University of Chicago founded the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, which became the unofficial voice of the scientists' movement. Other groups included the National Committee on Atomic Information and the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists.

The FAS, which consisted of 3,000 members at its peak, threw its strength behind two goals: placing U.S. atomic energy and policy under civilian control, and international oversight of atomic activity. Acting essentially as a government lobby, the FAS rallied against the May-Johnson bill, which would have placed atomic energy under military control. FAS efforts led to the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, which created the Atomic Energy Commission, a civilian agency. To ensure the peaceful application of atomic energy around the world, in 1946 Oppenheimer helped draft a proposal to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission. The proposal called for the creation of an international agency empowered to inspect countries around the world, assuring that atomic energy was applied only to peaceful purposes. The plan as presented, however, differed markedly from the original. It stipulated that the United States could refuse participation at any time, and it demanded greater disclosure from the Soviet Union than the

United States. The Soviets rejected the plan outright. Cold War politics had dashed scientists' hopes for international control of atomic energy.

The scientists' movement faded soon after 1946. The movement initially touched upon public interests and anxieties about the atomic age. Although they had attempted to bring to politics the cooperation and discourse of the scientific endeavor, political realities hampered their effort. During the late 1940s, the second Red Scare, the Korean War, McCarthyism, and the Soviet detonation of an atomic bomb heightened Cold War tensions. As a Communist menace with nuclear capabilities loomed, Americans saw the antinuclear movement as a hindrance to an adequate defense. Only when a new era in atomic energy arrived did the antinuclear movement revive.

The Movement Revives and Fades 1954–1963

On March 1, 1954, crew members of the Japanese fishing boat the *Lucky Dragon* found themselves covered in radioactive ash—later termed "fallout"—after drifting too close to the Bikini atoll, where the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission had just detonated the first operational hydrogen bomb. When the crewmen returned to Japan suffering from a variety of illnesses, the worldwide fallout scare began. In the following years, as the United States and the Soviet Union detonated more hydrogen bombs, the antinuclear movement grew into a national force.

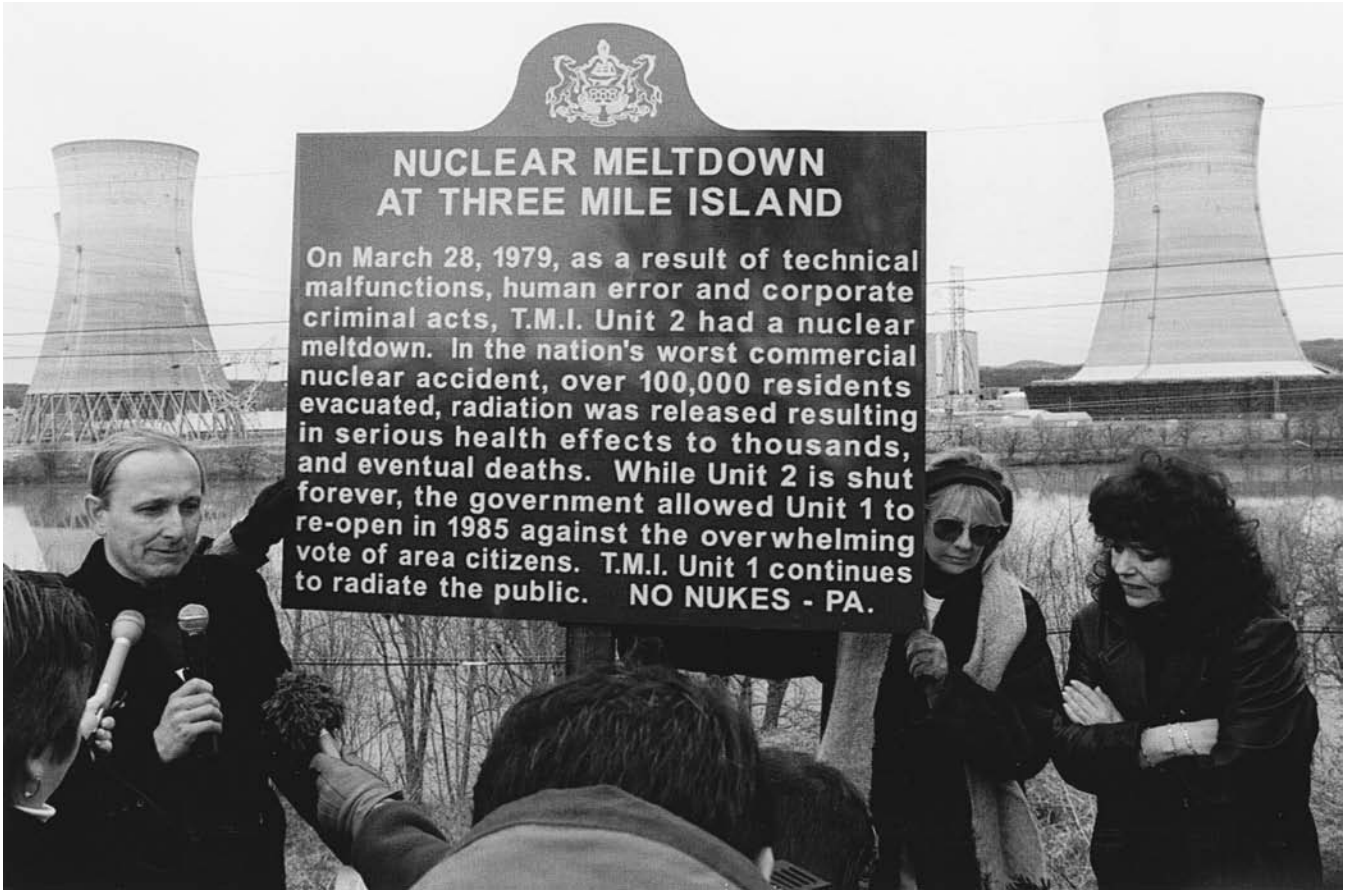
Informed by the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, activists in the United States began to push for a ban on testing. Notable thinkers, including philosophers Bertrand Russell and Albert Schweitzer and scientists Albert Einstein and Linus Pauling, put their voices and prestige behind the movement. During the 1956 presidential campaign, Democrat Adlai Stevenson endorsed a nuclear test ban. In 1957, peace activists formed the first widespread antinuclear organization in the United States: the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE). SANE's primary tactics consisted of dramatic, manipulative, yet informative newspaper advertisements. The most famous pictured physician Benjamin Spock regarding a young child with evident concern. The caption read "Dr. Spock is worried." SANE also organized demonstrations against nuclear testing, the largest of which drew several thousand people to a rally in New York City in 1960.

The scientific community also contributed to this new wave of antinuclear activism. The *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* continued to provide a forum for the debate of nuclear policy. Scientists wrote articles describing the dangers of fallout as well as explaining the scientific properties at work. In 1958, scientists led by Barry Commoner formed the Committee for Nuclear Information, aimed at informing the public about the scientific facts of fallout. In Pugwash, Nova Scotia, scientists from around the world, including Szilard, met to discuss an international, scientific approach to solving the dilemma of nuclear war. As testing continued in 1956 and 1957, scientists detected strontium 90, a carcinogenic found only in fallout, in milk, exacerbating the scare. By 1958, almost half of all Americans supported the movement's call for a test ban.

The movement created a stir in the Eisenhower administration. The president's Scientific Advisory Council, formed as a reaction to the Soviet satellite *Sputnik*, worked toward a test ban treaty. These scientists often shared the antinuclear movement's concerns. While the U-2 affair ended any chance of a test ban during the Eisenhower administration, President John F. Kennedy signed the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in 1963. The treaty banned all nuclear tests in the atmosphere; the superpowers thus commenced testing underground. Although fallout would no longer endanger the citizens of the world, underground testing did not lessen or even slow the development of nuclear weapons; testing actually increased after tests moved underground.

Diversion 1963–1977

While the United States and Soviet Union continued to build nuclear weapons, activism declined steadily through the 1960s and 1970s. The test ban placated many Americans' fears of nuclear weapons. Activists also found their attentions consumed by other issues. Instead of the potential threat of nuclear weapons, an increasing number of American activists focused on the Vietnam War. SANE changed from an antinuclear organization to an anti–Vietnam War group. The radicals of the New Left felt that the antinuclear movement was the cause of an earlier generation. As the war in Vietnam raged, fear of nuclear war faded from the minds of Americans. The United States and the Soviet Union agreed in 1972 not to develop antiballistic missiles under the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty. This resulted not from activism but from the détente policy of the Richard Nixon and Leonid Brezhnev administrations. As détente progressed, nuclear war seemed to be less of a possibility.


NUCLEAR MELTDOWN
AT THREE MILE ISLAND
On March 28, 1979, as a result of technical malfunctions, human error and corporate criminal acts, T.M.I. Unit 2 had a nuclear meltdown. In the nation's worst commercial nuclear accident, over 100,000 residents evacuated, radiation was released resulting in serious health effects to thousands, and eventual deaths. While Unit 2 is shut forever, the government allowed Unit 1 to re-open in 1985 against the overwhelming vote of area citizens. T.M.I. Unit 1 continues to radiate the public. NO NUKES - PA.

Twenty years after the accident at Three Mile Island in 1979, antinuclear activists hold a sign—designed in the shape of a Pennsylvania historical marker—describing the event. Activists opposed erection of a monument proposed by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission that contained weaker wording. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

RETURN TO ACTIVISM 1977–1991

At the beginning of the atomic age, the atom exhibited a curious duality. In the form of what became known simply as The Bomb, atomic energy had the power to annihilate. At the same time, people held great hopes for the peaceful uses of atomic energy. By harnessing the power of the atom, scientists hoped to create new advances in consumer and medical technology, as well as a clean and efficient energy source. As they debated the merits of nuclear weapons tests, scientists also touted the merits of the peaceful atom. Nuclear power plants quickly became the most anticipated technology.

By the late 1970s, the Janus-faced nature of the atom could no longer be reconciled. The growing environmental movement confronted the danger of nuclear power. In 1977, a group called the Clamshell Alliance demonstrated at the site of the Seabrook nuclear reactor in New Hampshire; 1,414 demonstrators were arrested. Some activism, such as the efforts of the Union of Concerned Scientists, represented an elite constituency, while activism also flourished on the grassroots level. In the late 1970s in the town of Love Canal, New York, local residents closed down a toxic waste dump that had been poisoning their children. On March 28, 1979, the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, suffered a malfunction and released a cloud of radioactive gas. Residents on the East Coast feared a meltdown. President Jimmy Carter personally inspected the plant, calming fears of a disaster. The environmental phase of antinuclear activism had nevertheless begun.

As the antinuclear power movement gained momentum, the antinuclear weapons movement returned to prominence. The return can be traced to anxiety caused by the rhetoric and foreign policy of the Ronald Reagan administration. While the arms

race had never disappeared, the Reagan administration spent $2.13 trillion during his eight years in office on the defense budget. In 1985, the Reagan administration's military budget topped the Carter and Ford administration budgets by over $100 billion. The tactic of outspending the Soviets on defense had the effect of alarming great numbers of U.S. citizens. Concurrent with the defense buildup, Reagan embraced a rhetoric that implied the possibility, if not probability, of nuclear war. Referring to the Soviet Union as an "evil empire," Reagan made a sharp break with the conciliatory positions of previous presidents. Top Reagan officials referred to "winnable" nuclear wars, and Reagan himself betrayed a nonchalance regarding nuclear weapons, joking before a press conference that the United States was to begin bombing the Soviet Union within minutes.

Informed by the earlier eras of antinuclear activism, the movement grew into a true grassroots movement reaching all levels of society. In 1979, peace researcher Randall Forsberg proposed a nuclear freeze, where the United States and the Soviet Union would immediately halt production of all nuclear weapons. (A movement of the same name emerged from this proposal.) The astronomer Carl Sagan spoke out during the 1980s about the suicidal and genocidal nature of nuclear war, which would possibly destroy the planet in a scenario called Nuclear Winter. During the height of the movement in the spring of 1982, two major antinuclear demonstrations took place in New York City. At Ground Zero Week, activists demonstrated and spoke about the incomprehensible levels of destruction inherent in nuclear war. In June, between 700,000 and 1 million activists gathered at the New York Rally for Peace in Central Park to demonstrate against nuclear weapons. The crowd represented nearly every segment of society, including labor unions, religious groups, physicians, office workers, lawyers, dancers, and punk rockers. In 1983, the U.S. House of Representatives passed a freeze resolution, but this measure did not pass the Senate. Activists also demonstrated outside of the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory in California, where scientists researched and tested nuclear weapons.

Soon after this zenith, however, the movement found it had made little progress. Two months after passing the freeze resolution, the House approved over $2 billion to fund the MX missile program; later that year, the United States deployed nuclear cruise missiles in Western Europe. When U.S. voters reelected Reagan in a landslide in 1984, the movement began a quick decline. In 1985, however, the Reagan administration began to soften its Cold War position. With the reform-minded Mikhail Gorbachev in power in the Soviet Union, Reagan agreed to discuss arms reduction. When the Soviet Union collapsed and the Cold War ended in 1991, many activists felt that the need for the antinuclear weapons movement had disappeared.

1991 to the Present

With the Cold War over, the world confronted the dilemma of what to do with the nuclear weapons that remained. Antinuclear activism virtually disappeared during the 1990s, even though nuclear weapons remained a priority of U.S. foreign policy. U.S. officials worried that as the Soviet Union dissolved, its nuclear weapons might end up in the hands of terrorist groups or militant nations. Then in the early 1990s, evidence surfaced that North Korea had undertaken a nuclear weapons research program. While the United States averaged six tests annually as of 1992, antinuclear activism appeared only sporadically. In 1995, Joseph Rotblat, the only scientist to quit the Manhattan Project on the basis of moral objections, earned the Nobel Peace Prize, which was jointly awarded to Rotblat and the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs for, according to the Nobel Foundation, "their efforts to diminish the part played by nuclear arms in international politics and, in the longer run, to eliminate such arms." In 1996, twenty protesters were arrested at a New York City peace demonstration. Arms reduction continued when U.S. president George W. Bush and Russian president Vladimir V. Putin signed the Treaty Between the United States of America and the Russian Federation on Strategic Offensive Reductions (the "Moscow Treaty") in May 2002, pledging to reduce their nuclear arsenals from about 6,000 missiles each to no more than 2,200 each by 2012. The antinuclear movement, however, had no noticeable role in this phase of disarmament.

The environmental wing of the movement continued its fight well into the 1990s. The Chernobyl disaster of 1986 solidified widespread opposition to nuclear power. During the 1990s, Americans living near nuclear power plants feared a similar disaster. In Connecticut and Michigan, activists protested outdated and dangerous nuclear power plants. In 1995, members of Greenpeace as well as a group of Native Americans squatted at Ward Valley in the Mojave Desert in protest of a toxic waste site. For years activists in New York fought to shut down the Indian Point nuclear reactor power plant in the city of Buchanan. From 1995 to the early 2000s, these activists acknowl-

edged a change in the movement's tactics from direct action, such as protests and demonstrations, to public education and legal challenges.

According to antinuclear activists, the end of the Cold War has not lessened the threat of nuclear weapons and energy. Proliferation of nuclear weapons, materials, and information to rogue states and terrorists, as well as the withdrawal of the United States from nuclear arms treaties, have alarmed activists and ordinary citizens to the continuing possibility of nuclear attack. Authorities suspect that terrorists might target nuclear power plants, sabotaging the reactor and releasing radiation into the surrounding areas. The primary concern is that terrorists will smuggle, steal, or "improvise" a nuclear device, inflicting mass casualties. The Islamic Jihad attempted to acquire fissile materials from Russia, while members of al-Qaeda discussed nuclear weapons with Pakistani scientists in 2001. Although terrorist groups might not have the scientific expertise or resources to build a conventional nuclear bomb, experts speculate that these groups might build a so-called dirty bomb that would release massive amounts of radiation, although such a bomb would be difficult to construct, transport, and detonate. These circumstances caused the editors of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, in 2002, to move their atomic clock forward to seven minutes before the midnight of nuclear disaster—the closer the clock is to midnight signifies the nearer the world is to nuclear disaster. This setting is the same at which the clock debuted in 1947.

Paul Rubinson

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Environmental Justice Movement

Today's environmental justice movement is predicated upon a belief that the poor and racial minorities have traditionally borne a disproportionate health and socioeconomic cost from industrial production and development. Many scholars have argued that the change from an agricultural to an industrial society led the way to a more civilized and advanced society, with numerous benefits in terms of improvements in health and personal wealth for its members. Unfortunately, this change to an industrial society also led to unforeseen costs in the form of environmental degradation and public health problems directly tied to industrially induced pollution.

Industrial development was accompanied by an increase in environmental illnesses such as asthma, emphysema, lead poisoning, cancer, neurotoxicity, and miscarriages. All of these illnesses are tied to the presence of environmental pollutants generated by the industrial processes. Since the first industrial revolution, environmental inequalities have existed among members of society. This is evidenced by the fact that not everyone in the society benefits equally from the "goods" produced by the industrial processes in the form of an improved quality of life: better housing, better environment, and better health. Similarly, the industrial and postindustrial revolutions in society created whole populations who received a disproportionate level of the "bads" in the form of environmental illness, ecological deterioration, and unsustainable communities. The poor and Irish immigrant communities of Great Britain during the nineteenth century can be seen as an excellent precursive community suffering from environmental injustices, because the cultural, racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic restrictions in their living spaces forced them to live in the midst of industrial production. Their living spaces also lacked proper environmental infrastructures like sewers and privies. These communities suffered devastating health impacts in the form of respiratory illnesses and illnesses tied to inadequate sanitation such as typhoid fever and cholera. This unequal environmental pattern would eventually be reflected across the Atlantic and eventually the globe as industrialization spread during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Today's environmental justice movement has emerged as a reaction to this continuing historical pattern of unevenness in the distribution of environmental costs and benefits in industrialized societies across the world. These environmental inequities have become even more complicated by the factors of race and ethnicity in multiracial and multiethnic societies. The movement in this sense critically examines how a particular form of the benefits and costs (e.g., environmental "goods" and "bads") of industrial and postindustrial society is divided among its members not only based on class but strongly influenced by the racial attributes of certain groups within society. The movement points out that the principle on which the distribution of these benefits and costs (or "goods" and "bads") takes place is largely influenced by the "ability to pay." That is, those who can afford environmental protection will buy it, in the form, for example, of living on land known to be uncontaminated; drinking environmentally safe bottled water; or eating only organically grown and nongenetically engineered foods. This ability to pay or even have access to these environmental goods, however, according to the environmental justice movement is predetermined and heavily influenced by race.

Scholars have not reached a consensus on the exact moment when the environmental justice movement was born. Many believe that the movement began with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s 1968 move toward a Poor People's Campaign and his support of protesting black sanitary workers prior to his assassination. There is also the belief that today's environmental justice movement began with the 1970s'

antitoxic protests of low-income families in Love Canal, New York. Most scholars, however, do agree that the 1982 grassroots protests by African Americans in Warren County, North Carolina, against toxic dumping in their communities was the pivotal and defining moment for today's environmental justice movement. By 1991, the environmental justice movement as we now know it had solidified its basic objectives and strategies for addressing the inequitable distribution of environmental costs in poor and racially marginalized communities. Upon close examination, the historical foundation for the movement is seen to be complex and includes the ideology and methodologies employed in the civil rights movement, the antitoxic movement, the pesticide protests launched by the United Farm Workers (UFW) movement beginning in the 1960s, and unprecedented intellectual support from academic professionals. UFW's historical struggle for farmworkers to gain control of their working conditions in the 1960s was the first environmental movement led by people of color. This precursive environmental justice movement was led by Cesar Chavez and demanded the ban of certain pesticides in the workplace, including DDT.

Martin Luther King Jr. and the Poor People's Campaign

Activists in the environmental justice movement constantly emphasize the inextricable relationship between poverty and environmental racism. They argue that the environmental disenfranchisement of the poor is symptomatic of their overall systemic social, cultural, political, and economic disenfranchisement. The first national leader to address the systemic disenfranchisement of the poor in this country and the concomitant environmental consequences of this dilemma was the civil rights activist the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. In 1968, Dr. King began to openly advocate plans for a multiracial march for the poor on Washington, under the Poor People's Campaign. A critical issue in the proposed Poor People's Campaign was the need to address the problem of the poor living in unhealthy and unsanitary housing conditions. King argued at that time that the United States could not have a democratic society if it was going to have greatly concentrated wealth in the hands of only a few members of its society. As the plans for the Poor People's Campaign began to emerge, King's commitment to environmental issues impacting the poor and racially marginalized were made more apparent in 1968 when he traveled to Memphis, Tennessee. He came to Tennessee to lend his support to a largely black group of striking sanitation workers and was then assassinated. Dr. King's openly expressed concern over the inequitable distribution of wealth and poverty in the United States and the concomitant environmental consequences are echoed in today's cries by environmental justice activists. By the 1960s, isolated researchers discovered that environmental hazards had a disproportionate impact on people of color and low-income people. Activists in the environmental justice movement continually lament the fact that it is the poor of society who bear the cost of environmental pollution because they don't have the economic power to eliminate or avoid the costs of industrial production in their impoverished communities.

Nascent Environmental Justice Ideologies, Philosophies, and Movements 1970s

Although a national movement to address the environmental inequities in poor and minority communities had not emerged in the 1970s, the philosophical and ideological underpinnings for the movement were in place. Contrary to much of the published literature on the first Earth Day, April 22, 1970, African Americans and other communities of color had already begun an open dialogue about environmental justice issues. National and local articles appeared in newspapers and magazines during this time describing the reactions by African-American communities and their leaders to the new environmental movement. Many of these articles elucidated African-American concerns about environmental issues plaguing their communities. Their concerns were mirrored in nature and form by those expressed by Dr. King in 1968 and revolved around needs for sanitary housing, environmental infrastructures, and the illegal dumping of waste and garbage in their communities. For instance, one day before Earth Day, the prominent black Chicago newspaper, the *Chicago Defender,* ran a photographic report about the visit of special presidential assistant Robert J. Brown and his Task Force on Aid to Disadvantaged Communities to the impoverished community of Robbins, Illinois. The report pointed out that this poor African-American community was suffering from environmental health problems because of inadequate sanitary infrastructure and that the environmental problems were so severe that Robbins's residents were contracting hepatitis because of high levels of sewage in the standing water.

The connection between poverty and environ-

mental disenfranchisement was also reflected in the comments made during this time by another prominent civil rights activist, the Reverend Jesse Jackson. During the first Earth Week in April 1970, Reverend Jackson, who founded Chicago's Operation PUSH in 1971, went to Congress to discuss the country's continuing need to resolve the problems of the poor. Jackson urged the government to focus its concern on the issues of hunger and sanitary housing and decried the attention that was being given to the traditional environmental movement. Jackson felt that the new movement was drawing attention away from the civil rights movement. Jackson's sentiments were echoed across the country by many politicians, especially by the country's first African-American mayors, Carl B. Stokes of Cleveland and Richard Hatcher of Gary, Indiana. Blacks, Mayors Stokes and Hatcher stated in an Earth Day *Businessweek,* were more likely than whites to suffer from environmental illnesses, and their environmental problems were symptomatic of deeper societal ills such as poverty, racism, and inequitable political power. The April 1970 issue of *Ebony* contained an article focusing on environmental problems in African-American communities. African-American periodical sources clearly show that while African Americans recognized the environmental movement, they had their own views on which "environmental issues" were critical for their communities. Their concerns centered on what they perceived to be a shift to an issue (the environment "without man") that was eclipsing their basic needs for ensured survival in an indifferent or hostile "human" environment. An environmental justice consciousness had already emerged in the 1970s, and on Earth Day 1970 African-American Chicagoans actually had their own separate communitywide environmental celebrations.

At the national level during this period, African-American politicians and periodicals emphasized that for African Americans the important environmental issues were those that touched on basic social justice issues such as hunger, adequate housing, and safe water sources. By the end of 1970, a multiracial coalition of urban environmentalists would begin to focus on public health and working conditions and sought to reform the environmental movement to include issues of both race and class. By the late 1970s, Dr. Robert Bullard, now a prominent environmental sociologist and key figure in the environmental justice movement, had studied land use in Houston, Texas, and found that garbage dumps had a disproportionate impact on people of color and low-income people.

The year 1976 brought one of the first environmental justice court cases to trial, *Bean v. Southwestern Waste Management Corporation.* This case stemmed from the protest of minority residents of Houston, Texas, who had opposed locating a hazardous waste site within 1,500 feet of a public school that had no air conditioning. The residents contended that they had already had more than their fair share of hazardous waste sites and should not be burdened by additional waste. The final decision on the case was rendered in 1979 in federal court: the judge acknowledged that, although the decision to locate the hazardous site was "unfortunate and insensitive," the neighborhood had not proven the necessary racial animus (racist intent) to prove their case.

The Urban Environment Conference

In 1976, six years after the first Earth Day, the Urban Environment Conference (UEC) was developed through a unique coalition of organizations (labor, environmental, and minority) dedicated to incorporating race and class issues into the environmental movement. This coalition would initiate "City Care" conferences that would be held in cities across the United States and would foster the development of the foundations for the environmental justice movement as we know it today. UEC's activities, contrary to prevailing environmental justice myths, actually were supported by a traditional environmental movement organization; it received its first financial contributions from the Sierra Club and labor unions.

When UEC arrived in Michigan in 1976, it brought together representatives from labor unions, environmental groups, economic justice organizations, and churches to discuss issues of economic justice and the urban environment. As a result of the Michigan conference, a $66,000 federal grant was made to UEC, which the organization used to fund eleven similar "City Care" conferences throughout the United States. Sponsoring agencies that helped fund conferences were the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and the Departments of Housing and Urban Development (HUD); the Interior; Energy, Agriculture; and Transportation. The UEC conferences and activities emanating from them led to the adoption of the first Right to Know legislation in Delaware. These Right to Know laws would become central to locally based environmental activism because future plants would be required to provide notice of potential environmental risks to the community. The knowledge of environmental risks gained by affected

Long Island's Brookhaven National Laboratory in Upton, New York, was the site of radiation leaks, toxic waste, and environmental mishaps. A sign warns people not to enter. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

communities empowered urban environmental activists and laid the groundwork for research and documentation of environmental injustices in the 1980s and 1990s.

In 1979, the National Urban League, the Sierra Club, and the UEC held a national conference in Detroit, Michigan, that would come to have a major influence on the present-day environmental justice movement. A total of 750 people, mostly community activists familiar with the grassroots impacts of national problems, convened for three and a half days, and at least seventy-five national and community-based cosponsoring organizations also attended the conference. Addresses by community leaders, information sharing, and the setting of new coalition agendas concerning the urban environment were the main thrust of the Michigan conference. The issues addressed during this particular conference included public health, neighborhood empowerment, urban parks, suburban sprawl, and public transportation.

1978: Love Canal

Many scholars believe that the environmental justice movement in the United States began on August 2, 1978. This was the day when CBS and ABC networks first carried news of the effects of toxic waste on the residents of Love Canal, a predominantly white working-class community in Buffalo, New York. The New York State health commissioner had just announced that the landfill created by the Hooker Chemical Company had created a serious and extremely dangerous public health threat to the residents of Love Canal. In 1952, Hooker had dumped thousands of drums of toxic waste into an abandoned navigation canal and filled in the area. The company then sold the land to the Niagara Falls Board of Education, and eventually a school and houses were erected on this landfill. Soon after people moved into the area, alarming health problems and birth defects began to be reported. As a result of Hooker's dump-

ing practices, pesticide residues and other chemicals resurfaced and were seen bubbling up onto the surface. Adults, children, and animals were burned and people reported seeing explosions. The residents' children and pets also received chemical burns from playing with dirt in the schoolyard and their backyards. Many of the residents' lawns wouldn't grow, and more important, where plants would grow, people would get sick after eating the produce grown in their gardens.

Grassroots environmental activism was critical to the successful resolution of the environmental dilemmas at Love Canal beginning in 1978. This activism was led by Lois Gibbs, whose own three-year-old child, Michael, developed a respiratory illness tied to the toxic waste present in Love Canal. Moved by her own child's illness and the illnesses of many children in the community, Gibbs developed the Love Canal Homeowners' Association and took their complaints to the state's capital (Albany) for resolution. Their activism led to an investigation by state epidemiologists in 1978 that found unusually high rates of birth defects, miscarriage, epilepsy, liver abnormality, rectal bleeding, and headaches at Love Canal. Gibbs's continued activism finally persuaded the government to investigate. By 1980, the federal government had identified 248 chemicals in the dump site, and ultimately more than 400 were found. Upon the revelations produced by both state and federal investigations, residents were evacuated from Love Canal. The state of New York purchased more than 230 of the residents' homes and financed some of the relocation costs; many of the homes were demolished. By the late 1970s, President Jimmy Carter had declared Love Canal, New York, a disaster area, which entitled the Love Canal residents to federal aid that could be used for their relocation to other communities. Gibbs's successful environmental activism became a model for other female environmental justice leaders across the country.

The Birth of the Environmental Racism/Justice Movement 1980s

By the turn of the twenty-first century, environmental justice had become synonymous with the concept of environmental racism—that is, the disparate and unequal distribution of environmental costs due to racism. The environmental justice movement (as well as the change in the primarily race versus class-based premise) was born in Warren County, North Carolina, in 1982 when African Americans mounted one of the first national protests against the siting of a hazardous waste site, "Hunt's Dump." The dump was named for North Carolina's governor at the time, James Hunt.

Governor Hunt had selected 142 acres of land in Afton, a small black community in Warren County, as the disposal site for the 32,000 cubic yards of dirt contaminated with toxic polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs). The decision came following a survey of ninety-three sites in thirteen counties. The soil had been taken from 217 miles of North Carolina state highway where it had been illegally dumped by the Robert Burns and Ward Transfer Company in 1978 in fourteen North Carolina counties. The Burns and Ward Company had transported the waste from Buffalo, New York, and decided to dump it illegally along the highway rather than properly store it according to federal, state, and local regulations.

Afton was a stable community with a high home ownership rate; 84 percent of the residents in the area surrounding the protest site were African Americans, and 64 percent of these owned their own homes. Unfortunately, the community had a high water table in porous sandy soil, and most of its residents got their water from wells. This clearly was not the optimal site for the land disposal of PCBs. Its water table was only 5 to 10 feet beneath the surface, and so, in short order, its well water would be contaminated. Residents rose up swiftly in protest.

Governor Hunt claimed that he selected Warren County as the disposal site based solely on technical premises. However, the chief of the EPA's hazardous waste implementation branch, William Sanjour, a supporter of Warren County residents, later disputed this claim. Sanjour observed that the siting decision was politically motivated and that only political pressure would impact the decision. Protests to pressure decision makers against locating the toxic dump in Warren County were then organized under the leadership of Afton (and Warren County) resident Ken Ferruccio and his wife, Deborah. They would eventually organize the grassroots activist group Warren County Citizens Concerned about PCBs. Their protest actions were eventually joined by nationally prominent civil rights advocacy groups such as the United Church of Christ (UCC) Commission for Racial Justice, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, religious leaders, as well as environmental activists and political officials. Lois Gibbs, the Love Canal activist, came to Warren County in February 1982 to support Ferruccio and other residents.

Warren County residents peacefully protested the siting of the landfill site for over six weeks in 1982

United Church of Christ leader Benjamin Chavis coined the phrase "environmental racism" to describe the greater prevalence of polluted facilities in communities with large numbers of poor blacks and other disadvantaged groups. He is shown here with his hand on Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan after he joined the Nation of Islam in 1997. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

and attempted to physically block the path of over 6,000 truckloads of PCB-contaminated soil. These peaceful protests resulted in the arrest of more than 500 people, including two civil rights activists who would prove instrumental in the national recognition of the movement: the District of Columbia delegate Walter E. Fauntroy and the Reverend Benjamin Chavis, then executive director of the UCC Commission for Racial Justice. The arrests of protesters, including Dr. Joseph Lowery of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, marked the first time in American history that citizens had been sent to jail for trying to stop a toxic waste landfill located in a community of color.

Although the Warren County Citizens group was not in the end successful in preventing the siting of the landfill, they were eminently successful in making environmental racism a national concern. The actions of Warren County protesters had a long-term impact on influencing future national environmental policies dealing with environmental inequities in communities of color. Governor James Hunt eventually acceded to the Warren County residents' demands that the state not build any additional landfills in their community and that their well and body water would be regularly monitored for PCB contamination.

In 1983 and within one year of the Warren County protest, District of Columbia delegate Walter Fauntroy persuaded the Government Accounting Office (GAO) to study the 1983 siting of hazardous waste landfills

in EPA Region IV, which included Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. The resulting GAO report, *Siting of Hazardous Waste Landfills and Their Correlation with Racial and Economic Status of Surrounding Communities*, found that three out of every four landfills were located near predominantly minority communities. The report eventually spurred the 1987 national study by the United Church of Christ led by the Reverend Benjamin Chavis, who would later become the executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Four years later, the 1987 UCC Commission for Racial Justice, in response to the Warren County dilemma, sponsored the study, *Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States: A National Report on the Racial and Socioeconomic Characteristics of Communities with Hazardous Waste Sites.* The study concluded that race was the best predictor of hazardous waste site location. UCC's Commission for Racial Justice employed Public Data Access, a New York–based research firm, to assist in the analysis of this information. Their statisticians found only a 1 in 10,000 chance that such siting patterns could occur randomly. Environmentalists studying incinerators found the same results. The phrase "environmental racism" would be coined by the Reverend Chavis of the UCC as a reflection of the fact that toxic facilities were more likely to be found in communities dominated by racial minorities, the poor, the elderly, and the young.

More than a decade would elapse before a national policy response was developed to deal with environmental racism. The changes in environmental regulation and enforcement policies effected by the Reagan administration undermined the fragile coalition that had formed among minority communities, labor, and environmental groups. These groups focused on their own constituencies and began to fight over whatever federal funding and programmatic support that had remained during the Reagan (1981–1989) and George H.W. Bush administrations (1989–1993).

First Steps of the Environmental Justice Movement 1990s

In 1990, a group of academics met at the University of Michigan's School of Natural Resources and Environment (the group came to be known as the Michigan Group) to discuss their most recent findings on the relationship between race and environmental hazards. This conference led to the formation of the Michigan Environmental Justice Coalition. Prompted by their own findings, the group wrote letters to Louis Sullivan, secretary of the United States Department of Health and Human Services, and to William Reilly, head of the United States Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). A meeting with Reilly and seven of the professors resulted in the creation of the Work Group on Environmental Equity. Its primary objective was to examine the agency's negligence or insensitivity to issues of environmental racism.

The year 1990 also saw the release of another landmark environmental justice study: the Greenpeace Incinerator Report, *Playing with Fire*. The published report concluded that the percentage of minorities in communities with existing incinerators was 89 percent higher than the national median and that communities with proposed incinerators had 60 percent more minorities than the national median.

Disgusted by the policies and practices of traditional environmental groups, environmental justice activists would issue a public challenge to these groups in 1990. Richard Moore, executive director of the Southwest Organizing Project, and Pat Bryant, executive director of the Gulf Coast Tenants Organization, drafted a letter that would eventually be signed by more than 100 community leaders and sent to the ten largest traditional environmental groups. The letter accused the traditional environmental groups of racism in their hiring and policy development processes. The political stir caused by this event influenced Chavis (a signatory of the letter), who at the time was head of UCC's Commission for Racial Justice, to call for an emergency summit of environmental, civil rights, and community groups. The UCC spearheaded the planning of the summit under the direction of Charles Lee, the UCC director for the environmental justice program under UCC's Racial Justice Commission. The summit would take eighteen months to plan and involved Lee, Pat Bryant, Moore, Dana Alston of the Panos Institute, the Indian activist Donna Chavis of North Carolina, and the academic Robert Bullard. Their plans led to the historic First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit in Washington, D.C., in October 1991. The summit would conclude with a demand that the EPA address their environmental justice concerns. Two of the summit organizers, Ben Chavis and Robert Bullard, would be appointed to President-elect Bill Clinton's transition team to help formulate national policies addressing environmental inequalities.

The summit brought together more than 300 delegates and 400 observers and supporters to Washing-

ton, D.C., on October 21–24, 1991. The two groups formed at the meeting were the Indigenous Environmental Network, which was challenged to promote the interests of Native American activists, and the Southern Organizing Committee, which organized the Southern Community Labor Conference for Environmental Justice in New Orleans in 1992, a gathering of nearly 2,000 activists from fourteen states. The 1991 summit also featured nearly 1,000 environmental justice activists from across the country, Africa, and South America who met to develop principles and a call for national and worldwide action. Three basic philosophies emerged from the meeting: (1) environmental justice was not separate from economic and political struggles in communities of color; (2) environmental justice was intrinsically related to community empowerment; and (3) establishing a just environmental justice policy should be an exclusionary dialogue recognizing that communities of color speak for themselves.

More than 650 grassroots leaders adopted the "Principles of Environmental Justice," a platform calling for an end to the discriminatory poisoning of low-income communities and people of color worldwide. These principles would eventually be incorporated into President Clinton's 1994 Executive Order on environmental justice.

In 1991, the EPA issued the groundbreaking report, *Environmental Equity: Reducing Risk for All Communities*. The report underscored the historical and present-day environmental inequities and focused on the need for governmental intervention where the pollution is greatest—communities of color.

The year 1991 also witnessed a decision in one of the first federal environmental justice cases, *RISE v. Kay*. Residents Involved in Saving the Environment (RISE), a biracial group, brought suit in protest of siting a fourth regional landfill in King County, Virginia, which was 42 percent African American and 57 percent white. The case revealed that three other landfills were already located in the county and that all of them were in African-American neighborhoods. Even though the judge did find a disproportionate impact by race, he ruled that because no intent to discriminate was shown, it was therefore legal to develop the new landfill. This "smoking gun" approach would plague environmental justice activists in future courts through the new millennium.

By 1992, the EPA Work Group on Environmental Equity produced a two-volume report titled *Environmental Equity: Reducing Risk in All Communities.* The four major findings of the report were as follows:

1. Clear differences existed between racial groups in terms of disease and death rates; and there was a general lack of data on environmental health effects by race and income with the exception of lead. In addition, a significantly higher percentage of African-American children than white children had unacceptably high levels of lead in their blood.
2. People of color and low-income populations experienced higher than average exposures to selected air pollutants, hazardous waste facilities, contaminated fish, and farm pesticides in the workplace.
3. Data were not routinely collected on health risks posed by multiple industrial facilities and the synergistic effects or multiple pathways of exposures.
4. Native Americans had unique problems as an ethnic group, with a special relationship to the federal government. Their problems were exacerbated by their lack of general infrastructure, institutions, trained personnel, and resources necessary to protect their members.

The work group would also recommend the creation of an Office of Environmental Equity (later changed to the Office of Environmental Justice), which was implemented in November 1992. The office's primary responsibility was to serve as the point of contact for environmental justice outreach and educational activities, technical and financial assistance, and information dissemination. An Environmental Equity Cluster (a separate senior executive committee) was formed at the same time to develop the agency's national policies, guidance, and agenda for environmental justice.

An official declaration of the U.S. government's recognition and commitment to addressing the problem of environmental inequalities was finally announced in 1994. On February 11, 1994, President Clinton signed Executive Order 12898 on environmental justice. The official title of the order was "Federal Actions to Address Environmental Justice in Minority Populations and Low-Income Populations." The order focused on the "environmental and human health conditions" in people of color and low-income populations with the goal of achieving equal environmental protection for all communities regardless of their race, income status, ethnicity, or culture. It directed all federal agencies with an environmental and public health mission to make environmental justice an integral part of their mission. The order also made

Environmental Justice Principles

Adopted, Washington, D.C., October 1991
First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit

Preamble

We, the People of Color, gathered together at this multinational People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit, to begin to build a national and international movement of all peoples of color to fight the destruction and taking of our lands and communities, do hereby reestablish our spiritual interdependence to the sacredness of our Mother Earth; to respect and celebrate each of our cultures, languages, and beliefs about the natural world and our roles in healing ourselves; to insure environmental justice; to promote economic alternatives which would contribute to the development of environmentally safe livelihoods; and to secure our political, economic, and cultural liberation that has been denied over 500 years of colonization and oppression, resulting in the poisoning of our communities and land and the genocide of our peoples do affirm and adopt these Principles of Environmental Justice:

1. Environmental Justice affirms the sacredness of Mother Earth, ecological unity and the interdependence of all species, and the right to be free from ecological destruction.
2. Environmental Justice demands that public policy be based on mutual respect and justice for all people, free from any form of discrimination and bias.
3. Environmental Justice mandates the right to ethical, balanced and responsible uses of land and renewable resources in the interest of a sustainable planet for humans and other living things.
4. Environmental Justice calls for universal protection from nuclear testing, extraction, production and disposal of toxic/hazardous wastes and poisons and nuclear testing that threaten the fundamental right to clean air, land, water, and food.
5. Environmental Justice affirms the fundamental right to political, economic, cultural and environmental self-determination of all peoples.
6. Environmental Justice demands the cessation of production of all toxins, hazardous wastes and radioactive materials and that all past and current producers be held strictly accountable to the people for detoxification and the containment at the point of production.
7. Environmental Justice demands the right to participate as equal partners at every level of decision-making including needs assessment, planning, implementation, enforcement, and evaluation.
8. Environmental Justice affirms the right of all workers to a safe and healthy work environment, without being forced to choose between an unsafe livelihood and unemployment. It also affirms the right of those who work at home to be free from environmental hazards.
9. Environmental Justice protects the right of victims of environmental injustices to receive full compensation and reparations for damages as well as quality health care.
10. Environmental Justice considers government acts of environmental injustice a violation of international law, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, and the UN Convention on Genocide.
11. Environmental Justice must recognize a special legal and natural relationship of Native Peoples to the U.S. government through treaties, agreements, compacts, and covenants affirming sovereignty and self-determination.
12. Environmental Justice affirms the need for urban and rural ecological policies to clean up and rebuild our cities and rural areas in balance with nature, honoring the cultural integrity of all our communities, and providing fair access for all to the full range of resources.
13. Environmental Justice calls for the strict enforcement of principles of informed consent, and a halt to the testing of experimental reproductive and medical procedures and vaccinations on people of color.
14. Environmental Justice opposes the destructive operations of multi-national corporations.
15. Environmental Justice opposes military occupation, repression and exploitation of lands, peoples and cultures, and other life forms.
16. Environmental Justice calls for the education of present and future generations which emphasizes social and environmental issues, based on our experience and an appreciation of our diverse cultural perspectives.
17. Environmental Justice requires that we, as individuals, make personal and consumer choices to consume as little of Mother Earth's resources and produce as little waste as possible; and make the conscious decisions to challenge and reprioritize our lifestyles to insure the health of the natural world for present and future generations.

Source: David Naguib Pellow, *Garbage Wars: The Struggle for Environmental Justice in Chicago* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002), 171–173.

federal agencies responsible for ensuring that states and organizations receiving federal monies for environmental projects did not violate federal civil rights laws. Finally, the order established the Interagency Working Group on Environmental Justice with membership from the heads of agencies and departments like Justice, Defense, Energy, Labor, Interior, Transportation, Agriculture, Housing and Urban Development, Commerce, Health and Human Services, and the EPA.

Conclusion

Has the environmental justice movement been a success? The answer to this question is quite complex given the legal, environmental, and health histories of communities suffering from environmental inequalities since their recognition in Warren County, North Carolina, in 1982. The movement is a hybrid of a classical social movement and a new social movement. Many of the victims of environmental inequalities lacked political power and sought out a vehicle through the movement to gain this power. In this sense, the environmental justice movement has been successful as a traditional social movement. Residents of Love Canal were evacuated from a deadly housing site because their voices were heard. In contrast, many environmentally disenfranchised groups like the People for Community Recovery (PCR) in Altgeld Gardens, Chicago, Illinois, or the Chester Residents Concerned for Quality Living (CRCQL) in Chester, Pennsylvania, would participate in the movement but with very little success. PCR filed a lawsuit against its landlord, the Chicago Housing Authority, stemming from the illegal dumping of PCBs in 1999. Residents are still awaiting a decision on this case, in spite of the persistent environmental health problems in the community, especially in the children.

In the early 1990s, CRCQL residents mounted an effective political mobilization to protest siting a medical waste sterilization facility (Thermal Pure) next to a Westinghouse incinerator. CRCQL residents, however, like Warren County, North Carolina's residents, ultimately lost the fight to prevent the site from coming into their neighborhood.

In all three cases, as well as in many other environmental justice cases across the country, the environmental justice movement serves as an excellent example of a New Social Movement (NSM) that is postindustrial and aligned with the expansion of rights and quality of life issues. NSMs are also characterized as local efforts limited to a geographical area. Most of the grassroots activism of environmental justice activists is targeted to changing the quality of life for a specific geographical location. Even with this narrow focus, however, many of their efforts are failing as a result of legal decisions. The Achilles' heel for most of these efforts is the need to show racial intent by planners and policymakers. Few environmental justice groups have been able to achieve this objective. Although activists in this movement are acutely aware that racism is manifest in every corner of society, they have been unable to legally document that this racism is intentional.

Academics have had a strong influence on the movement, sparking and invigorating local struggles. In Los Angeles, for example, a community struggle led by Concerned Citizens of South Central Los Angeles against a giant garbage incinerator received crucial support before a key vote of the city council when the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) School of Urban Planning released a 700-page critique of the incinerator project and its disproportionate impact on people of color in Los Angeles. Their work also shaped or reaffirmed movement leaders' consciousness about the structural or systemic nature of environmental oppression.

Academics have also provided critically needed expertise to community groups during litigation or administrative advocacy in local environmental justice struggles. The best-known example is Bullard's documentation of racially biased decision-making criteria in siting a nuclear waste processing facility in rural Louisiana. This documentation was directly responsible for the federal government's decision to deny a permit to the facility.

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Animal Rights Movement

The animal rights movement began to capture broad public attention after 1980, as a vital, grassroots-based challenge to the exploitation of animals for food, hunting, entertainment, fur and fiber, medical research, and product testing, to name the most contested areas of usage. Reviving and incorporating some of the premises of a century-old anticruelty movement, animal rights advocates have pursued an ambitious agenda to reshape human attitudes and conduct toward animals, at a time when human control over other species has never been greater.

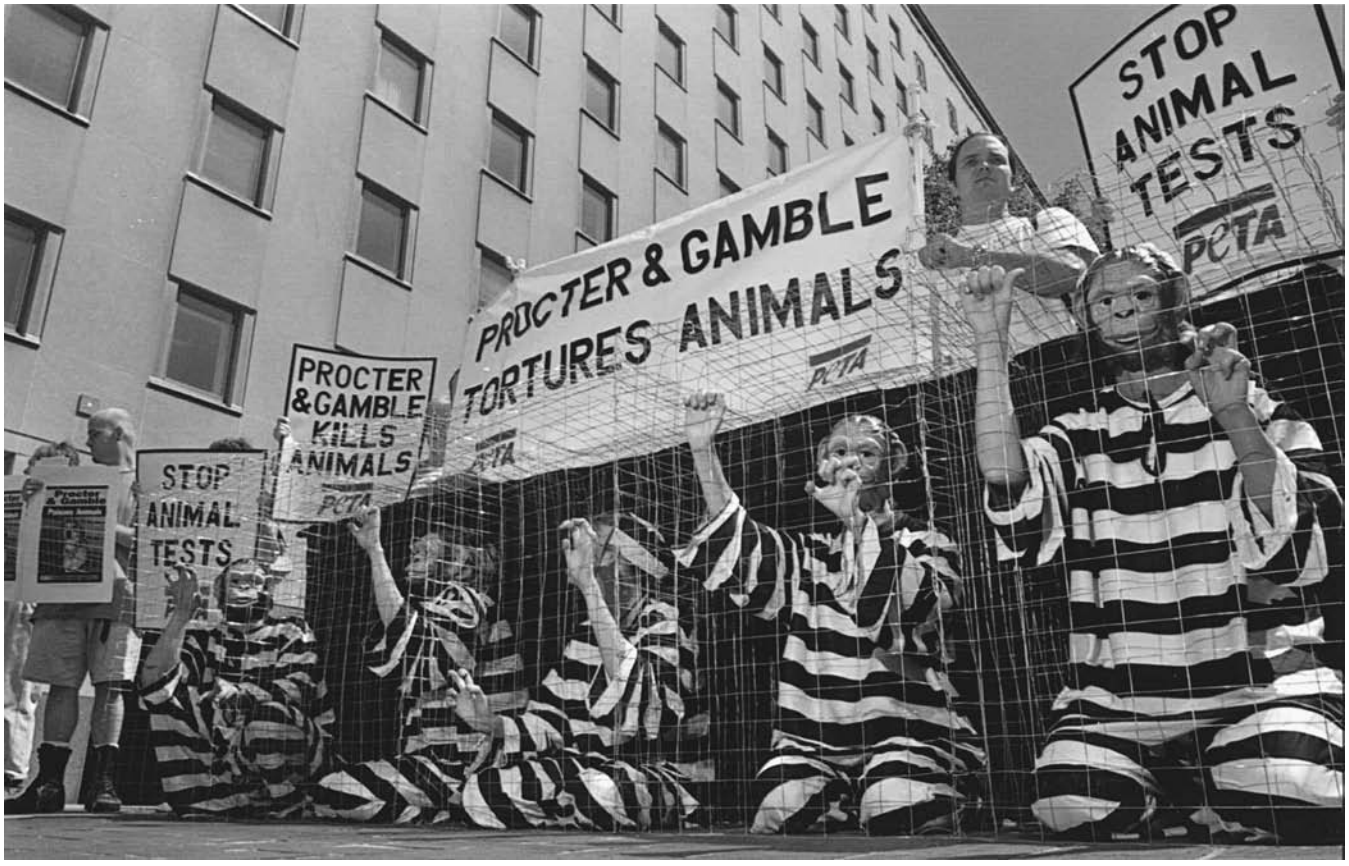
In popular discourse, "the animal rights movement" refers to the wide range of groups and individuals active in organized animal protection. In fact, only a portion of these organizations and individuals are actually motivated by a true theory of animal rights, one that contends that the exploitation of nonhuman animals is immoral in principle and should be abolished. Actually, those who participate in organized animal protection embrace a host of philosophies (animal liberation, ecofeminism, animal welfare, and related variants), pursue a variety of approaches (gradualism, immediatism, and refinement, for example), and work on a diverse range of issues. Nevertheless, at their core, animal advocates share a concern for nonhuman animals and a determination to relieve their suffering.

Even the groups most closely identified with one philosophical approach or another have transcended their presumed positions in case-specific instances. Goals such as the immediate abolition of factory farming or the end of pharmaceutical testing with animals are unrealistic; thus, animal rights campaigns typically focus on egregious practices and rely on education and experience over the longer term to foster an atmosphere in which further proposals for change can be put forward. Some uses of animals simply are more vulnerable than others, and the movement targets them in an effort to meet popular opinion where it is rather than where animal rights philosophy determines it ought to be. The most prominent national organizations generally agree that modest gains in animal welfare are worth securing, even if they do not lead the way toward abolition of animal use.

Although concern for animals has reached unprecedented levels and filtered into legal, regulatory, and social practices, vast areas of animal usage remain beyond the reach of the most basic anticruelty statutes. This reflects the relative power of the interests and industries targeted. Not surprisingly, the movement's efforts to promulgate its principles have met determined resistance. Agricultural concerns, biomedical research interests, furriers, circus owners, hunting enthusiasts, animal fighters, and others have spent millions of dollars in efforts to defend their practices.

The history of organized concern for animals has never been one of linear progress, as the tendency to exploit remains locked in oppositional tension with the impulse to protect them. During the past twenty-five years, the situation of animals in the United States has improved in some ways. Humane societies are doing a better job of curbing unwanted companion animal birth rates. There has been an overall decline in the numbers of animals used in research, testing, and education. Activities like hunting and trapping are in decline. In keeping with a longer trend encompassing the entire twentieth century, moreover, utilitarian attitudes toward animals have generally waned, while moralistic values toward them have increased.

On the other hand, during the same quarter century, intensive confinement agriculture has resulted in historically unmatched levels of animal suffering and death. Agricultural production involves far more animals than any other human use (accounting for as much as 95 percent of total usage), and factory farming is expanding both in the United States and abroad. Animal populations in the wild are threatened, as extinction rates accelerate and expanding human pop-



Wearing monkey costumes and prison stripes, protesters in Cincinnati on August 7, 1997, urge Procter & Gamble to stop testing products on animals. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

ulations make escalating demands upon habitat and resources. Gains in a number of areas are also jeopardized by the advent of global trade agreements that supersede or undercut hard-won protections.

The Emergence of the Anticruelty Movement

Contemporary expressions of concern for animals have a culturally significant predecessor, the anticruelty movement, which flourished during the second half of the nineteenth century and has influenced modern approaches to the issues of animals' status and treatment. Among other things, the modern-day animal movement continues to work within the framework of statutory legislation, which has not changed greatly since nineteenth-century enactments. In addition, certain historical arguments, such as the one that emphasizes cruelty's demoralization of its perpetrator, sometimes carry forward into current debates.

Crucial late eighteenth-century developments in philosophy, religion, and natural history established the capacity to suffer as the most compelling criterion for animals' moral considerability. Sympathy for animals' suffering joined traditional arguments grounded in religious stewardship or worries about the reflexive impact of cruel conduct upon the perpetrator and the society in which he lived. Animal protection societies formed in England (1824), Germany (1837), and France (1846), and the kindness-to-animals ethic found its way into sermons, letters, periodical articles, and didactic literature for children.

From the 1820s onward, a number of American states passed rudimentary anticruelty statutes, grounded in concerns about social order, property protection, aesthetic sensibility, and animals' suffering. Although some people protested the mistreatment of animals during the antebellum years, the abolition of slavery seems to have been a necessary precondition for the emergence of organized animal protection in the United States. The campaign against slavery increasingly stigmatized cruel behavior of

slave masters, with obvious implications for the highly visible abuse and neglect of animals. Even as abolitionism influenced debates over naval flogging and corporal punishment in the schools, it helped to create a context of imaginative sympathy with animals' suffering, and the pre–Civil War decades witnessed occasional protests about public and private cruelty. However, because animals and human slaves shared the status of property, legal, statutory, and other initiatives directed at the protection of animals became easily entangled with the nation's most contentious issue. In some contexts, the argument that these were private concerns prevented discussion, scrutiny, and intervention.

Not coincidentally, the movement blossomed in the immediate post–Civil War years, as the first societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals (SPCAs) formed in New York (1866), Philadelphia (1867), and Boston (1868), with accompanying charters, statutes, and special enforcement powers granted by state legislatures. Growing social concern for the welfare of animals coincided with popular demand for action to alleviate pressing problems that stemmed from the incorporation of animals into the urban industrial environment. Heightened reliance on horses to transport people and goods created enormous traffic congestion and sanitary problems. Periodic roundups of loose-running dogs, inspired by the fear of rabies, created chaos and panic. Drovers led cattle through busy streets in broad daylight. Questionable practices in transportation, milk production, and slaughtering of animals generated deep anxieties about the integrity of the food supply. The removal of dead and dying animals, and the disposal and conversion of offal, by-products, and waste, were a constant preoccupation of municipal authorities. The SPCAs addressed these and other problems in which animals were implicated, and (at a time when professional veterinary medicine in the United States had not yet established itself) provided useful advice and assistance for their care and handling. In all cases, humane advocates sought to interject animals' interests into the debate over how these problems should be resolved.

The movement spread rapidly, and by 1873 twenty-five states and territories had functioning anticruelty societies. The Gilded Age's animal protection had special affinities with temperance and child protection, for all three were concerned with the impact of violence—against spouses, children, and animals. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union established a Department of Mercy in 1891 to distribute humane literature and to encourage its members to support the cause. For their part, child protection advocates advanced their goals through the use of the same statutory approaches—and in some communities, the same organizations—that animal protectionists did. In 1875, after Henry Bergh, founder of the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (ASPCA), personally intervened in a case of severe child abuse, his colleague Elbridge T. Gerry launched the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. In subsequent years, humane societies in many smaller communities incorporated the prevention of cruelty to children and animals into their charters. By 1909, a report of the American Humane Association indicated that there were approximately 348 active societies, including 104 exclusively devoted to animals, 45 to children, and 185 to both concerns.

The early animal protection movement's only legislative achievement at the federal level came in 1873 with passage of the Twenty-Eight Hour Law governing the handling and treatment of animals en route to slaughter. The law specified that cattle in transit be watered, fed, and rested at least once every twenty-eight hours. Humane organizations devoted considerable time and effort to promoting and ensuring compliance, but the law proved a practical failure as railway companies, shippers, and stockmen ignored it. The fact that they faced only modest punishment on those occasions when federal officials acted to enforce the statute did not help either. Eventually, the advent of motor transport of animals to slaughter rendered the law entirely irrelevant.

While endowed with enforcement power, most anticruelty societies quickly shifted from prosecution to education as the best way to prevent animal suffering. Humane advocates emphasized the importance of early childhood socialization and devoted considerable resources to the production and distribution of humane literature. Between 1900 and 1920, they campaigned for compulsory humane education instruction in public schools and succeeded in passing a requirement in approximately twenty-five states.

During the same period, organized animal protection, concerned largely with domestic animals during its first forty years, began to incorporate wildlife issues into its purview. The humane movement's characteristic concerns in regard to wildlife—concern for the pain of individual animals, heightened appreciation for their biological and behavioral needs, and apprehension about the demoralization of those who killed or mistreated them—were manifest in the movement's campaigns against hunting, the steel

trap, zoos and other captive animal displays, and the use of animals in circuses, vaudeville, and cinematic performances.

In the years following World War I, the movement began to decline, as the rationalization and expansion of animal use in such arenas as food and fiber production, and animal research, testing, and education intensified. Always more successful in addressing the cruelty that individuals committed, animal protectionists found it difficult to wage effective campaigns against institutionalized usage on a mass scale. Targeted interests also succeeded in gaining exemptions from anticruelty statutes, placing entire categories of animal use outside the reach of reformers.

As the horse gave way to the automobile, animal protection groups shifted their focus to the numerous problems associated with companion animals, working to curb overpopulation, providing a humane death to unwanted dogs and cats, promoting basic veterinary care, and enforcing anticruelty statutes. In one community after another, humane societies assumed responsibility for municipal animal control. The decision of many local societies to assume this burden complicated the challenge of advancing humane standards in more controversial arenas. The problem of companion animal overpopulation took up much of the movement's time and resources. Anticruelty societies provided kennel space, facilities, and hospitals to house, treat, and euthanize animals. Such commitment of their resources precluded any possibility of their continued pursuit of national goals such as humane slaughter, the abolition of the leghold trap, and the regulation of animal use in laboratories.

During the middle decades of the twentieth century, the American Humane Association (AHA), which served as the umbrella organization for the nation's animal protection societies, focused most of its attention on the animal control issues that preoccupied its membership. Although the AHA never fully relinquished the broader concerns of the nineteenth-century movement, it failed to invest significant resources in their advancement. Animal protection thus became a staid and largely uncontroversial movement that attended to the problems of pet keeping. It was highly decentralized, inasmuch as most SPCAs were not formally linked to one another. It had no federal agenda and no presence in Washington, D.C. There were no federal anticruelty statutes, as in other nations, and the movement had gained negligible regulatory and legislative success at the federal level in three-quarters of a century.

During its first seventy-five years as a social movement, animal protection was relatively successful in stigmatizing individual cruelty as demoralizing and socially dangerous, and in promoting the idea of kindness toward animals as a desirable attribute of a well-balanced personality. On the other hand, the movement did not respond well to the use of animals in institutional contexts where abuse and neglect were largely invisible to the public. The humane movement's traditional categories of cruelty and kindness were in some ways inadequate to encompass animal use in these new areas.

Although animal protection was not a politically radical movement, animal protectionists did undertake an ambitious agenda of reform that encompassed the realms of transportation, sanitation, recreation, fashion, food production, science, education, conservation, labor, and commerce. Its concerns sometimes intersected with those of middle-class campaigns for public health, urban order, temperance, child rescue, food safety, railroad regulation, Americanization, public education, conservation, country life, bird preservation, nature study, and the protection of patients from unethical medical procedures.

It is worth noting, too, that its advent marked a crucial benchmark in the evolution of human ethics. Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century animal protectionists were responsible for launching the first historically meaningful initiatives to expand moral concern beyond the species barrier. Their extension of moral consideration to nonhuman life set a precedent whose implications continue to unfold in the early twenty-first century.

The Renaissance of Humane Work

After World War II, converging trends in demographics, animal utilization, science, technology, moral philosophy, and popular culture laid the groundwork for the humane movement's renaissance. Disturbed by the atrophy of the movement's once broad agenda for reform, two new organizations, the Animal Welfare Institute (1951) and the Humane Society of the United States (1954), entered the field. They revived early twentieth-century initiatives for humane slaughter, the regulation of laboratory animal use, and the abolition of the steel leghold trap, and set their sights on national legislation. The new organizations adopted moderate and gradualist approaches, advancing ideas for regulatory change, federal intervention, and reform of specific practices that resulted in unnecessary suffering or abuse.

The controversy over using pound animals in research, testing, and education was a crucial factor in

the movement's revitalization. During the 1950s, increased expenditure on biomedical research resulted in growing pressure from scientific institutions for access to pound and shelter animals. Efforts to force compliance upon humane societies provoked serious objections within the humane community, and animal advocates fought hard to overcome pound seizure legislation.

In 1958, organized animal protection secured its first federal victory in eighty-five years, the Humane Methods of Slaughter Act, confronting opposition from industry and Jewish organizations to secure a law that prohibited the practices of hoisting and shackling conscious animals and the use of poleaxes (manually wielded sledgehammers) for stunning. Kosher slaughterhouses were immune from the law, which specifically defined *shehitah* (kosher slaughter) as humane. The Humane Methods of Slaughter Act specified that "No government agency may buy meat or meat products from any packer who in any of his plants, or a plant of any subsidiary company, slaughters animals inhumanely or handles animals inhumanely in connection with slaughter." When the law passed, the government was purchasing about $300 million worth of meat per year, and the provision affected most of the nation's largest packers.

In the early 1960s, the humane movement set its sights on enactment of legislation that addressed the treatment of animals in laboratories. Despite determined opposition from the biomedical research community, the Animal Welfare Act passed, making it a federal crime for any facility to purchase or transport dogs or cats in interstate commerce without a license from the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA), and to require research facilities to purchase animals from licensed dealers. It also required research facilities and dealers to keep records of purchase, sale, transportation, identification, and previous owners' shipping of the animals. In addition, it set standards for housing, feeding, sanitation, ventilation, separation by species, and adequate veterinary care.

In both of these campaigns, animal welfare organizations made skillful use of elite political connections to combat the extraordinary advantages enjoyed by their targets—well-financed and influential interests with strong ties to the national legislature. At the same time, animal protection began to build a grassroots base. By the 1970s, the movement had become more sophisticated in its efforts to generate popular political pressure, and there were a number of major new organizations in the field, including Alice Herrington's Friends of Animals (1957), Helen Jones's National Catholic Society for Animal Welfare (1959), Cleveland Amory's Fund for Animals (1967), Belton Mouras's Animal Protection Institute (1968), and Brian Davies's International Fund for Animal Welfare (1969). Several of these groups began to speak of animals' "rights" in their promotional literature, and Jones reincorporated her organization as the International Society for Animal Rights in 1980 to reflect the changing rhetorical and philosophical landscapes.

Wildlife concerns, which had received only limited attention from the pre–World War II movement, gained an increased share of attention during the 1960s. Rising social interest in wildlife protection, perhaps spurred by the explosive growth of the human population, the development and depletion of natural resources, and an unprecedented destruction of habitat, led environmental organizations to emphasize animals' interests, too, and some species became iconic in environmental campaigns. Whales, seals, dolphins, and pandas all became symbols of international campaigns to protect animals and the environment.

A crucial trend of increased scientific interest in animal consciousness also influenced the course of animal protection. From the 1950s onward, pioneering ethologists following in the path of Konrad Lorenz and Niko Tinbergen introduced the scientific method to field study, and their naturalistic studies of animal behavior demonstrated the complex mental and emotional capacities of nonhuman animals. This knowledge filtered into media programming and published works, spurring broad popular interest in animals. The pronounced anthropomorphism of some programs, imputing human qualities to nonhuman animals (as in "Bambi" or "Lassie") shaped popular sympathy and attitudes as well.

The rise of ethology as a scientific field also generated serious philosophical debate concerning animals' cognition, subjectivity, and moral status. During the late 1960s, the question of human obligations to nonhuman animals became a topic of discussion within academic philosophy. The publication of Peter Singer's *Animal Liberation* in 1975 provided a crucial stimulus. Although other works preceded it, *Animal Liberation* nevertheless marked the historical moment at which the question penetrated the broader public sphere. Singer provided the cause with a rational ideology that sought to stigmatize speciesism as a form of discrimination, like sexism or racism. Singer's work—part philosophy lesson, part activist manual, part cookbook—gave the animal movement an ideological framework broad enough to encompass nearly

all of its factions. Although Singer did not advance a theory of "rights," many have dubbed his book the "bible of the animal rights movement."

The Animal Rights Era Begins

Henry Spira, a New York schoolteacher with a long background of labor activism, was one of those influenced by *Animal Liberation*. In 1976, Spira launched Animal Rights International in order to apply the strategic principles of the postwar era's rights-based movements to the problem of animal suffering. Spira's ability to mobilize diverse factions brought stunning success to a cause that had seen very few clear victories before his involvement. After Spira-led campaigns ended controversial experiments at the American Museum of Natural History, overturned much-hated pound seizure legislation in New York State, and persuaded major cosmetics companies to invest in nonanimal methods research, other activists began to emulate his approach. During the course of these and related campaigns, popular discourse began to acknowledge the movement's adherents as "animal rights advocates" rather than "animal lovers."

By the 1980s, a significant cycle of group formation was in full swing. The emerging organizations, such as People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA, 1980), Trans-Species Unlimited (1981), In Defense of Animals (1983), and Last Chance for Animals (1985), adopted challenging rhetoric and tactics, transforming animal rights into a grassroots-based movement for the first time. Community-level groups formed all over the country, as a new generation of activists pushed the issues with direct action techniques and dramatic campaigns that targeted laboratory animal facilities, circuses, rodeos, fur salons, bird shoots, restaurants, and other sites. By 1984, civil disobedience, site blockage, and sit-ins were common tactics. Advocates even went into the woods to challenge the constitutionality of "hunter harassment legislation" passed in a number of states. The issue of animals' treatment gained ground in the media.

More than any other group, PETA represented the new militancy and hard-edged campaign style typical of the new era. In 1981, the group launched an undercover investigation of a primate researcher in Silver Spring, Maryland. Just three years later, the organization drew virtually the entire cohort of humane organizations into a similar investigation of head injury research involving baboons at the University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine, with disturbing videotape evidence generated by the experimenters themselves. PETA sought to advance the cause through a host of controversial tactics and campaigns.

Outside of a department store in East Grand Rapids, Michigan, on December 30, 1997, fur-dressed members of People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals sit in cages to protest the overcrowding of animals on fur farms. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

The Humane Society of the United States (HSUS), on the other hand, embodied the movement's increasing professionalization, employing a learned cadre of staff members with academic and scientific credentials in specialized disciplines that focused on animals and their well-being. The HSUS and other older groups continued to operate with rhetorical restraint and generally moderate goals, while trying to develop greater access to policy networks where decisions about animal use were being made. However, the advent of a burgeoning grassroots movement in the 1980s also sparked innovation and dynamic change in their approaches. They, too, were strengthened by the groundswell of interest in the issues and assumed an important role in providing assistance and advice to activists at all levels.

In the wake of the research scandals in Maryland and Pennsylvania, advocates seeking to strengthen the Animal Welfare Act succeeded in the passage of

the Dole/Brown amendments (1985). This new enactment added community representatives to the animal care committees of institutions that employed animals in research. The Dole/Brown amendments also required minimum standards for physical environments to ensure animals' psychological well-being in captivity, sparking opposition from animal laboratories on the grounds of excessive cost and inconvenience.

By 1985, nurtured by professionals within and outside of the movement, and driven by rising popular concern about animals, a science of animal welfare emerged, drawing on ethology, veterinary medicine, psychology, and other disciplines. Applied animal welfare science began to exert a significant impact on the debate over animal use in a wide variety of areas. The movement's effort to institutionalize the alternatives approach in research, testing, and education was instructive. As targeted industries discovered the financial, scientific, and time-saving advantages of newer techniques, the search for nonanimal methodologies developed its own momentum and gained credibility with corporate, government, and academic scientists charged with policy and development.

Animal rights advocates have frequently sought to link their cause to the African-American freedom struggle and the women's rights campaigns of the second half of the twentieth century. These movements undoubtedly had an influence on many supporters, even though the formal links between animal rights and other social reforms have been and remain minimal. The rights-based movements of the post–World War II period have certainly provided animal rights advocates with a "master frame"—a frame of reference through which those involved with a given reform envision and characterize their objectives, a sense of agency and moral urgency, and an array of useful tactics, mobilization techniques, and strategies. Even though sociology has generally characterized animal rights (along with antinuclear politics and environmentalism) as "a new social movement"—one that draws together people whose own lives and rights are basically secure but who nevertheless share views about the importance of changes in social, cultural, and political consciousness—many participants do conceive of animal rights as a justice-based movement.

Scholarship on the social composition of the animal rights movement has waned in recent years, but some conclusions were common to all of the studies undertaken between 1975 and 1995. Women have greatly outnumbered men in levels of participation. The majority of animal rights advocates are white and are from middle- and upper-class backgrounds. They generally enjoy higher levels of education than most Americans, and they are not associated with traditional religious institutions. A high percentage have companion animals in their homes.

The Animal Rights Movement in the Twenty-first Century

During the last decade of the twentieth century, the movement began to shift from grassroots protest toward the penetration of policy networks where it could exert a greater long-term influence on laws and regulations governing animal use. Although attempts to secure legislation frequently failed, they sometimes helped to drive an issue in the right direction, highlighting cruel practices in the slaughtering industry or the unnecessary duplication of experiments, for example. At the same time, the movement's legislative and regulatory achievements did not typically redress the fundamental defect of many extant statutes—that certain species are omitted from coverage. Despite their vast numbers and their demonstrated capacity to suffer, poultry are not protected under the Humane Slaughter Act, and mice and rats are not protected under the Animal Welfare Act.

The movement faces special problems in making use of antiquated statutes containing explicit exemptions for broad areas of animal usage. Probably in no other arena of social significance has statutory law remained as static as animal protection. In an encouraging trend, animal organizations have succeeded in their recent efforts to upgrade violations of state anticruelty statutes to felony status. The HSUS and the Fund for Animals have also teamed up in over a dozen successful ballot referendum initiatives at the state level, allowing voters to impose limits on cruelty even if their elected representatives have declined to do so.

In the United States, the challenge of securing standing to sue has been a major obstacle for advocates seeking to make use of the courts. The Animal Legal Defense Fund worked diligently on this problem in a series of cases heard during the 1990s. Launching the Great Ape Project, an international coalition sought to gain three basic rights for chimpanzees, bonobos, gorillas, and orangutans—not to be deprived of life, not to be subjected to torture or cruel treatment, and not to be subjected to medical or scientific experimentation. By the year 2002, the campaign for animals' legal personhood had made

significant inroads within several national constitutions and statutory frameworks. Although the situation had not progressed so far in the United States, a record number of law schools were offering animal law courses, and the author of one popular title—*Rattling the Cage*—was arguing for the legal personhood of some animals on the basis of their complex consciousness.

In the 1990s, Henry Spira began to apply his strategies to the use of animals for food, and during the same decade a handful of single-issue organizations like the Farm Animal Reform Movement, Farm Sanctuary, the Humane Farming Association, and United Poultry Concerns made important efforts to shift the movement's focus to the suffering of cows, pigs, chickens, and other domestic animals consumed as food. In this arena, anticruelty statutes cede determination of what is cruel entirely to the industries that use them, and not surprisingly, concern for the physical and psychological well-being of animals is the lowest priority. By 1998, the number of animals killed for food neared 9.5 billion.

As bad as things appeared, there were hopeful signs on the horizon. A cluster of promising and effective organizational strategies devoted to farm animal concerns had emerged. Several major fast-food chains acquiesced to campaigns that pushed them to enforce animal welfare standards upon the companies that supplied them meat. For the first time, the devastating environmental impact of factory farming began to attract serious attention from major environmental organizations. Finally, millions of Americans began to modify their diets in accordance with concerns about global hunger, environmental loss, animal welfare, and personal health, a trend that resulted in an expanding and self-sustaining "humane economy" that both supplies and reinforces marketplace expressions of affinity with animals.

Certain topics in animal rights remain contentious. A significant minority of activists believe that the principles of animal rights are violated by anything less than abolitionist perspectives and strategies, and have sternly criticized the broader movement's pursuit of limited measures that, it is argued, entrench animal use rather than weaken it. A robust internal debate about illegal actions has also characterized the last two decades. Although a few individuals believe that animals should be liberated "by any means necessary," illegal actions comprise a very small part of the movement's activity, and violent actions virtually no part at all.

In fact, over just two decades, the animal rights movement's critique of institutional usage of animals has become familiar and even conventional. During that time, the movement has prompted serious discussion of the moral status of animals, stimulated a science of animal welfare, reduced or eliminated several categories of animal use, made strong inroads into popular culture, and gained modest influence in relevant public policy networks. In addition, the movement has consistently sought to frame its issues in the light of broader reform concerns. Quite apart from the ethical challenges they have raised, animal advocates have highlighted questions of immense practical importance for human beings, like sustainable food policy, effective programs for ensuring product safety, and environmental preservation. Fueled by the diffusion of its values into popular culture, higher education, literature, and the arts, the movement's efforts seem likely to bring the status of animals into sharper focus as these and other major issues are addressed in the future.

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Appropriate Technology Movement

Although the historical roots of the American appropriate technology (AT) movement run deep in American soil, the AT movement proper originated with British economist E.F. Schumacher's efforts during the late 1950s and early 1960s to formulate an alternative strategy of economic development for the Third World. Drawing on the philosophy and economic ideas of Mohandas Gandhi and on his own experience as a development consultant for the government of Burma (Myanmar), Schumacher attributed the intractability of Third World poverty to development strategies based on Western models of industrialization. The relatively abrupt introduction of complex, highly capitalized technologies into countries lacking a commensurate technical and institutional infrastructure, he argued, actually accelerated the depopulation of rural areas and undermined whatever industry had taken hold there while pushing villagers toward already overcrowded cities. The result was heightened poverty, increased economic dependence on industrialized nations, and the careless destruction of fragile ecosystems and traditional cultures. At the core of Schumacher's program was a call for technology "appropriate" to the context in which it was to be deployed. In the developing world, this meant technologies that were small in scale, democratically controllable, labor (rather than capital) intensive, environmentally sustainable, and adaptable to local cultural conditions.

E.F. Schumacher and Appropriate Technology

In 1965, Schumacher and a small group of like-minded individuals formed the Intermediate Technology Development Group (ITDG) to put the concept of "intermediate" technology—which would soon be renamed "appropriate" in order to avoid any suggestion that it was second-rate—into practice. Enthusiasm for the ITDG's approach to development soon gave rise to an international social movement with its own organizations, publications, and projects. Hundreds of AT organizations came into existence during the 1970s (author and historian Kirkpatrick Sale places the number at over 2,000 by 1980) and began working with private investors, foundations, universities, governments, international aid agencies, and United Nations organizations.

With the movement well under way in the international development arena (although still hovering around the periphery of mainstream development thinking), Schumacher and his colleagues began to turn their attention to the "overdeveloped" countries of the industrialized world. The notion that appropriate technology might be applicable to industrialized nations was implicit from the start in the movement's critique of conventional development strategies. Although that critique grew out of a concern over the transfer of environmentally and socially destructive practices to the developing world, the practices themselves were the product of nearly two centuries of industrial development in what is now called the First World. Schumacher and his colleagues acknowledged that industrialization had brought great prosperity to the societies in which it had taken root, but they were quick to add that the environmental and social costs of this prosperity—resource depletion, pollution, growing inner-city and rural poverty, and so on—were becoming increasingly unsustainable. By the late 1960s, appropriate technologists suggested that the insights they had honed in developing nations could provide the basis for a social and environmental renewal in the industrialized world as well.

That appropriate technologists began to focus their attention on the industrialized world—and particularly on the United States, as the leading industrial nation—follows logically from the premises of appro-

priate technology itself. What is less clear is why so many Americans—including President Jimmy Carter, who invited Schumacher for a private White House consultation—found the concept attractive. Why, in other words, did a movement seeking to place limits on technology resonate in a country so clearly enamored of industrial progress? The movement's appeal owed much to a tradition of decentralist thought and action running from Thomas Jefferson, the Populists, and Henry George through Lewis Mumford, Ralph Borsodi, Dwight Macdonald, Paul Goodman, Murray Bookchin, and others. It also owed a good deal to World War II, which represented a watershed in the development and criticism of large-scale technology and the concomitant centralization of political and economic power. Much of the intellectual debate during the 1950s was driven by fears that these developments had given rise to a "mass society" that threatened to undermine democratic institutions, meaningful work, and a rich and varied culture. Fueling these fears was the emergence of an unprecedented postwar alliance of science, industry, and government—what President Dwight Eisenhower eventually dubbed the "military-industrial complex." That alliance spurred a number of developments that would become future targets of the AT movement, including the creation of a nuclear energy industry and the dramatic acceleration of industrialized agriculture. For all of these reasons, Americans had become increasingly receptive to the AT movement's argument for technological restraint.

Small Is Beautiful

The 1960s and 1970s provided particularly fertile ground for the growth of the AT movement. The movement burst onto the American scene (thanks largely to the publication of Schumacher's immensely popular book, *Small Is Beautiful: A Study of Economics As If People Mattered*, in 1973) just as large numbers of Americans were becoming aware of the dangers of chemical toxicity and suburban sprawl, and just as the nation entered a period marked by recurrent energy crises, nuclear accidents, stagflation, and worsening inner-city and rural poverty. The arrival of the AT movement also coincided with a painful military defeat in Southeast Asia, made all the more humiliating by the overwhelming technological superiority of the American armed forces. Beyond the defeat itself, the immense technological destruction inflicted on Vietnam and Cambodia suggested—at least to those who opposed the war—that the American notion of technological progress had somehow gone awry. This concern had already surfaced in the political and cultural rebellions of the 1960s, both of which contributed significantly to American enthusiasm for appropriate technology. Indeed, by the time Schumacher arrived in America to promote his book, an indigenous appropriate technology movement—in conception if not in name—had already emerged out of the late-1960s confluence of new leftist and countercultural activity. Consequently, Schumacher found in this country a relatively small but highly receptive audience.

The AT movement had much in common with the New Left. A number of prominent American appropriate technologists took part in the nuclear disarmament, civil rights, free speech, and antiwar movements. More important, the AT movement as a whole shared the New Left's commitment to participatory democracy, its ambivalence toward the centralized power of the liberal state, its uneasiness over the disparity between American material abundance and Third World poverty, and its conviction that "the personal is the political." Despite its affinities with the New Left, however, the AT movement drew more heavily on the counterculture for its inspiration. To begin with, the New Left's calls for violent Socialist revolution, which came just as the indigenous American AT movement was beginning to coalesce, were completely alien to the AT movement's ideological sensibilities. And while the New Left focused primarily on mobilizing oppressed constituencies to confront established institutional power directly through demonstrations and acts of civil disobedience, the counterculture sought to bring about social change by creating alternative institutions—food and craft cooperatives, free schools and clinics, small businesses, and so on—aimed at forming a new culture in the shell of the old. Although the New Left and counterculture converged in many respects as the 1960s progressed, it was the counterculture's emphasis on prefigurative institution building, rather than the New Left's emphasis on confrontation, that provided the more important model for appropriate technologists.

The most immediate impetus for the emergence of an indigenous AT movement in the late 1960s was the counterculture's impulse to go "back to the land." Frequently lacking the skill, knowledge, and tools necessary for self-reliant rural living, back-to-the-landers created a set of needs addressed most famously by Stewart Brand's *Whole Earth Catalog*. The catalog quickly became a defining icon of the counterculture and a major clearinghouse for the hardware and ideas of the budding AT movement. Although

At the New Alchemy Institute in Cape Cod, Massachusetts, E.F. Schumacher (left), advocate of alternative technology and author of *Small Is Beautiful*, sits with Robert Swann, founder of the E.F. Schumacher Society. *(Photo by Hilda Maingay, courtesy of the E.F. Schumacher Society, Great Barrington, MA, www.smallisbeautiful.org)*

Brand and several other members of the Whole Earth circle eventually abandoned the AT movement to promote the wonders of a high-tech corporate economy (following in the footsteps of their intellectual mentor, iconoclastic architect and designer Buckminster Fuller), the *Whole Earth Catalog*'s successor publications, the most recent of which is a quarterly entitled *Whole Earth*, remain an important venue for many appropriate technologists.

Organizational Growth and Alliances

Appropriate technologists established a wide array of organizations, most of which reached maturity during the 1970s and 1980s, and many of which still exist today. Some have worked in rural settings, such as the Land Institute in Salina, Kansas, and the federally funded Appropriate Technology Transfer for Rural Areas (ATTRA) in Fayetteville, Arkansas. Others have worked in urban settings, such as the Center for Neighborhood Technology in Chicago and the Institute for Local Self-Reliance in Washington, D.C., and Minneapolis. Although most AT organizations have operated in the nonprofit sector, the National Center for Appropriate Technology in Butte, Montana (of which ATTRA is an offshoot) was established by the federal government, although it has had to rely increasingly on foundation grants and for-profit consulting since the budget cuts of the Reagan era. Still other AT organizations—notably the Real Goods Trading Company in Willits and Hopland, California—have taken the form of for-profit corporations, albeit with an educational and social mission.

The goals and strategies of AT organizations also vary widely. The movement is best known for the development and dissemination of appropriate hardware, ranging from composting toilets to renewable energy technologies. Perhaps the most far-reaching effort along these lines—and one that clearly reflects the

ideological bent of the movement—is the New Alchemy Institute's (NAI) development of "bioshelters." Designed as enclosed ecosystems integrating agriculture, aquaculture, and renewable energy, these "living machines," as they were later called, consist of carefully arranged plants, fish, and microorganisms housed in solar-powered greenhouses. John Todd, cofounder of the NAI and Ocean Arks International (NAI's successor organization), envisions this emergent technology not only as a means of transforming houses from energy sinks into food- and energy-producing units (NAI's original goal), but also as a means of purifying industrially polluted water, treating sewage, reversing desertification, providing a sustainable alternative to industrial agriculture, promoting individual and community self-reliance, generating useful employment in low-income areas, and alleviating world hunger.

Although the majority of AT organizations have focused on concrete technologies, others have devoted themselves to establishing an array of appropriate institutions intended to work hand in glove with appropriate hardware. Leading the way in this effort has been the E.F. Schumacher Society in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, which has actively promoted the proliferation of small farms and businesses, cooperatives, community land trusts, local currencies, and decentralized banking systems responsive to the needs of low-income communities in both rural and urban areas.

Still other AT organizations—notably the Rocky Mountain Institute (RMI) in Snowmass, Colorado—have focused on the difficult task of enticing and pressuring multinational corporations to act in accordance with the environmental and social goals of the AT movement. Although this effort does not reflect—and perhaps even conflicts with—the anticorporate ideology of the AT movement, even the more radical AT organizations view the RMI's work as essential, if only to stave off ecological catastrophe until a more equitable and sustainable set of economic institutions can be created.

Ecology and Revitalization of Rural Society

The American AT movement overlaps with several other postwar social movements and bears a particularly close relationship with the environmental movement. Indeed, the AT movement is frequently described as a subset of the environmental movement, largely because appropriate technologists have focused on developing a technology in harmony with, and in some cases modeled on, natural systems. Appropriate technology, in this view, is simply "green technology." Yet this interpretation obscures more than it explains. To begin with, the environmental movement is itself divided between reform environmentalism and radical ecologism, and radical ecologism is further divided between "deep" and "social" ecology, among other tendencies. Although appropriate technologists have drawn heavily on a few of the ideological strains running through radical ecologism—especially bioregionalism and Murray Bookchin's version of social ecology—they have rejected both deep ecology's overwhelming emphasis on wilderness preservation and reform environmentalism's failure to push for systemic social change. Even Bookchin, whose brand of social ecology is the environmental movement's closest analogue to the AT movement, has devoted most of his energies to advancing an "eco-anarchist" political transformation that few appropriate technologists have embraced with any fervor. More broadly, outside of Bookchin's small circle of social ecologists and a nascent environmental justice movement, environmentalists have expressed little interest in issues of social equity. In contrast, appropriate technologists have long given equal weight to environmental sustainability and social equity. So while the AT and environmental movements are closely related, they are best understood as distinct phenomena.

The AT movement is also closely related to the sustainable agriculture movement. Indeed, the two are so closely linked that it is frequently impossible to tell them apart. Several prominent AT organizations—including the New Alchemy Institute on Cape Cod, the Farallones Institute in northern California, Karl Hess's Community Technology in Washington, D.C., the E.F. Schumacher Society, the Center for Neighborhood Technology, and others—have devoted their energies to developing and promoting sustainable agriculture. Similarly, several prominent sustainable agriculture organizations—notably the Land Institute in Salina, Kansas, and the Center for Rural Affairs in Walthill, Nebraska—have combined their agricultural work with the development and advocacy of appropriate technology. It should also be noted that a number of appropriate technologists have suggested that sustainable agriculture is itself an appropriate technology.

Appropriate technologists working in the countryside have not only developed techniques and hardware suitable for sustainable agriculture, but they have also pushed for public policy reforms aimed at

weakening the corporate grip on agriculture, reversing the concentration of land ownership, revitalizing rural communities, and promoting ecological farming. For example, the Center for Rural Affairs, which is widely recognized for its efforts to help small farmers develop and adopt renewable energy technologies, is also the premier family farm advocacy group in the country, regularly sending its representatives to Washington to testify before congressional committees and mounting local, state, and national campaigns to persuade voters to press their elected officials for reform.

Appropriate technologists' abiding interest in sustainable agriculture derives directly from their effort to restore and protect the economic integrity of rural areas. They are convinced that this will require not only the development of a new technological basis for rural manufacturing, but also the reversal of the rapidly escalating industrialization of agriculture. The more farmers spend on expensive machinery and chemical inputs from the city, the less they retain in profits that might otherwise be spent and respent within the rural economy. As a result, appropriate technologists argue, rural communities are rapidly becoming impoverished internal colonies as overgrown cities drain their resources and then dump cheap goods into their vulnerable markets. Appropriate technologists working in sustainable agriculture have thus made the substitution of ecological knowledge and small-scale technology for expensive off-farm inputs an important element of their strategy for rural economic development.

Although appropriate technologists have been deeply concerned with the revitalization of rural communities and have frequently called for "decentralization" (the meaning of which is a subject of considerable debate within the AT movement), they are no more anti-city than they are anti-technology. In both cases, they simply seek a sustainable and equitable middle road between primitivism and overdevelopment. From the AT movement's perspective, the question is not whether cities should continue to exist, but rather what form they should take, both technologically and politically. Rejecting the giant, sprawling megalopolis, appropriate technologists instead tend to advocate small and medium-sized cities capable of providing cultural, educational, and economic stimulation without overwhelming rural communities. Overlapping with the "new urbanism" of Peter Calthorpe and others, the AT movement has also advocated an infill strategy for renovating suburbia that would result in densely settled, clearly articulated communities in which residential life and commercial activity are tightly integrated, industrial activity is carefully tailored to the ecological requirements of the landscape, and easily accessible public spaces encourage a vibrant civic life while providing ample opportunities to appreciate and use nature.

Conclusion

Within cities themselves, a number of AT organizations have worked to revitalize impoverished neighborhoods by promoting material self-reliance and thus protecting them from the same extractive corporate economy that threatens the countryside. Strategically, this effort began by establishing a range of neighborhood-level institutions promoting democratic participation and neighborhood self-reliance in energy, food, shelter, and other basic needs. In the long run, however, urban AT organizations have shifted away from neighborhood self-reliance toward the more realistic regional approach of developing symbiotic relationships between *partially* self-reliant inner-city neighborhoods and sustainable farms in nearby urban hinterlands. Some AT organizations have moved beyond the movement's preference for prefigurative politics to mount citywide opposition to various mega-projects—sports arenas, redundant airports, and, in the case of Chicago's Center for Neighborhood Technology, the "Deep Tunnel" drainage system—that divert municipal funds from impoverished neighborhoods. Similarly, they have campaigned to end red-lining in the banking industry.

In whatever context it has operated, the AT movement has been guided by a social vision emphasizing democratic participation, ecological sustainability, and a widespread distribution of productive wealth. Without rejecting cities, technology, or even ethically constrained market mechanisms, the movement has instead taken aim at the technological gigantism and concentration of wealth accompanying corporate capitalism. Against that economic system and its degradation of both human and ecological communities, appropriate technologists have held out hope for a more sustainable relationship with nature and a more equitable distribution of the fruits of industry and agriculture.

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Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Movement

Introduction

Although the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender (LGBT) civil rights movement has made enormous progress politically in the United States since the end of World War II, especially in changing public attitudes and working with elected officials, the policy issues that most concern LGBT persons remain very much the same. The most important are employment discrimination, marriage, and military service. Sodomy laws remained on the list until June 2003, when the United States Supreme Court overturned its 1986 *Bowers v. Hardwick* decision as part of a decision, *Lawrence v. Texas*, striking down the Texas state sodomy law, and, by implication, all sodomy laws.

Sodomy

U.S. Supreme Court justice Antonin Scalia verified the importance of sodomy laws for the LGBT civil rights movement with his dissent in *Romer v. Evans* (1996). The majority opinion in that case struck down Colorado's Amendment 2, a popular initiative amending the state constitution to repeal all existing LGBT civil rights laws in the state and prohibit the enactment of future ones. Noting the majority's failure to address the 1986 *Bowers v. Hardwick* decision, in which the Supreme Court upheld Georgia's sodomy law against a challenge based on privacy rights, Scalia argued that, if states could prohibit the conduct that defines the class, it was absurd to suggest that states could not also regulate the class in virtually any other manner they saw fit.

Most sodomy laws went largely unenforced. Even without actual prosecutions, however, they could have effects on LGBT persons by creating the presumption that such persons are criminals and by installing official hostility to them in the law. Reasoning similarly to Justice Scalia, legislators and state judges sometimes took the existence of a sodomy law as an indication that the people of the state could and should discriminate against LGBT persons in other ways. State judges denied custody to LGBT parents simply by noting that such parents presumably violated the state's sodomy law, making them unfit.

Until 1961, every state plus the District of Columbia prohibited sodomy, variously defined. The first spate of repeals, beginning with Illinois, resulted not from LGBT social movement activity but from a drive to overhaul penal codes in all states under the auspices of the American Law Institute, which considered consensual, noncommercial sexual activity a private matter that states should not regulate. Many states resisted this change, however. Given the Supreme Court's apparent elaboration of a right to privacy in various cases dating back to 1965, LGBT activists expected it would strike down state sodomy laws all at once given the opportunity. In 1986, however, in *Bowers v. Hardwick*, the Court upheld Georgia's sodomy law against a privacy challenge.

Although this seemed like an enormous setback for the movement at the time, it led to a spate of challenges to sodomy laws under state constitutions, which succeeded in Kentucky, Montana, Minnesota, Tennessee, and, ironically, Georgia (state courts in Alaska, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, and Pennsylvania invalidated sodomy laws before *Bowers v. Hardwick*). Although most observers considered state court challenges the only viable route to eliminating sodomy laws, activists in Rhode Island achieved legislative repeal in 1998 in part by cooperating with disability rights activists, who explained to legislators that for many persons with motor impairments, acts prohibited under the statute were their only means of sexual gratification.

A prosecution in Texas for sodomy led to *Lawrence v. Texas*, which the United States Supreme Court decided in June 2003. Few Supreme Court decisions better illustrate the impact of a social movement than *Lawrence*. Nothing about the law had changed in the seventeen years since *Bowers* except that four states, including Texas, had adopted sodomy laws directed exclusively at same-sex couples. In a concurring opin-

ion, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor pointed to the fact that the Texas statute discriminated on its face against same-sex couples to argue for overturning that statute on the basis of the Constitution's guarantee of equal protection of the laws. Her logic would have left sodomy laws standing in those states where they did not specify same-sex couples.

In the majority opinion, by contrast, Justice Anthony Kennedy explicitly overturned *Bowers*, arguing that the Constitutional right to privacy included the right of consenting adults to enjoy what forms of sexual intimacy they chose without interference from the state. In the long run, what may be more significant than the result was the fact that Kennedy couched his decision in terms that bespoke substantial respect for LGBT persons and their relationships, in sharp contrast to the condemnation that rang forth from the majority opinion in *Bowers*. He also relied heavily on the arguments of LGBT historians that the automatic connection between sodomy as act and "homosexual" as identity that Scalia took for granted was in fact a relatively recent invention, making doubtful the claim that our society has long used sodomy laws as the mechanism to express its disapproval of LGBT persons. It is hard to escape the conclusion that six justices voted to strike down the Texas sodomy law seventeen years after five justices voted to uphold Georgia's sodomy law, primarily because more justices knew more LGBT persons in 2003 than in 1986.

Employment Discrimination

Employment discrimination became a major issue immediately after World War II as members of Congress strove to purge LGBT employees from the federal bureaucracy during the second Red Scare. In the anti-Communist zeal of the 1950s, many corporations followed the federal government's lead in characterizing LGBT employees as threats to national security. A leading LGBT activist, Franklin Kameny, became an activist after being fired from the Army Map Service in 1957. The federal Civil Service Commission, bowing to a federal appeals court decision, officially announced on July 3, 1975, that it would no longer consider LGBT identity a bar to federal employment.

New York Democratic Representative Bella Abzug introduced a bill in Congress in 1974 that would have prohibited employment discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation by adding it as a protected category to the 1964 Civil Rights Act. That bill never received so much as a committee hearing. Gradually whittled down from a sweeping proposal revising civil rights law to a narrow bill solely addressing employment discrimination, the Employment Nondiscrimination Act (ENDA) failed to pass the United States Senate by one vote in September 1996. Since 1982, twelve states plus the District of Columbia have passed laws prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation; two states, Minnesota and Rhode Island, as well as the District of Columbia, also prohibit discrimination based on gender identity. In addition, over 200 local polities also prohibit discrimination based on sexual orientation.

Marriage

The Senate vote on ENDA resulted from a political compromise that grew out of another major issue, same-sex marriage. The first known instance of a same-sex couple attempting to wed legally involved a gay male couple in Minneapolis in 1970. This and other isolated efforts during the 1970s met with quick dismissal by state courts. During the 1970s and 1980s, many leaders of the growing LGBT civil rights movement considered same-sex marriage a low priority. In part, they expected to lose any legal challenges on the issue, creating only a string of bad precedents. In part, feminist activists considered marriage an inherently sexist institution that lesbians and gay men should eschew as part of their drive to eliminate heterosexism.

Movement leaders lost control of the issue in 1993 when two women in Hawaii challenged the state's refusal to grant them a marriage license with the case *Baehr v. Lewin*. Surprisingly, the state supreme court found a violation of the state constitution's guarantee of equal protection on the basis of gender—if the state allowed a woman to marry a man, then it could only prohibit her from marrying a woman if it could show some compelling interest in doing so. The supreme court remanded the case to the trial court to adjudicate the question of the state's interest in prohibiting same-sex marriage. The trial court found no compelling interest, thus paving the way for same-sex marriage in Hawaii, but in 1998 the state legislature put before the voters a constitutional amendment reinstating the prohibition. It passed easily. Voters amended the Alaska state constitution to overturn a similar state supreme court decision there.

Beginning in 1996, conservative activists provided members of every state legislature with model language for laws to prohibit the recognition of same-sex marriages in their state even if another state began to permit them (until then, all states automatically recognized marriages performed in other states). They also introduced the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA)

in Congress. DOMA restricts marriage for purposes of federal law to the union of one man and one woman, prohibits same-sex couples from receiving federal benefits that opposite-sex couples enjoy, and declares that states may refuse to recognize same-sex marriages performed in other states.

DOMA also had the advantage for conservatives of forcing President Bill Clinton, the nation's most openly pro-LGBT president to date, to sign an anti-LGBT law during an election year. LGBT activists asked Democratic leaders in the Senate to offer ENDA as an amendment to DOMA, which would have put conservatives in the difficult position of having to vote for employment protections if they wanted to vote against same-sex marriage. Instead, the Republican Senate leadership agreed to hold floor debate and a vote on ENDA in return for the Democrats' decision not to amend DOMA with it.

In December 1999, the Vermont state supreme court issued a unanimous ruling finding that the denial of marriage licenses to same-sex couples violated the state's "common benefits" clause, which is broadly analogous to the equal protection clause of the United States Constitution. However, rather than instruct the state to begin issuing marriage licenses to same-sex couples, the court told the state legislature to ensure the same rights under state law for same-sex as for opposite-sex married couples. The legislature had the option of simply permitting same-sex marriage, but instead created a new category of "civil unions." In June 2002, national and state activists filed suit in New Jersey on behalf of seven same-sex couples who demanded that the state allow them to marry. In 2003 and 2004, the Massachusetts courts ruled that same-sex couples had the right to marry. This decision spurred many same-sex couples to plan marriages in that state. In February 2004, despite opposition from Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger, over 3,000 lesbian and gay couples in San Francisco exchanged vows with the support of that city's mayor. Religious and social conservatives have, in turn, pressed the federal government to pass a constitutional amendment to ban same-sex marriages. Many states have also passed laws against same-sex marriage. Polling data conducted in 2004 show large majorities of Americans to be opposed to same-sex marriage. Thus, the issue remains far from resolved on a state and federal level.

Military Service

Military service has played a key role in the development of the LGBT civil rights movement since World War II. The war itself contributed to the emergence of the movement in at least two ways. First, it placed large numbers of young men and women in sex-segregated environments away from home, whether in the armed service or in war-related industries. Second, it created a large cohort of men and women who suffered dishonorable discharges from the military for same-sex sexual activity. A significant number of such veterans saw their discharges as unjust and went on to contribute to the LGBT civil rights movement.

Only in 1975, however, would LGBT activists explicitly take up the issue of the military's ban on openly LGBT service members. That year, the air force began discharge proceedings against Technical Sergeant Leonard Matlovich, who had deliberately revealed his gay identity to his superiors after deciding that he would remain a hypocrite so long as he claimed to fight for freedom and equality in an institution that would discriminate on the basis of sexual orientation. The Uniform Code of Military Justice had long had provisions prohibiting sodomy. The policy that aimed at LGBT identity, as opposed to particular sex acts, resulted in the early 1940s from the increased influence of psychiatrists and the psychiatric evaluation of LGBT identity as mental illness, plus the huge demand for person power, as the nation prepared for World War II. The new policy allowed military leaders to discharge LGBT service members without relying on the relatively cumbersome process of court martial under the sodomy prohibition. Before 1975, of the thousands of service members who suffered discharges, only a few challenged their discharges, and most who did so relied on procedural arguments rather than disputing the substance of the policy. The military's handling of lesbian and gay soldiers vividly illustrated the connections between heterosexism and sexism as women suffered a much higher rate of discharge than men and male service members used rumors and accusations of lesbian identity to harass female service members.

Matlovich's was the most famous of a rash of challenges to the ban beginning in 1975. He appeared on the cover of *Time* magazine and spoke at every opportunity on LGBT civil rights. As a Republican who had served three tours of duty in Vietnam, earning numerous medals and commendations in the process, Matlovich defied stereotypes about gay men.

After 1980, the issue largely disappeared from the view of both the general public and most LGBT persons. It reemerged in 1992 when Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton promised to lift the ban

on LGBT soldiers if elected. The issue became a major political debacle for President Clinton when Republican Senate minority leader Bob Dole raised the issue days after Clinton's inauguration. Conservative activists rallied, producing a deluge of calls and letters to Congress in support of the ban while the LGBT movement suffered from disarrayed leadership and the widespread failure of the rank and file to contact their elected officials. The result in July 1993 was legislation creating the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell, Don't Harass, Don't Pursue" policy. On paper, this policy meant that LGBT service members could continue to serve as long as they remained silent about their identities. In practice, as the new organization Servicemembers Legal Defense Network (SLDN) has documented, discharges of LGBT service members have steadily increased since 1993.

Finally, even as he continued to defend the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy against repeated criticisms, President Clinton added a hate crimes provision to military law, providing increased penalties for crimes in which hatred for the victim's race, ethnicity, religion, sex, or sexual orientation motivated the perpetrator. He did so in 1999 after Barry Winchell, a soldier at Fort Campbell Army Base in Kentucky, died from wounds he suffered when a fellow soldier bludgeoned him with a baseball bat as he slept. The night before, Winchell, who was known to be dating a transgender performer at a Nashville gay bar, had beaten his attacker in a fist fight, leading the attacker to vow revenge.

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Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Movement

1870s–1920s

Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) persons resisted oppression between 1870 and 1920. They occupied readily identifiable spaces in major American cities, earning for those cities a reputation as they had in Europe as hotbeds of perversion. They responded to authorities' increasing efforts at confinement and suppression by concealing themselves in some cases, but by defying the authorities in others.

Defining Homosexuals

Insofar as the term *social movement* denotes individuals organized to achieve social, cultural, and political change on their own behalf, persons in the United States who suffered discrimination on the basis of their gender identity and/or sexual practices did not qualify until after World War II. But 1870 remains a significant year for what would become the lesbian/gay/bisexual/transgender civil rights movement. As of that year, in French philosopher Michel Foucault's terms, "the homosexual was now a species." He meant that defining persons in terms of their gender of sexual object choice was a new idea, one that had as much to do with power relationships as it did with sex. Foucault's characterization has produced vigorous dissent, with scholars from various disciplines insisting that we can sensibly speak of "homosexual," "lesbian," or "gay" individuals and cultures throughout Europe, if not the rest of the world, at least since the Ancient Greeks.

Regardless of one's position on this academic question, it is clear that few social movements have focused so intently on the question of how to define their participants and on struggles between movement activists and various types of experts over those definitions. One of the landmark events in the history of LGBT activism illustrates the point: the decision of the American Psychiatric Association in 1973 to remove "homosexuality" as a mental illness from its official list of disorders, resulting from changes within the profession but also from protest by lesbian/gay social movement activists. Although LGBT activists in the post–World War II period may not have realized it, their debates necessarily revolved around categories and definitions that had changed dramatically and become the explicit focus of intellectual, social, and political contest since the second half of the nineteenth century.

Foucault chose 1870 as the date when "the homosexual" became "a species" because in that year the German researcher Karl Westphal published an article in *Archiv fur Neurologie* describing "contrary sexual feeling." Subsequent scholars usually give 1869 as the key date because Westphal also published a major article on the subject that year. Reflecting the simple fact that the United States during the late nineteenth century remained something of an intellectual backwater compared to Western Europe, the major debates about definitions of and terminology for what would become "homosexuality" initially occurred among German and English authorities.

Such debates gradually came to have a significant impact on American society, especially after 1900. On one hand, as scholars such as Blanche Wiesen Cook have insisted, the large cohort of never-married women who led many of the major reform activities associated with the Gilded Age and Progressive Era must have included many whom we would now call "lesbians." On the other hand, considerable evidence indicates two things: first, that the profuse declarations of love and commitment characteristic of ardent "romantic friendships" between persons of the same sex during the nineteenth century did not necessarily indicate that the friends also had sex with each other; and second, that individuals who did engage in same-sex sexual activity did not necessarily organize their identities and lives around such activity in the manner that we now expect from lesbians and gay men.

That is, sexologists and psychiatrists of the late

nineteenth century created the category "homosexual." Police and medical authorities used it as a reason for arrest, treatment, and other forms of discrimination before World War II, but it did not enter most people's vocabularies until during and after the war, when it increasingly served not only as a reason for discrimination, but also as the basis of resistance by those who suffered such discrimination.

This is not to suggest the complete absence of lesbian and gay subcultures in the United States before World War II. Cities provided a combination of reliable employment and anonymity that allowed gay men especially, but also lesbians (including cases of women who successfully disguised themselves as men for extended periods), to organize their lives around same-sex relationships and activities. Among the most famous American expatriates in Paris during the early twentieth century were the lesbians Natalie Barney, Alice B. Toklas, and Gertrude Stein. But the simple dichotomy "homosexual/heterosexual" utterly fails to capture the complexity of same-sex activity and the range of identities, choices, and cultural forms that participants in such activity created for themselves.

Instead, that dichotomy served well during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as an anchor for middle- and upper-class men who found their masculinity under siege from larger economic, social, and cultural changes. The growing number of men who made their livings as office workers in this period seemed to lack important characteristics of masculinity. This problem coincided with other disturbing phenomena: factories, stores, and offices provided new employment options for women; both male and female factory workers became increasingly militant; the largest wave of immigration in the nation's history brought families with many more children than those of native-born couples; and women suffrage activists challenged gender norms directly. What middle- and upper-class men seemed to be losing in terms of political and cultural authority they could possibly regain by explaining resistance to the prevailing order as a sign of disease. The sexologists, eugenicists, and psychiatrists who conducted research on sexual minorities, creating such categories as "homosexual," "invert," "pervert," and "heterosexual," saw themselves as dispassionate scientists who simply described the world around them. In retrospect, however, anxiety about apparently eroding distinctions of gender and sexuality, but also race and class, clearly motivated their work.

Combining Sexuality with Race, Class, and Gender

Researchers, European or American, between 1870 and 1930 typically condemned lesbian identity much more vigorously than gay male identity. They also found evidence of perversion and its deleterious effects much more widespread among the poor and racial and ethnic minorities. The displacement of political issues into supposedly dispassionate scientific research was perhaps most obvious in the growing tendency to denounce women's rights activists as pathological and describe their alleged betrayal of their sex as an indication of probable lesbian identity. The proposition that "homosexuality" was a disease led most European authorities to oppose criminal penalties for same-sex activity in favor of medical treatment. American doctors, by contrast, often saw criminal penalties as a necessary deterrent to a malady that they associated with the stresses of modernity, one that might therefore spread with the economic and social changes that comprised modernity. In 1917, public health experts consulted with Congress on the creation of psychiatric exclusion categories for an immigration law that had the effect of barring lesbian/gay aliens from entering the country. That prohibition would persist in varying forms until 1990.

Regardless of whether a given expert hoped to help sexual minorities, or protect the larger society from them, their efforts to taxonomize and study sexual and gender deviance created the widespread, deeply entrenched belief that lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender identities define the individuals who exhibit them as at least very different from "normal" and at most seriously ill. This belief in turn created the context in which the post–World War II LGBT civil rights movement would emerge. It spread through American culture only gradually, however. In 1870, a man who had sex with other men, even on a regular basis, could maintain his status as "normal" as long as his general deportment and his role in sexual activities remained properly masculine. Middle-class men and women, quicker to absorb the values and beliefs of medical professionals, first came to think that one's sexual object choice could define one's identity in all areas.

Sexuality and the Emergence of Queer Culture

If "normal" men who had sex with other men remained largely below the radar of sexologists and reformers between 1870 and 1920, "pansies," "dykes,"

and other, more obvious gender and sexual outlaws were highly visible, especially in major cities, demonstrating the limits of conceptual and political control by experts and authorities over the sexual practices and identities of ordinary people. Men had a wide range of options for same-sex sexual expression that involved degrees of gender nonconformity, from masculine "trade" who might lead otherwise ordinary lives as married men but step out for some man sex on occasion, through otherwise unremarkable gay men who remained unmarried but mostly invisible as gay men, to highly visible "fairies" who deliberately flaunted their sexual identities by wearing makeup and women's clothes and congregating in those public establishments that would have them. Even so, where control in the form of taxonomies alone failed, routine police repression remained an important tool for maintaining the boundaries of gender and sexuality.

The sole known effort at gay rights organizing before World War II illustrates how sexual minority identity could make outlaws of individuals. In 1924, Henry Gerber became secretary of a new homosexual rights organization in Chicago, the Society for Human Rights. In 1925, he suffered arrest and several hearings for distributing an allegedly obscene publication, *Friendship and Freedom.* Although a judge eventually dismissed the charges and reprimanded the police for invading Gerber's apartment and arresting him without a warrant, he had already spent several nights in jail and he never recovered all of his property.

Gerber's experience notwithstanding, the 1920s saw a marked upsurge of overtly queer culture, especially in New York City. However, with the beginning of the 1930s and the Great Depression, officials cracked down on the drag performances and balls that had been common since 1870. Paradoxically, Prohibition had the effect of increasing the visibility of gender and sexual nonconformity as the widespread corruption of the period reduced respect for law and order generally. The end of Prohibition, and the beginning of the Great Depression, brought renewed concern for order and for limits on gender and sexual deviance. Whatever their daily visibility and defiance during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, LGBT persons remained susceptible to the whims of elected officials and police until well after World War II.

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Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Movement

1920s–1969

Although the American gay and lesbian political and social movement developed dramatically in the last third of the twentieth century, its origins lay in the cultural and political shifts of an earlier period. The middle third of the century was marked by two vital developments. First, homosexually active men and women were increasingly labeled and understood as possessing a particular identity. That labeling was often done by medical professionals and legislators who sought to treat or punish them, but ironically, homosexually active men and women also began to understand themselves differently as a result. Second, as part of that new self-understanding, homosexuals began to conceive of and act on the communal and political implications of that identity; they began to see themselves as a potential social and political constituency.

Historians have maintained that the notion of "a homosexual"—that is, of a person defined solely by a consistent sexual desire for individuals of the same physical sex—came into existence only in the latter half of the nineteenth century and required several decades to take root in American popular culture. Although particular sexual activities might have warranted labels at that time, those labels did not identify individual people. Even in the first decades of the twentieth century in New York City, participants in male same-sex activity were more defined by their gendered behavior than the sex of their sexual partners. Thus, many of the men who frequented the bars or bathhouses where they could meet and have sex with other men were understood as "normal" because they maintained a masculine demeanor and style. Only the "fairies" or "pansies"—men who not only sought out sex with men, but who behaved or dressed according to feminine gender rules—were perceived as possessing a fundamentally different identity. Sexual activity was not widely conceived as the foundation for an identity, and therefore there was only a very narrow basis for establishing a strong social movement. Unlike African Americans and women, homosexually active men and women in the United States first had to understand themselves as sharing a social identity in order to begin to organize for change.

Importantly by contrast, in these same early decades an identity-based rights movement had firmly taken hold in Germany; indeed, that movement inspired the first spark of an organized American movement to flare briefly in Chicago in 1924. Henry Gerber, a German émigré, served with the American occupying army in Germany from 1920 to 1923 and became inspired by the movement he discovered there. Upon his return, he teamed up with a handful of other men interested in same-sex liaisons to form the Chicago Society for Human Rights (SHR). The group even received a state charter, specifying its goals of aiding those who are "abused and hindered in the legal pursuit of happiness which is guaranteed them by the Declaration of Independence, and to combat the public prejudices against them by dissemination of facts according to modern science." Gerber found, however, that homosexually active Americans in the 1920s proved difficult to politicize. "One of our greatest handicaps," he later wrote, "was the knowledge that homosexuals don't organize. Being thoroughly cowed, they seldom get together." SHR was quickly squashed when one member's wife turned him into the police, who arrested two others, including Gerber.

The American focus on gender seemed at its peak at the start of the Great Depression. In cities like New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles, in the early to mid-1930s, nightclubs boasted what historian George Chauncey has deemed a "pansy craze," with gender-flaunting men serving as celebrated hosts and star performers. As the Depression extended, however, throwing countless breadwinning husbands and fa-

thers into unemployment, there was fairly widespread anxiety about national gender roles. Women were urged to give up their jobs and men were told to stiffen their masculine resolve. In this context, pansies were deemed abhorrent, and a crackdown moved from city to city: police squads closed clubs, arresting proprietors and performers, and celebrity careers ended. Significantly, more and more police departments moved not only against pansies, but also against gender-conforming men who had sex with other men. Indeed, in some states, the new post-Prohibition power to regulate and license bars was used to shut down those watering holes where men and some women went to meet people of the same sex. These policing actions marked a transition toward a social system that tied personal to sexual activities.

Sexuality and World War II

During World War II and its concomitant military service, this oppressive labeling and persecution increased. During the war, psychiatrists convinced the federal government of their ability to help develop a combat-ready military by screening out the emotionally unstable from the recruits. As a result, millions of young men were asked if they had homosexual feelings, if they liked girls, if they had sex with men, or, as *Time* magazine reported, simply, "How do you get along with girls?" (Eventually, similar standards were developed for screening women.) Despite the failure of these questions to yield honest answers—of the millions of inductees, only 4,000 or 5,000 were rejected for homosexuality discovered during their screening—their widespread application and the conversations they provoked began to solidify a notion of homosexual identity for a generation of Americans. Ironically, for those soldiers who lied about their desires and were discovered, their prosecution or hospitalization and eventual dishonorable discharge only served to further codify this growing sense of a particular social identity.

Beyond the oppression, however, military service also uprooted millions of young Americans and placed them into camps and units together. Thousands of men and women not only uncovered their own desires in the same-sex world of the military, but simply because of the numbers of soldiers, many of them found one another there; they found others like themselves. This was a significant watershed; as historian Allan Bérubé has written, "Gathered together in military camps, they often came to terms with their sexual desires, fell in love, made friends with other gay people, and began to name and talk about who they were." Both because of assignment and self-selection, certain military positions—male typists or nurses, female drivers—became dominated by homosexually identified men and women. Others found refuge in the all-male performance troupes that put on shows wherever GIs set up camp. Thus, there developed pockets in the military where a sense of shared identity could take hold.

This experience of group discovery also permeated the many port cities like Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, and New York that were centers of the military mobilization. These cities developed a rich social scene with bars and parties that catered to some degree to homosexually active men and women—often mixed up with or close to the other military-friendly bars. Those urban social worlds were similarly significant gathering points and sites of self-discovery for the curious men and women of small-town America headed off for service, and many of them chose to make these large cities their new homes when they were discharged from duty. Thus, much as World War II served to urbanize a wide swath of African Americans, drawing them into the nation's cities to participate in the military buildup, it equally served to gather a generation of homosexuals, both placing them within the same-sex world of military service and near to the sexual demimonde of the nation's major metropolises.

This nationwide process of oppressive identification and group discovery showed some impact in the 1940s. In Los Angeles, in 1947, for instance, a young woman who had only recently discovered the lesbian bars of the city began writing and circulating a newsletter "for gay gals" called *Vice Versa* that included book and movie reviews, essays, and poetry. And veterans throughout the country stayed in contact with one another after the war, creating networks of support for themselves and for others. Although these activities represented an expansion of the social arena of same-sex activity beyond bars and parties and cruising, an additional influence was required to shift these social and cultural activities toward a more coherent political movement. That influence came from the Communists and leftists of Los Angeles.

In the late 1940s, Los Angeles leftists, among other things, were very involved in fighting racial injustice in the city. Just as the war had brought thousands of African Americans into the cities, it also sparked heated racial violence and left lingering antipathy against blacks, Mexican Americans, Japanese Americans, and Jews. The Communist Party had long

HENRY "HARRY" HAY JR.

(1912–2002)

Henry "Harry" Hay Jr. helped found the American homosexual rights movement in the 1950s and fought steadily for his vision of the unique role homosexuals could play in society. Born in England in 1912, Hay moved to Los Angeles with his family in 1919. After college, he became active in LA's overlapping worlds of theater and leftist politics. Introduced to the Communist Party by a long-term lover, actor Will Geer, Hay became increasingly political: he moved from labor protests and agitprop theater to campaigning for the recall of the mayor, developing a repertoire of "people's" songs for activists, and teaching Party courses in political economy, music history, and revolution. He also decided to marry another Party member.

Nevertheless, Hay's homosexual activities continued, and, in 1948, inspired by a discussion of presidential politics and fearful of the McCarthyite tendencies of the federal government, Hay wrote a proposal for an organization to aid and protect homosexually active men. In Hay's vision, the group, with the elaborate name of the International Bachelors' Fraternal Order for Peace and Social Dignity, would strive to secure "socially, economically, politically, and morally, the integration of the best interests of the Androgynous minority with the common good of the community in which we live." It took two years before Hay's proposal found any supporters, and then the renamed Mattachine Foundation began. Hay separated himself from the Party and his family and threw himself into Mattachine.

Those initial Mattachine meetings were a time of profound and challenging discovery as the participants, lacking a shared vocabulary, tried to analyze their lives and relationships. To Hay, the discussion sessions were thrilling: from them, "we get this sense of a brotherhood, we get this sense of a belonging, this sense of a being together." Hay's excitement over Mattachine's success, however, was mirrored by his depression when his leadership, structure, and goals were soundly rejected in 1953 and he came close to suicide.

After being called before the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1955, Hay spent several somewhat melancholy years investigating the cultural history of homosexuals and participating in ONE seminars. In 1963, however, Hay found a life partner in John Burnside, and together they initiated business and activist ventures. By the late 1960s, they had rejoined other homophiles to establish the North American Conference of Homophile Organizations, worked in the American Indian Movement, and helped launched the Los Angeles Gay Liberation Front.

During the 1970s, Hay and Burnside settled in New Mexico where Hay deepened his studies of *berdache,* or third-gender individuals, in Native American communities. By decade's end, back in Los Angeles Hay became instrumental in developing a new, spiritually focused, gay liberation group, the Radical Faeries. Hay had long maintained that gay people had a particular consciousness and style of social relations, both of which placed them in a unique role in preserving social balance. The Faeries, using consensus, ritual, and celebration, became an invitation to embrace that uniqueness, to "throw off the ugly green frogskin of hetero-imitation to find the shining Faerie prince beneath." Having suffered from lung cancer, Hay died October 24, 2002.

Gerard Sullivan

fought against racial divisiveness and had developed a language, shared by other progressive activists, for articulating the position and plight of oppressed social minorities. Indeed, through organizations like the Civil Rights Congress, the progressive and far left waged fights against racial violence, restrictive housing covenants, and police brutality. In the late 1940s, Harry Hay, a Communist Party member and instructor, borrowed the language and style of the Party to envisage an organization that, with a similar secret cell structure, would take up the cause of an unprotected social minority, what he deemed the "androgynous" or homosexual minority. In 1950, a handful of men, many of them former leftist activists themselves, determined to join Hay in starting such an organization. They called it the Mattachine Foundation (the group takes its name from *les Mattachines*, groups of unmarried men that performed dances during the French renaissance that Hay had discovered in his studies), and with their group was born the Homophile Movement, the first phase of the long-lasting movement for gay and lesbian rights.

THE HOMOPHILE MOVEMENT 1950s

Initially, the Mattachine Foundation consisted of half a dozen men who set in motion a project of identity

Shortly before his death in 2002, gay rights pioneer Harry Hay (left) sits beside his life partner John Burnside at their home in San Francisco. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

development: trying to figure out what being homosexual meant, not as defined by psychiatry or criminal laws, but by the men and women who lived it. They identified three goals for themselves: constructing a sense of community, in part through self-education; teaching the larger society to relinquish their prejudices; and mobilizing public action. Their principal tactic—and a strategy that remained prominent within Mattachine and the homophile movement long after the founders had departed—was regular discussion sessions. These sessions, similar to some of the organizing meetings of the Communist Party as well as the consciousness-raising meetings used later in the black civil rights and women's movements, initially involved only the founders; as the organization grew and participation spread, discussion meetings were lead by one of the founders but in a variety of people's homes. These discussions turned on questions as varied as how to handle arrest, why homosexual marriages seemed to fail, and whether there was truly a homosexual culture. They largely constituted an effort to swap stories and discover not simply shared sexual desires but shared experience, the cornerstone for a shared sense of identity. In addition, Mattachine organized more public meetings as a kind of recruitment tool, drawing a wider crowd to a lecture from some (often critical) expert speaking about homosexuality or a general discussion of the 1948 Alfred Kinsey study of male sexuality. By late 1952, between 50 and 100 groups were meeting regularly around Southern California, with a handful of other groups starting in northern California; some 2,000 to 5,000 Californians participated in Mattachine activities. Over the next twenty years, the organization changed shape, direction, and central location but remained a vital force in homosexual activism.

As Mattachine grew, its more radical founders, and especially Harry Hay, pushed for it to take more public action. They sent questionnaires to local office-seekers, asking their views on antihomosexual poli-

cies. They organized a successful legal challenge to the entrapment and arrest of Dale Jennings, an early member, by a Los Angeles police officer who had in fact attempted to seduce him. They even joined a left-leaning chorus of protests over the violent arrest of several young Mexican Americans, claiming that the violation of one minority group's rights clearly threatened the rights of every other minority. In Hay's eyes, these actions constituted a central piece of laying claim to the oppressed minority identity that he believed homosexuals shared with Mexican Americans, blacks, and Jews.

When a Los Angeles columnist caught wind of the election questionnaire, however, and began investigating the organization and writing about it, a large portion of the membership voiced their disagreement with Hay's views. Many members were also provoked by the secrecy surrounding Mattachine's own leaders, who used false names or hid behind the names of individuals (such as Hay's mother) who were not truly involved in the organization. In 1953, at a constitutional convention rife with fears about Communist control and threats to turn over the membership rolls to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), an anxious and vocal majority ousted Hay and his cofounders, rejecting both his view of homosexuals as a distinct minority group and their efforts at public action. According to historian John D'Emilio, the leadership change marked a sorrowful abandonment of the sense of collective identity and action, as "accommodation to social norms replaced the affirmation of a distinctive gay identity."

While Hay and others drifted away from organized activities, a handful of the early members and others, including Don Slater, Jim Kepner, Dale Jennings, and Ann Carll Reid, coalesced around *ONE*, a magazine that a group of Mattachine members had just started to provide a forum for discussing their efforts. After the constitutional convention, *ONE* magazine did carry on some of the early Mattachine's more radical goals. Building up a subscriber base of some 2,000 (though the readership was likely much larger), the staff not only indignantly publicized news from around the country about police harassment, but also published essays and letters criticizing the legal and medical treatment of homosexuals and debating various aspects of homosexual identity. A letter writer to *ONE* felt comfortable, for instance, decrying the impulse to "excommunicate any homosexual who belies the . . . thesis that we aren't different." And another used the pages to insist, "If we must have a crusade it must be for civil rights and equality." In one of the first cases that brought the gay rights movement into the legal arena, *ONE* was seized by the Los Angeles postmaster in the fall of 1954 for being "obscene, lewd, lascivious and filthy." *ONE* fought the case clear to the U.S. Supreme Court where, more than three years later, the group was vindicated and homophile publications became safe items to send through the mail. That ruling broadened the avenues of communication necessary for sustaining a movement.

In addition, the *ONE* staff began to offer an educational program, seminars and courses, within what became the ONE Institute of Homophile Studies. These classes, in many ways, set out to cultivate and substantiate the ideal of a homosexual culture and community that had motivated Hay and his supporters. Beginning in 1955, ONE started offering a "Midwinter Institute," a day or two of paper presentations and roundtable discussions. By the end of the 1950s, however, ONE was offering semester-long courses on homosexuality in history, the sociology of homosexuality, and homosexuality in literature.

Meanwhile, the new Mattachine leadership slowly shifted the center of operations up to San Francisco. Under the direction of Hal Call and Donald Lucas, the organization, renamed the Mattachine Society, focused on public outreach and social services. Their first outreach efforts entailed publishing the *Mattachine Review* in 1955, which offered news of the organization, more general news, and prose accounts of homosexual life; though it was much less confrontational in its tone than *ONE*, people around the country discovered Mattachine by receiving a copy of the review from a friend. From the newsletter, Call and Lucas also ventured into general publishing, both printing books about homosexuality and helping distribute books from other presses. At the same time, Mattachine began to offer legal, emotional, and employment assistance to local San Franciscans and others who contacted them from farther away. In part, volunteers simply offered sympathetic ears and the wisdom of their own experiences. In situations that exceeded their expertise, however, Mattachine members began referring local clients to doctors, psychiatrists, and even employment agencies whom they had screened as supporting the goals of sexual equality. Indeed, Mattachine cultivated relationships with professionals, often inviting those who were critical of homosexuals to address Mattachine meetings. Such lectures, though criticized by later activists and scholars, were seen as providing at least some kind of discussion of homosexuality, and also served to forge ties

DEL MARTIN (1925–) AND PHYLLIS LYON (1928–)

Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon founded the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB) in their San Francisco apartment in 1955 with six other women, and while the other women drifted away, Martin and Lyon became the group's emotional and administrative core. They edited and wrote much of its monthly magazine, hosted hundreds of meetings, and donated their own money to keep it going.

Martin, born in San Francisco in 1925, married, had a child, and divorced before she began exploring the lesbian worlds of first that city and then Seattle. Lyon, born in 1928 in Tulsa, Oklahoma, eventually moved to Seattle and went to work at a publishing company where she met Martin. The two became friends, then lovers, and then moved back to San Francisco together in 1953. While they tentatively and unhappily explored the bar scene, they jumped at an invitation to form a lesbian social club with three other couples and thus began DOB. Martin and Lyon, inspired by their exposure to the Mattachine Society, strove to make the group an advocate for changing public attitudes about lesbians and began to host similar public lectures and discussions. As they explained, "It wasn't until [much later] that we realized we knew a whole lot more about homosexuality than Joe Psychiatrist and Joe Lawyer. Back then we didn't know. . . . We needed support from the establishment." At the same time, Martin and Lyon were sensitive to the importance of creating a separate refuge where lesbians could feel safe, and incorporated self-help elements into the DOB program. Within the context of the male-dominated homophile movement, they fought for recognition of the separate needs of homosexual women.

By the mid-1960s, while DOB remained focused on assisting women and providing social support, Martin and Lyon became more radical in their concerns. Lyon, who had served as the editor of *The Ladder* for several years, had already broken a taboo by using her real name on the masthead. During 1964, the couple participated in a series of discussions between gay men and lesbians, and Christian ministers, which yielded "unexpected avenues of communication and cooperation between the two groups," according to Martin, and led to the creation of the Council on Religion and the Homosexual (CRH). When a CRH-sponsored New Year's dance was raided by the police, the ministers, joined by the American Civil Liberties Union, responded with publicized outrage that gave new legitimacy to complaints of homosexual harassment.

During the 1970s, the women began focusing their efforts explicitly on women's lives. In 1972, their co-written *Lesbian/Woman* was published, a combination autobiography and account of the diversity of lesbian experiences, from self-discovery to living together to parenting. Five years later, Martin published a seminal study of domestic violence, *Battered Wives*, in which she criticized marriage as an institution and called for criminal laws focused specifically on spousal abuse. In 1979, they helped establish a women's health clinic, which now bears their names. Most recently, the couple has been advocating for Social Security and Medicare reforms, and, in 1995, both served as delegates to the White House Conference on Aging.

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with experts who might help society accept the homosexuals in their midst.

In 1955, the efforts of ONE and Mattachine were supplemented by the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB), an organization founded that year by Del Martin, Phyllis Lyon, and six other women determined to provide a social alternative to bars for middle-class lesbians. (According to some founders, Bilitis was a contemporary of the Greek lesbian poet Sappho.) Although the other women dropped out of the organization, Martin and Lyon devoted themselves to sustaining it financially, spiritually, and intellectually. They also helped push the group beyond social activities toward shaping the public perception of lesbians, in many ways following the model of Mattachine. An important DOB goal was to provide communal support for women struggling with their identities, and they used their monthly magazine, *The Ladder*, not so much to rouse political attitudes as to reach isolated women with bits of poetry, biography, and fiction. Like Mattachine, however, DOB also sought to encourage lesbians themselves to behave in a manner more acceptable to society. One early issue of *The Ladder*, for instance, carried the message from the president that "our organization has already converted a few to remembering that they are women first and a butch or fem secondly. . . . There is a place for them in society, but only if they wish to make it so."

BARBARA GITTINGS (1932–)

Barbara Gittings played a vital role in pushing the homophile movement, and especially homophile women, toward a more radical activism and vision. Born in Vienna, Austria, in 1932, Gittings grew up in Wilmington, Delaware. While attending Northwestern University, she tried to put a "homosexual label on myself and tried to come to terms with what it meant to be gay." Searching for information, she devoured novels as well as psychology and legal texts; she also stopped doing her course work and flunked out. Eventually settling in Philadelphia, she discovered bar life and then, through a friend, encountered ONE, Mattachine, and the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB). In San Francisco in 1958, Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon asked Gittings to help start a New York DOB chapter, the organization's first East Coast chapter. She accepted the challenge and became its president.

Gittings was soon a regular weekend commuter between New York and Philadelphia, organizing social events and lectures, and successfully launching the new organization. More administrator than leader, Gittings nevertheless built up a mailing list of over 300 and issued a regular newsletter. But under the influence of her partner, Kay Tobin Lahusen, as well as Frank Kameny and Randy Wicker, Gittings moved toward making more radical demands of the national DOB and the wider movement. From late 1962 to 1966, Gittings used her position as editor of *The Ladder*, the national DOB magazine, to challenge the conservative leadership, who opposed tactics like public picketing and believed homosexuals should rely on experts to convince the public to accept them. She also increased the visibility of the magazine by subtitling it "A Lesbian Review," and placing photographs of real lesbians on the magazine's cover instead of artwork by readers. By 1966, however, Gittings grew too frustrated with DOB and left to join other groups.

As gay political action became steadily more radical, Gittings and Lahusen moved with it. Regular fixtures of the late-1960s pickets in Philadelphia and Washington, D.C., they soon joined the Gay Liberation Front and then the Gay Activists Alliance, which Lahusen helped found. Gittings, who by 1970 was doing a weekly fifteen-minute gay radio show in New York, also began working with a gay group within the American Library Association to promote gay literature and develop a "Gay Bibliography" for librarians to use in ordering books. Gittings, who led the task force for fifteen years, wanted to ensure that gay teens would have easy access to their history and culture in a way she had not. In addition, she became very active in the campaign to press the American Psychiatric Association to remove homosexuality from its list of illnesses. She coordinated discussion panels at American Psychiatrist Association national conferences and even hosted booths there entitled "Homophobia: Time for a Cure" and "Gay Love Is Good Medicine"; by 1973, the campaign succeeded. Gittings also helped to start the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, and the Gay Rights National Lobby, a D.C.-based lobbying group and a forerunner of the Human Rights Campaign.

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It is important to recognize that homosexual life was hardly exclusive to organization meetings. The vast majority of homosexual gathering occurred in bars. And while there was often a contentious relationship between bar patrons and homophile activists, it would be wrong to view bar life as apolitical. Certainly, the founders of DOB created the organization out of a desire to have an alternative to the bar scene and often viewed it with disdain. At the same time, activists seeking new recruits could be treated with equal contempt by bar regulars. Nevertheless, not only did homophile groups often assist clients in finding bars and coping with the harassment they experienced there, but bar attendance constituted its own kind of political activism. As scholars like Elizabeth Kennedy and Madeline Davis have argued, because of the regular and legal police harassment of bar patrons, participation in the gay nightlife represented its own act of resistance. The consequences of claiming a piece of public social space for bar habitués could be beatings, arrest, public notoriety, and the collapse of family relations and social status. The risks were even greater for the butches of the lesbian world, dressed and styled in male-gendered fashion, or the men who adopted female gender styles; they challenged the legal and cultural codes from the moment they left their homes. By inspiring these daily acts of resistance, then, the gay and lesbian social world proved a critical crucible for cultivating radicalism.

By the start of the 1960s, however, as an organized movement, the homophiles remained weak and troubled. Although Mattachine and DOB chapters had spread from California to New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Detroit, active members for Mattachine

numbered 230 and half that for DOB. While the San Francisco Mattachine found experts to aid their clients and the Los Angeles chapter began to work with Evelyn Hooker, a psychologist whose research undermined the notion of homosexuality as an illness, most chapters continued to host lectures and publish essays by professionals who took just the opposite stand. As New York DOB president Barbara Gittings later explained, "Just to be mentioned, no matter what they said, was important at first. It broke the taboo of silence about homosexuality." In San Francisco, a 1959 mayoral election featured widely publicized allegations that because of Mattachine the city had become a magnet for homosexuals—charges that briefly yielded greater leniency toward the homophiles. By contrast, however, a Denver Mattachine convention that same year led to raids of local leaders' homes and arrests. And dissent among homophiles themselves so divided the movement that by 1961 DOB and ONE were barely in contact, and Mattachine dissolved itself as a national organization, leaving each local chapter to determine its own course.

THE HOMOPHILE RESURGENCE 1960s

In the early 1960s, a mix of new and old leaders injected the homophile organizations with a new activist impulse, compelled both by their own desires for change and by the wider culture of activism that was working its way across the country. In 1961, Franklin Kameny and Jack Nichols formed a Mattachine chapter in Washington, D.C., that became the avant garde of homophile activism. Kameny, a Harvard Ph.D. who had been fired by the federal government when his homosexuality was discovered, had a firm belief in the rights he had been denied and in using the political system to correct the government's flaws. Having challenged his own dismissal to the U.S. Supreme Court, he similarly urged homophile activists to lay claim to their rights. At the same time, he had little regard for the experts to whom his homophile colleagues were so deferential. Rejecting the notion that homophiles should provide a forum for debating the immorality or illness of homosexuality, Kameny insisted that they instead lay claim to their rights as moral adult citizens. He called on the D.C. chapter to be "an activist militant organization," which, as he later recalled, "were very dirty words in the movement." The Washington chapter met steadily with federal officials, demanding they change their discriminatory hiring practices, and won the support of the local American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). The local ACLU both successfully challenged the case of a rejected job applicant and convinced the national ACLU to begin to consider the injustice of antihomosexual discrimination.

Demanding dignity, freedom, and an end to discrimination against homosexuals, Barbara Gittings and other activists picket Independence Hall in Philadelphia on July 4, 1966. *(Kay Tobin Lahusen)*

The Washington group's activist attitudes were echoed by a handful of Mattachine and DOB members elsewhere, especially in New York. There Randy Wicker formed his own Homosexual League and waged a publicity campaign that yielded coverage by *Newsweek*, *Harper's,* and the *New York Times* on homosexual life and efforts by homosexuals to speak for themselves. Gittings, president of the New York DOB and editor of *The Ladder*, used the magazine to argue for more public actions and for faith in homosexuals as their own authorities. As she later explained, "By the 1960s, we began to see that discussing the cause and the nature of homosexuality would not help us. We began to insist on our rights, to spell them out clearly." By 1963, the organizations formed a loose co-

FRANKLIN KAMENY (1925–)

Franklin Kameny was one of the most determined fighters in the East Coast homophile movement, inspiring others by his willingness to challenge directly the discriminatory practices of the federal government. Born into a Jewish New York family in 1925, Kameny enlisted in the army at the age of eighteen and fought in Europe during World War II. Afterward, he earned a Ph.D. from Harvard and joined the U.S. Army Map Service. In late 1957, however, a civil service officer confronted Kameny with allegations of homosexuality—which Kameny neither confirmed nor denied—and arranged for his termination. (President Dwight Eisenhower had explicitly deemed "sexual perversion" as grounds for dismissal of federal employees.) Kameny then began a long battle, appealing through the civil service system, to Congress, and even requesting a hearing before the U.S. Supreme Court—deeming the federal policy a "stench in the nostrils of decent people"—but his requests were denied.

As a result, Kameny turned his energies to collective action. He contacted the New York Mattachine Society and, in the fall of 1961, founded a Washington chapter. Closely watched by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the chapter became the radical cutting edge of the homophile movement, driven by Kameny's insistence that homosexuals demand their rights as citizens. In that spirit, the D.C. Mattachine placed J. Edgar Hoover on their mailing list, believing that if the FBI was helping African Americans in their civil rights struggle, they should do the same for homosexuals. The Washington chapter also met steadily with federal officials, insisting they change their discriminatory practices, and Kameny was vital in coordinating the pickets in front of the White House, Pentagon, State Department, and Civil Service Commission.

In addition, Kameny pushed the larger homophile movement to stop its long-standing practice of inviting "expert" lecturers who argued that homosexuality was a sickness or a perversion, simply because they spoke on the subject. "My answer to that was, '*Drivel!* We are the experts on ourselves!' " Kameny coined and promoted the phrase "Gay Is Good" to express his attitude, and in the early 1970s, he joined Daughters of Bilitis veteran Barbara Gittings in challenging the American Psychiatric Association to drop their designation of homosexuality as a mental illness; by 1973 they had succeeded.

Although Mattachine's leadership role declined following the Stonewall riots in New York City in 1968—and the Civil Service Commission finally (in 1975) dropped its policy excluding homosexuals from federal employment—Kameny has continued to be an outspoken activist. In 1971, he ran for Congress as the first openly gay candidate; in 1975, he was named to the D.C. Human Rights Commission; and in 1979, he joined the first contingent of gay leaders to be invited to the White House. As a veteran, Kameny has also fought for protection of gay servicemen and women, including challenging the 1990s "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy. The night that President Bill Clinton spoke at a Human Rights Campaign function in 1997, Kameny deemed the event "clear evidence of the astonishing success of the gay movement over the past four-and-a-half-decades."

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alition, East Coast Homophile Organizations (ECHO), which also included a Philadelphia group and provided a network and forum for the more militant activists to communicate and strategize.

In April 1965, press reports of Cuban imprisonment of homosexuals inspired a handful of militants to picket the United Nations and the White House; by May, ECHO had scheduled a series of pickets including the Civil Service Commission, the Pentagon, and a Fourth of July protest at Philadelphia's Independence Hall. These were small, peaceful, and orderly demonstrations of men dressed in suits and women in dresses who, with carefully lettered signs, called on the federal government to stand by its principles. White House picketers' signs made direct claims like "Denial of Equality of Opportunity Is Immoral," and "Sexual Preference Is Irrelevant to Federal Employment." Nevertheless, one magazine insisted that the picketers were hired actors because, as Kameny explained, for "some people it was inconceivable that actual, real gay people would do such things publicly." At the same time, although the old guard in DOB forced Gittings out and reinforced their own authority, the militant activists gained control of the leadership of New York's Mattachine chapter.

Meanwhile, during the early 1960s in California, the daily politics of bar life and that of activist organizing began to converge. At the decade's start, in the wake of revelations of the San Francisco police's extortion of gay bars and the portrayal of the city as a gay magnet in the mayoral campaign, police and city officials moved into a three-year-long assault on ho-

mosexuals. They raided bars, patrolled parks where men cruised for sex, revoked liquor licenses, and shut down publication networks. Bar patrons and owners slowly began to respond. In 1961, José Sarria, a drag performer at the Black Cat, one of the city's more bohemian bars, entered the race for city supervisor. The following year, employees and owners of several gay bars formed the Tavern Guild, coordinating efforts to fight bar raids while also providing support for gay voter registration drives. In 1964, a new organization formed in close alliance with the guild, the Society for Individual Rights (SIR), which sought to combine the social world of bars and the activism of politics. SIR sponsored dances, bowling leagues, and art classes, but it also opened a gay community center in 1966 (the first such in the country), coordinated a venereal disease campaign, and, beginning in 1965, held candidates' nights to help situate gays as a voting bloc. During the same time, the city's gay organizers were joined by a handful of Protestant social justice clergy eager to work against homophobic discrimination. When the police raided a party to celebrate this new joint venture, the ministers spoke with outrage to the press and garnered support from the ACLU. Eventually, under increasing public pressure, the police department established liaisons with the gay community and largely stopped raiding gay bars. Thus, in San Francisco, the 1960s witnessed a new kind of organized activism: one that was firmly rooted in the social world of gay bars, but that also had firm support from outside the homosexual milieu. This proved a powerful combination.

By 1966, East and West Coast activists began, very slowly, to coordinate their activities once again, setting up the North American Conference of Homophile Organizations (NACHO). The growing public actions supported through NACHO seemingly inspired other groups to organize so that, by the spring of 1969, there were some fifty groups around the country; many of them operated outside of California and the Northeast New York–D.C.–Philadelphia triangle, including groups in Chicago, Kansas City, Seattle, Cincinnati, and Richmond, Virginia. In San Francisco, politicians began courting gay voters, with many of them attending candidates' nights organized by the various groups, and municipal officials met with DOB leaders to discuss their concerns. Nevertheless, the drop in bar raids also diminished the attendance at group meetings as the sense of urgency shrank. In New York, organized pressure against the police yielded a decrease in entrapment cases and court challenges. With the support of the New York Civil Liberties Union, stricter standards for shutting down gay bars were established, largely lifting the municipal ban on hiring homosexuals. Indeed, by the end of the 1960s, the national ACLU had declared itself firmly opposed to legal constraints on consensual sexual activity, and local chapters worked to challenge state laws against gay bars as well as federal employment restrictions. These supporters were joined by a growing number of clergy, as well as a handful of medical professionals who were keen on overturning the assessment of homosexuality as an illness.

In the last years of the decade, the growing militancy of the black civil rights movement and the emerging energy of the women's movement was reflected in increased passion among gay activists. A violent 1967 New Year's bar raid in Los Angeles provoked the largest public gay demonstration yet. Gay student groups began proliferating on college campuses, inspired by the rich atmosphere of student activism. Many of the younger activists tried to articulate and build connections between homophile activism and the other movements unfolding around them. The DOB president in 1968, for instance, insisted that lesbians needed to join the women's movement because even if "you've accomplished your aims in the homophile movement, you can proudly point to the fact that now lesbians have *full* second class citizenship, along with all women. That's nowhere near enough for me." Similarly, the new editor of *SIR's Vector Magazine* called on gay activists to build alliances with antiwar protesters and the Black Panthers, insisting that they "demand our personal liberty and freedom right NOW!" Clearly, the spirit of revolution that was inspiring young people across the country was shaping an increasingly militant gay activism as well.

That militancy displayed itself most famously late on a Friday night in June 1969 at the Stonewall Inn, a divey gay bar in the heart of New York's Greenwich Village. When the police raided the bar for liquor violations and directed most of the patrons to leave, the customers defiantly refused to go home. Instead, they gathered outside the bar and began to harass the police: first verbally, then physically, throwing coins, bottles, bricks, and a trash can. The police barricaded themselves in the bar until other officers eventually arrived to drive away the crowd. Yet crowds nearing 1,000 returned the following night and again later in the week and clashed more openly and violently with police in the surrounding streets. They taunted and sometimes chased the police, who returned their vol-

leys with blows from nightsticks and charges on horseback.

These Stonewall Riots and the resistance they embodied were thought to mark a dramatic turning point in gay and lesbian history, as the more conservative homophiles were suddenly superseded by younger, more aggressive activists demanding "gay liberation." Political and social organizations like the Gay Liberation Front and the Gay Activists Alliance quickly formed in New York City to build on the excitement of the riots, and similar groups soon spread across the country. In fact, gay activism and community building took off in the 1970s, and the growth in organizations and businesses quickly outstripped anything that had existed in the preceding decades. The homophile organizations soon faded away, and for those who had been unaware of the homophile efforts, gay liberation appeared to be a wholly new movement, born without precedent outside the Stonewall Inn. Indeed, most American gay pride parades occur in the last weeks of June to commemorate the riots as marking the birth of a gay rights movement.

Nevertheless, many of the achievements during and after the gay liberation era marked the full bloom of seeds planted much earlier by the homophile activists. Certainly, the gay liberationists' notion of homosexuals as an oppressed social minority, comparable to blacks, Mexican Americans, and even women, was an idea well articulated by Harry Hay and his leftist cofounders of the Mattachine Foundation. The social service and community centers that began to proliferate around the country during the 1970s—and became social welfare organizations during the AIDS crisis—drew upon the assistance and social support that the Mattachine Society and the Daughters of Bilitis provided to their members and clients in the 1950s. Only in the 1970s did the challenges to the federal Civil Service Commission and the psychiatric designation of homosexuality as an illness finally succeed, but those successes grew out of long campaigns begun in the 1950s and 1960s. The homophile activists of those decades laid down the foundation for much that would be built after them.

At the same time, their ability even to imagine a homosexual rights movement in the early 1950s was the product of a transformation that preceded them. The apparent Depression-era collapse of a culture celebrating gender marked a fundamental shift in how homosexual activity was perceived. Increasingly, same-sex activity became understood as the mark of a particular identity. This notion was reinforced in the 1930s and 1940s by the critical insistence of psychiatrists, police crackdowns, and military screenings and discharges. As these authorities attached negative identity labels to men and women seeking same-sex activity, those men and women began to celebrate and enjoy their discovery of one another. This combination of positive self-identification and negative authority labeling yielded a growing sense of individual and communal identity. And it was upon this emerging sense of identity that homophile activists, inspired by the cultural politics of postwar America, began to build their own social and political movement.

Daniel Hurewitz

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Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Movement
1969–Present

Most scholars trace the birth of the modern gay rights movement to a 1969 New York police raid on a gay bar in Greenwich Village called the Stonewall Inn. Angered by the raid, bar patrons began a riot that lasted several days and mobilized the gay community throughout America. Newly mobilized homosexuals created new organizations that were more radical than the old homophile organizations, and developed the tactics and strategies still used by the movement today. The modern movement consists of a variety of political and social groups with hundreds of thousands of members and annual operating budgets in the millions. The movement has progressed on multiple fronts, gaining legal protections and helping to create an observable shift in public attitudes toward homosexuality. Nevertheless, the advent of AIDS and the rise of politically active religious conservatives led to a significant backlash against gay civil rights.

This section outlines the evolution of the gay rights movement, with particular focus on the political participation of gays and lesbians, protest politics, gay interest groups, public policy and law, openly gay government officials, and public opinion toward homosexuality. Each subsection examines change in each of these areas chronologically.

Political Participation: Voting and Political Parties

Political participation can include any activity from voting to writing a letter to an elected official to joining an interest group or political party. This section focuses on the electoral involvement of gays and lesbians, with particular attention on voting behavior and political party involvement.

Voting Behavior and Electoral Involvement

Voting in an election is clearly an individual act that may or may not be influenced by group affiliation or identification with a movement. However, scholars have argued that gays and lesbians do, more often than not, vote in a similar manner and thereby act as a voting bloc in the electorate. Mark Hertzog refers to this notion as the Lavender Vote thesis. Based on exit poll data from the 1980s and 1990s, Hertzog's research does support the Lavender Vote thesis. Although his research applies only to openly gay, lesbian, and bisexual persons who identified themselves as such to pollsters, he finds that gay voters constitute between 3 and 10 percent of the electorate, with higher representation occurring in urban areas. Gay voters also tend to have a group consciousness and to identify themselves with the gay movement, and gay voters make choices that are influenced by their sexual orientation. Hertzog concludes that although gay voters are not uniform in their beliefs, group consciousness or purposeful mobilization could ensure that LGB voters vote as a cohesive group.

In exit polls during elections, a small, but significant, portion of the voting population identifies itself as lesbian, gay, or bisexual. The size of the gay voting population is comparable to many racial, ethnic, and religious groups, including Hispanics and Jews. For example, in 1996 gays and lesbians constituted 5 percent of the electorate, comparable to 5 percent for Latinos and 3 percent for Jews. During the November 1998 midterm elections, exit polls suggested that 4.2 percent of voters were lesbian, gay, or bisexual. The figure was 4 percent in 2000, 5 percent in 1996, 2.2 percent in 1992, and only 1.2 percent in 1990. Furthermore, scholars find that the sexual orientation of voters has a significant influence on voting behavior, even after controlling for party affiliation, ideology, and issue positions.

Gay voters tend to vote for Democratic candidates and liberals. For example, according to Robert Bailey, in 1998 gay voters were almost twice as likely to vote for Democrats over Republicans. Gay voters sup-

ported Democratic congressional candidates by margins of 61 percent in 1990, 77 percent in 1992, 73 percent in 1994, 72 percent in 1996, and 85 percent in 1998. Gay Democratic support was strong even in years when most voters went Republican, such as 1994. But gay voters in each of these elections did support Republican congressional candidates in sizable numbers—39 percent in 1990, 23 percent in 1992, 26 percent in 1994, and 28 percent in 1996. Similar patterns of support for Democrats have occurred in each presidential election since 1988. In fact, during the 2000 election, exit polls suggest that 70 percent of gay voters went for Gore, 25 percent for Bush, and 4 percent for Nader.

The pattern of gay voters behaving as a voting block has been reinforced by gay movement efforts to register and mobilize gay voters. These efforts began during the 1980 presidential campaign when movement activists started Gay Vote 1980, a nationwide drive to pressure the major parties to adopt gay rights planks in their platforms, register gay voters, and mobilize these new voters to vote for gay-friendly Democrats. Similar efforts have been made in each presidential election cycle since 1980.

As gays have increasingly demonstrated their tendency to vote as a bloc, their ability to influence election outcomes, and thereby ensure the representation of their interests, has increased as well. Thus, the gay movement, by organizing voters and encouraging the identification of gay-friendly candidates, has been able to court political candidates and achieve movement policy goals, especially at the local and state level. In just one example, during the 1998 California race for governor, gays backed Democrat Gray Davis throughout the campaign. Even so, all three Democratic candidates attended a debate held by the Stonewall Democrats, a California gay political group. On Election Day, Bailey found that gay voters comprised 5 percent of the electorate, and gay voters may have provided Davis with his victory margin, with 73 percent of gay voters supporting him. Davis went on to be the most gay-friendly governor in California's history, signing key civil rights legislation addressing discrimination and same-sex couples, among other issues.

Political Party Involvement

Historically, most social movements that survive for any length of time tend to become involved in party politics by forming party-related groups, by ensuring members are selected as delegates to party conventions, by forming caucuses within the party, and by working for and contributing to the campaigns of party members. The gay rights movement has followed a similar pattern, first becoming involved in party politics at the local level in cities such as San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York during the 1960s and 1970s. However, involvement in party politics quickly spread to state and national political parties as well. Indeed, during the 1972 Democratic National Convention, two openly gay delegates, Madeline Davis and Jim Foster, made history when they were allowed to give a televised address before the convention. In return for the strong primary election support from lesbians and gays in the party, 1972 Democratic presidential candidate George McGovern issued a seven-point gay civil rights plank that satisfied the demands of many gay activists at the time.

Although most movement activity in party politics in the United States has been with the Democratic Party, as early as 1972 gay Republicans were involved in party politics, even forming a group to reelect President Richard Nixon. But the Republican Party's focus on traditional family values has led to the belief that Republicans oppose nontraditional gender roles and homosexuality. Both elite and mass Republicans appear to hold these beliefs as public opinion polls show that Republicans are less likely to support gay civil rights. Nevertheless, gay Republicans have made their presence felt. The first time there was an organized and visible gay presence at a Republican National Convention was in 1984, when Ronald Reagan became his party's nominee for a second term. However, this presence did not prevent a conservative faction of the GOP from trying and failing to oust the newly formed Log Cabin Club, a gay Republican group, from the party in 1987. Gay Republicans gained strength, and in 1988 the party's nominee, Vice President George H.W. Bush, endorsed a plan to protect persons with AIDS from discrimination.

But the strongest relations between the gay movement and political parties have been with the Democratic Party. After courting the gay vote in 1976, and backtracking on a few promises, in 1977 President Jimmy Carter invited fourteen gay and lesbian activists to the White House for the first-ever official White House meeting between presidential staff and gays. In addition, in 1979 President Carter appointed open lesbian Jill Schropp to the National Advisory Council on Women in a White House ceremony. Following Carter's campaign, gay activists have been involved in the campaign of every major Democratic presidential candidate.

A nationwide drive to secure a gay rights plank

in the national Democratic Party platform, "Gay Vote 1980," resulted in about a dozen gay delegates in the Iowa caucuses. Indeed, gays were well represented at the 1980 convention. An openly lesbian delegate to the Democratic National Convention, Virginia Appuzzo, used her position to co-author the first gay civil rights party platform plank for a major political party in the United States. Appuzzo helped strengthen the language of the 1980 plank at the 1984 convention. The trend continued in 1982 during the Democratic Party's midterm convention in Philadelphia, where more than sixty-five lesbian and gay activists pressured the party to take a stronger stand on gay civil rights.

The 1992 election cycle proved to be a watermark, as gay activists jumped on Democratic candidate Bill Clinton's bandwagon, serving on his campaign and raising well over $3.4 million for his campaign and the Democratic Party. Clinton took notice and promised to drop the ban on gays in the military if elected. More movement activists also became directly involved in Democratic convention politics—at the 1992 Democratic National Convention 133 delegates were gay or lesbian, compared to 98 at the 1988 convention and 77 at the 1980 convention.

The Republicans responded by arranging a meeting between the chairman of the Bush-Quayle campaign and representatives of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force in February 1992. Gay Republicans also took the opportunity to build their side of the gay movement, founding several new Log Cabin Clubs throughout the country, and gained media attention for the first openly gay delegates to the Republican convention.

In 1996, gays were again active on the Clinton campaign and with national Democratic Party activity, while Republican candidate Bob Dole initially refused a small campaign contribution from the main gay Republican group, the Log Cabin Republicans. Gay Republicans faced similar problems in state Republican Party politics. In 1998, the Texas GOP denied the Log Cabin Republicans (LCR) a booth at the state convention. State Party spokesman Robert Black even compared LCR to the Ku Klux Klan and said, "We don't allow pedophiles, transvestites or cross-dressers either." However, almost thirty LCR of Texas members attended the Republican Party of Texas State Convention in June 1998 as delegates or alternates. It was also the first year that gays held at least one precinct chair position in all major Texas urban counties.

In the 1990s, gay activists also made their voices heard in the Democratic Party through fund-raisers. From 1997 to 2001, gay activists raised record amounts for the Democratic Party through special dinners hosted by President Clinton. For example, in December 1999 gay activists raised a record-breaking $900,000 for the DNC at a luncheon hosted by President Clinton. The luncheon was the third gay fundraiser held by the DNC in three years, with the first event, in 1997, raising $290,000 and the second event, in 1998, raising $401,000 for the DNC. Furthermore, gay Democratic activists created the Stonewall Democrats in 1998, as a federation of forty-five local clubs with a total of 10,000 members. Most of the local clubs were previously independent local Democratic clubs involved in local and state party politics. In 1999, President Clinton nominated gay financial writer Andrew Tobias to be treasurer of the Democratic National Committee (DNC). The nomination placed Tobias in the highest-ranking position ever attained by an openly gay person in a major U.S. party. Tobias had made himself known to Democrats by making over $236,000 in political contributions, including $183,000 to the DNC since 1993.

The presidential campaign of 2000 involved the greatest amount of gay party activity and was exceedingly gay-friendly. The main Republican candidates softened their anti-gay rhetoric. For example, Senator John McCain (R-AZ) had supported gay staff members and gay officials and, like George W. Bush, did eventually meet privately with the main gay Republican group, Log Cabin Republicans. Senator McCain also was the first Republican presidential candidate to accept contributions from a gay group without hesitation. The Republican Party, led by George W. Bush, put on its most "diverse" face for its summer convention in its effort to attract female and minority voters. The Republican convention even featured the first openly gay person to speak at a Republican convention, Congressman Jim Kolbe (R-AZ).

On the Democratic side, openly gay people served on the DNC's site search committee for the 2000 national convention. Democrat Vice President Al Gore's presidential campaign had gays in key posts and gained the support of many national gay leaders. For example, lesbian Julian Potter campaigned for Gore in key primary states. Openly gay Jeffrey Trammell served as Gore's chief adviser on gay issues, and lesbian Donna Brazile served as Gore's campaign manager. As Gore faced the caucus and primary battles in early 2000, he met with twenty leaders of the National Stonewall Democratic Federation, a federation of local Democratic gay groups; Gore's Democratic opponent, Bill Bradley, also met with the group.

To capitalize on the gay vote, the National Stonewall Democrats (NSD) began a "Take Back the House" project, targeting swing districts where the gay vote was significant and where gay resources could influence the outcome. NSD endorsed twenty House candidates. In addition, the national Log Cabin Republican Federation endorsed thirty gay-friendly Republican candidates for the U.S. House. LCR made campaign contributions and ran its own radio ad campaigns that stressed the pro-gay voting records of endorsed congressional candidates in several key states.

In 2001, four openly gay people were named to positions in the DNC. Mark Spengler was promoted to base vote director, Campbell Spencer was named National Gay and Lesbian base vote director, Clay Doherty became the executive director of the Gay and Lesbian Leadership Council of the DNC, and Christine Kenngott was named the deputy director of marketing.

Lesbians and gays have also been involved in third-party politics, especially with the Libertarian Party, which is the third largest political party in the country. Through the work of gay members, the party has adopted several platform planks supportive of the gay rights movement. Since the 1980s, the party has endorsed a number of openly gay or lesbian candidates for local, state, and national office. In addition, gay activists have lobbied the Green Party to adopt a pro-gay party platform, and at least two openly gay people have run for local office under the Green Party label.

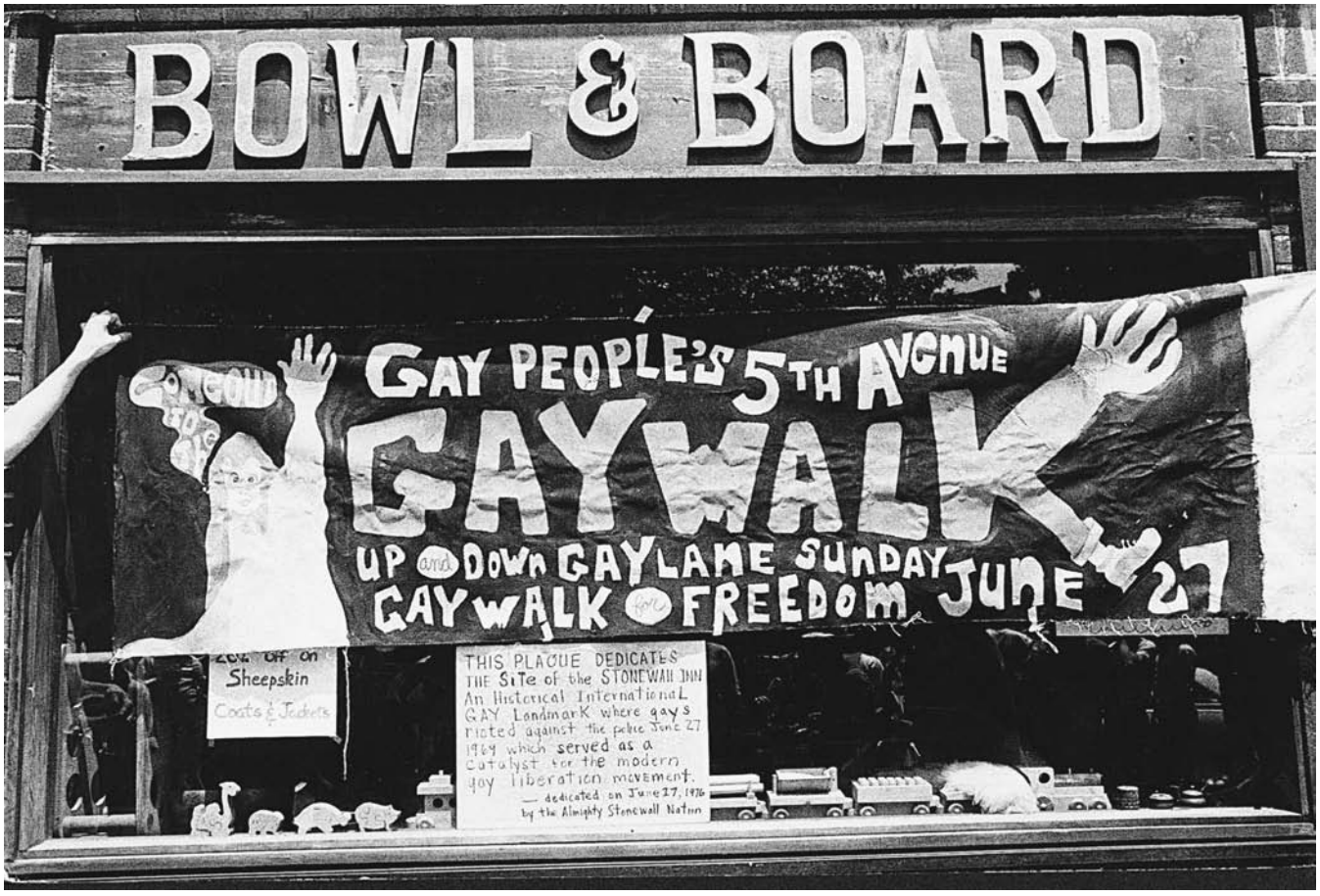
Protest Politics

Prior to 1969, the gay rights movement engaged in few activities that might be called protest politics or direct action tactics. Unlike most social movements, the early gay rights movement largely limited itself to private meetings, education efforts, and social activities. However, in the 1960s, some elements of what was then called the homophile movement began engaging in protest activity, largely at the local level, but some focused on the national government as well. The first use of collective protest at the national level to call for an end to employment discrimination against homosexuals is thought to have been a 1965 picket on several federal departments and agencies, including the White House. However, it was not until the late 1960s that such protest politics began to supersede conventional and assimilationist forms of political behavior within the movement.

The Stonewall Riots of 1969 gave rise to a relatively new branch of the gay movement, which some refer to as the gay liberation movement. The new branch focused on lesbian and gay liberation, as both personal liberation and societal liberation. They believed gay liberation could be achieved through unconventional lifestyles as well as through direct action or protest politics. In the years immediately following Stonewall, the basic unit of the movement became the consciousness-raising group, which focused on giving individuals space to develop a positive gay identity. As positive gay identities were developed, movement activists took to the streets and rejected formalized political participation. This faction of militants was "deeply suspicious of leaders, bureaucracies, and political parties," and directly challenged the movement structure homophile organizations had created. But as a whole the liberation arm of the movement was cemented in the notion that coming out and pursuing gay and lesbian visibility held the key to gay freedom. Protest politics was a natural activity given these beliefs.

New groups were formed following Stonewall, and although many focused on direct action as a political tactic, there were also those bent on using mainstream political tactics, such as lobbying, political party involvement, and campaign involvement. One example of these divisions started as the Gay Liberation Front (GLF), which formed immediately following Stonewall and primarily made use of more radical forms of political action, such as street protests. But soon after its formation, the GLF was divided over what political tactics to use and what issues to pursue. A faction supporting mainstream political tactics split from GLF to form the Gay Activists Alliance (GAA). However, GAA did combine direct action protests with more formal participation in political institutions. In fact, GAA both directly lobbied politicians and conducted "zaps" (organized protests) outside the homes and offices of politicians in its efforts to pass a New York City ordinance banning discrimination against homosexuals.

The gay movement became increasingly divided in the 1970s over the need for mainstream political participation versus street protests. Gay liberationists termed those who pursued mainstream participation "assimilationist." Furthermore, lesbians increasingly claimed there was a gender bias in the movement that was partly based on the notion of what forms of activism are appropriate. Although gay men increasingly focused on political participation within mainstream political organizations, many lesbians turned to creating a counterculture. The new lesbian counterculture was based in music festivals and other



When gay and transgendered patrons at Greenwich Village's Stonewall Inn in New York City resisted police harassment on June 27, 1969, it marked the emergence of the gay liberation movement. Seven years later, a "gay walk for freedom" commemorates the event. *(Bettye Lane)*

alternatives—clubs, bars, and bathhouses. Lesbians also formed new groups to reflect their opposition to a male-dominated movement, including Lesbian Feminist Liberation, which had previously been a faction of GAA. In addition, lesbian activists tended to favor protest politics and were opposed to hierarchical organizations and assimilationist politics.

Although protest politics continued to be included in the movement's repertoire of tactics through the 1970s, especially in states such as California, mainstream political activity became the norm for many movement activists. But with the advent of AIDS in the 1980s and growing frustration with slow government response, protest politics resurged in the movement. In the mid-1980s, AIDS drove a new generation of gay activists to focus on grassroots organizing and collective protest rather than legal reform and legislative lobbying. Groups such as ACT UP—an acronym for AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power—and the Lesbian Avengers formed and used protest politics in an attempt to speed the distribution of funding for AIDS, to promote the Food and Drug Administration's release of new drugs, and to end anti-gay discrimination.

Starting in 1990, chapters of a radical new gay protest group, Queer Nation, sprang up around the country. Queer Nation and the radical offshoot of ACT UP, Treatment Action Group (TAG), continued to practice direct action protests in the early 1990s, with Queer Nation holding kiss-ins and other events meant to garner media attention. Direct action also had an effect on the 1992 presidential campaign; the threat of protests by ACT UP in Little Rock, Arkansas, forced Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton to condemn an Arkansas sodomy law. But more moderate gay and lesbian activists routinely criticized the tactics of ACT UP and other protest groups, creating long-term divisions within the movement. And with

the exception of several marches on Washington and localized protest activities in the late 1990s, the tactic of direct action has been used less frequently. Evidence of the decline comes from a 1999 survey of gay groups in the 250 largest American cities. Only 20 percent indicated that they ever engage in street protests or marches, and none said that they used this tactic more frequently than mainstream tactics, such as meeting with public officials.

Interest Groups

As with most social movements, the gay rights movement has found a clear need to develop formal organizations to recruit members, engage in political activity, and more broadly educate the public. Indeed, some might argue that the gay rights movement, as a political movement, has always been an interest group movement, with most activity occurring within formalized groups. Although the movement clearly possesses counterculture and socially focused elements, gay interest groups have always been the most visible aspect of the political side of the movement.

Gay interest group activity, at one time limited to relatively secretive and anonymous low-activity groups, now includes every type of group and activity, from political action committees (PACs) to litigation and radical direct action groups. Gay participants in the movement and political system are also more diverse now than they were in the past, in terms of gender, race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status.

The 1969 Stonewall riots mobilized many members of the gay community to form new social movement organizations at the local, state, and national levels. Older homophile organizations from the 1950s and 1960s, such as the Mattachine Society, the Society for Individual Rights, and the Daughters of Bilitis, did not adapt to the demands of the new generation of activists and were quickly replaced by new, more aggressive interest groups. In addition, the movement began to develop an increasingly national focus throughout the 1970s. Indeed, the oldest national gay group, the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF; originally the National Gay Task Force), was created in 1973 and set up shop in New York City. Meanwhile, existing and new local groups began to create specialized issue niches to ensure survival, as well as develop more democratic procedures for decision making within groups.

As the 1970s progressed, support for protest politics also declined within the movement. Many activists argued that it was time to shift the "battleground from the self and the streets to the corridors of power" by lobbying government, corporations, and the media. However, lobbying, litigation, and electoral campaigns require professional staff, fund-raising, and a network of communications. Thus, the need for more formalized, professional interest group organizations increased. Existing groups, such as NGLTF, responded to these pressures, but new groups, such as the Gay Rights National Lobby, which formed in 1978, were also created.

The rise of the religious Right and its anti-gay ballot initiative campaigns during the late 1970s also created pressures to establish new interest groups and coordinate the efforts of existing groups. For example, after the first round of anti-gay ballot initiatives to repeal gay civil rights laws in 1977, activists met in Denver at the National Gay Leadership Conference. The over 400 representatives from various gay groups determined that the movement had to focus on education, legislation, and organization.

With the advent of AIDS during the 1980s, the need for formalized permanent interest groups only became stronger. To raise funds for professional staff, including lobbyists and lawyers, groups became increasingly membership-based and sought large wealthy donors. Furthermore, AIDS focused more attention on Washington, D.C., and national groups came to dominate the movement over local groups. In fact, by 1986 the NGLTF had relocated from New York to Washington, D.C., and the movement's largest litigation group, the Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund (LLDEF), increased its size and its caseload. In addition, the Gay Rights National Lobby, which had tried to build a national grassroots network to support lobbying at the national level, was merged with the Human Rights Campaign Fund (later the Human Rights Campaign [HRC]), and the new group restructured itself so that group leaders in D.C. had full control of the organization, its tactics, and strategy.

The movement also created new local and national groups specifically to address AIDS and to lobby government for research funding and services. In addition, state groups began to form in opposition to draconian AIDS proposals in state legislatures and in direct democracy initiatives at the ballot box. Elements of the religious Right were arguing that AIDS was God's punishment for immoral behavior; gay activists were forced to respond by increasingly professionalizing their staff and fund-raising techniques, nationalizing their focus, and framing their arguments so as not to offend mainstream heterosexuals. In fact, groups representing the new AIDS sector of the move-

THE NATIONAL GAY AND LESBIAN TASK FORCE

The National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF) is the oldest surviving national gay and lesbian interest group in the United States. Formed in 1973, the group has a lobbying arm and a Policy Institute. The task force is not structured as a federation of local chapters, but the group's literature suggests that since 1996 it has been trying to build a grassroots movement with state and local groups. To accomplish this goal, the task force holds an annual Creating Change Conference attended by thousands of activists, started its Youth Leadership Training program in 1993, and has built partnerships with more than 120 groups through its Cooperating Organization program.

The task force sponsored the creation of the Federation of Statewide Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgendered Political Organizations in 1997 and has provided critical support to its success. The goal of the federation is to build statewide organizations in all fifty states. In 1999, NGLTF, through the federation, launched a national campaign called Equality Begins at Home. The campaign organized 350 rallies and political and cultural events in all fifty state capitals.

The task force addresses many issues, including antidiscrimination policies for gays and lesbians, anti-gay ballot measures, general homophobia, harassment, and violence against gays and lesbians, sodomy laws, legal protections for gay and lesbian families, and funding of AIDS research and related healthcare. NGLTF goals and strategy are decided in the national office—the structure of the group allows for limited input from local members and lessens conflict within the organization. Although the task force often attempts to coordinate its activities with local and state groups, tensions between itself and other national groups (especially the Human Rights Campaign) have sometimes restricted its cooperation with most national groups.

By 1995, NGLTF had a budget of $3.1 million and, by 1996, 35,000 members and a staff of twenty-one. By the late 1990s, the group began to face some criticism as well as staff turnover and budget problems. Nevertheless, in 2000 NGLTF had grown to a full-time staff of thirty-five and a budget approaching $4.4 million. However, in 2001 the group's budget dropped to $3.6 million, and membership levels remained at about 35,000 as the NGLTF continued to face something of an identity crisis.

Even with its recent problems, NGLTF has built an impressive record of accomplishments. In 1975, the group convinced the U.S. Civil Service Commission to make a ruling allowing homosexuals to serve in government employment. That same year the group helped convince U.S. Representative Bella Abzug (D-NY) to introduce the first gay rights bill in Congress. In 1978, NGLTF released the first-ever study of sexual orientation discrimination in private companies. Between 1982 and 1984, the task force became the first national group to give significant attention to hate crimes. It launched a national project on hate crime, established a crisis hotline, and began a series of reports on anti-gay hate crime. The actions culminated in the group's leadership of the national hate crimes coalition, which passed the 1990 Hate Crimes Statistics Act. In 1991, the task force began a national antidiscrimination campaign against the Cracker Barrel restaurant chain, began the Families Project with the National Center for Lesbian Rights, gave the first briefing on people of color and AIDS to the Congressional Black Caucus, and developed the Fight the Right Action Kit for activists.

The NGLTF started its Policy Institute in 1995, as well hosting the first Youth Leadership Training camp and held the first Progressive People of Color Grassroots Organizers Summit. And in 1996 NGLTF coordinated simultaneous grassroots events in thirty-six communities across the country to raise awareness about the Supreme Court ruling on opposition to Colorado's Amendment 2. In the late 1990s, the task force began publishing important first-ever reports on everything from gay voting to gay-related legislation in the states. Indeed, NGLTF's publications on gay civil rights, voting, and state legislative activity, among others, have been indispensable for activists and researchers.

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ment felt these pressures even more keenly and quickly moved to become part of medical and service sector bureaucratic structures.

By the late 1980s and early 1990s, the universe of gay interest groups had become increasingly diverse, as new, more specialized groups formed, and older, more generalized groups tended to die out. At the national level, involvement with the movement has increasingly come to mean writing a check rather than more direct forms of participation, such as attending

meetings. The largest national groups were, and still are, the NGLTF and the HRC. Both groups have focused their attention on lobbying government officials, coordinating with local and state activists on policy issues, and becoming involved in political campaigns. Through its affiliated PAC, HRC has grown to become one of the fifty largest PACs in the country.

Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund quickly became the largest national group focused on protecting and expanding gay civil rights through litigation, and in the 1990s the group expanded its operations by establishing several new regional offices. As a rule, the surviving generalized gay groups are much larger than the more specialized groups. However, Parents, Families, and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG) is probably the greatest exception to this general rule. PFLAG has established over 100 local chapters around the United States, fosters grassroots input, and works to coordinate the activities of local groups. As its name suggests, however, PFLAG is largely composed of heterosexuals, which makes it more specialized than the other large groups.

Gay Republicans, while still being kept at arm's length by their party in the 1990s, began to play a larger lobbying role in the movement through their organization, the Log Cabin Republicans (LCR), a federation of local clubs focused on electing and educating moderate Republican politicians on issues such as AIDS. LCR first formed as a local group in California in 1978, but several local clubs merged in 1990 and finally became the LCR in 1995. In the 1990s, LCR assisted in the gubernatorial elections of Pete Wilson in California and William Weld in Massachusetts. Wilson was a disappointment on gay issues, but Weld became one of the most pro-gay governors in the country. LCR formed an affiliated PAC in 1996 and since then has contributed thousands of dollars to the campaigns of moderate Republican candidates. In April 2002, President Bush invited some fifty LCR leaders to an official White House briefing in an administration effort to indicate appreciation for LCR's campaign support in 2000. Although Democratic presidents or advisers had met with gay activists on several occasions, this was the first time a Republican administration invited gay activists to the White House.

Gay PACs became even more specialized in 1991 when movement activists formed the Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund, a PAC focused solely on electing openly lesbian and gay candidates to political office at all levels of government. By 2001, the Victory Fund had contributed over $2 million to hundreds of candidates; it typically sees at least 70 percent of its endorsed candidates elected.

At the national level, participation in and contributions to these groups increased significantly in the 1990s and early 2000s. From 1993 to 1995, the number of individual contributors to the largest six gay groups increased 161 percent, and from 1995 to 1997, the number of contributors increased 82 percent, from 203,000 to 370,000. During the 1990s, most national groups also saw their budgets significantly increase, and in 1997, the largest eleven national groups had a combined budget of almost $26 million. In 1999, the budgets of these groups increased to nearly $40 million, even though some groups, such as the NGLTF, began to see budget declines. Although these figures are impressive, the budgets of the largest six religious conservative groups opposed to gay rights, including Focus on the Family and the Christian Coalition, added to a combined total of $404 million in 1999. Finally, a 2001 survey of the eleven largest national gay groups by *The Washington Blade* found that the budgets of these groups grew 24 percent from 1999, to nearly $50 million.

State and Local Groups

National groups have clearly come to dominate the gay movement since the late 1970s, but local and state interest groups have played a critical role in the movement's evolution. Moreover, as national groups have increasingly begun to recognize that their lobbying and campaign activity is disconnected from grassroots lesbian and gay activists, they have turned their attention to building bridges and coordinating with these groups. Nevertheless, there is an ongoing debate in the movement over where efforts should be focused, nationally or in the states.

Outside of a few states, most gay movement activity at the state level was relatively haphazard until 1988. Prior to 1988, some groups had formed in states like California and Oregon to fight against anti-gay ballot measures, but most of these groups were temporary. In addition, key activists had lobbied on their own in state legislatures, such as Wisconsin and New York, but most lacked the resources of formal organizations. During the 1990s, statewide gay groups increasingly formed and began to lobby government officials, contribute to and participate in electoral campaigns, and initiate litigation in state courts to expand or protect the rights of lesbians and gays. Much of the state-level lobbying since the 1980s has been focused on passing laws banning discrimination because of sexual orientation, repealing homosexual

sodomy laws, obtaining AIDS funding and legal protections for persons with HIV/AIDS, ruling against hate crime, and more recently, allowing same-sex marriage.

Beginning with a scattering of groups in the late 1980s, the number of formal and continuously active gay groups active in state politics grew to thirty-six by 1998. According to a *Washington Blade* survey of those groups, about one-third had two or more paid professional staff, another third had only one paid staff member, and the remainder use all-volunteer staff. In addition, some of these groups are able to hire temporary professional lobbyists to lobby state government, a pattern similar to that used by other single-issue and social issue groups in the states. The number of state groups grew to thirty-eight in 2001, but fewer than ten of these groups appear to have much influence in state politics.

At the local level, the number and activities of gay groups have been difficult to track. Clearly, many gay activists in the movement have gotten their start with local groups, but many of these groups exist for only a short time, sometimes dying off, and other times being merged with other like-minded groups.

In 2001, about 800 local gay political groups were active, but perhaps twice that number of gay social and cultural groups were in operation. On average, these groups tend to be small, typically maintaining a membership base of fewer than fifty people. However, approximately 150 to 200 of these groups have some type of operating budget and even paid staff. Local groups engage in many of the same activities as national and state groups, including lobbying government officials, working on political campaigns, and educating the public. However, local groups are somewhat more likely to engage in direct action tactics, such as street protests, than are state or national groups.

Public Policy and Law

In one way or another, most social movement activity intends to directly or indirectly influence public policy—what government does. The political activities of gays and lesbians discussed so far, voting, party politics, protest politics, and interest group formation and involvement, are all efforts to indirectly or directly influence government policies regarding homosexuals and homosexuality. Although some government actions prior to 1969 were positive for the gay community, such as U.S. Supreme Court rulings allowing homosexual groups to use the U.S. mail, state actions to repeal homosexual sodomy laws, and laws to end local police harassment of gay bars, the movement achieved few policy victories until the 1970s.

National Policy

Of the multitude of federal court decisions that impact the lives of gay men and lesbians, four of the most significant legal cases to address homosexuality and the civil rights of lesbians and gays have been decided by the U.S. Supreme Court since 1969. The four cases were *Bowers v. Hardwick* (1986), *Romer v. Evans* (1996), *Boy Scouts of America v. Dale* (2000), and *Lawrence and Garner v. Texas* (2003).

In *Bowers v. Hardwick,* the Supreme Court rejected the right to privacy claims of a man convicted of illegal homosexual sex under Georgia's law banning sodomy. In *Boy Scouts of America v. Dale,* the Court ruled that the Boy Scouts of America could ban homosexuals from their organization in order to maintain the moral objectives of the organization. Thus, in these two cases, which have guided lower court decisions in a variety of gay-related issues, the Court upheld as constitutional discriminatory treatment of homosexuals and refused to accept the notion that privacy rights extend to homosexual behavior.

However, in *Romer v. Evans* the Court ruled that Amendment 2, a law passed by ballot initiative in Colorado that would have repealed existing gay civil rights laws and blocked the enactment of new laws, was unconstitutional because the law violated the equal protection rights of homosexuals. Specifically, the law would have unconstitutionally prevented homosexuals from using the political process to achieve policy goals. Furthermore, in *Lawrence and Garner v. Texas* the Court overturned a Texas law banning homosexual sodomy largely on the argument that the ruling in *Bowers* was wrong, and that the right to privacy embedded in the Constitution made all laws banning sodomy, heterosexual or homosexual, unconstitutional. Although the decisions in *Bowers v. Hardwick* and *Boy Scouts of America v. Dale* were major defeats that left gays vulnerable to discrimination and harassment, the rulings in *Romer* and *Lawrence* may have established the platform on which LGBT equality is assured.

In Congress gay and lesbian issues were largely ignored prior to the 1970s. A few exceptions to this rule included congressional investigations into gays as a security threat and a 1960s effort to end the political activities of a Washington, D.C.-based group. It wasn't until 1974 that any pro-gay measures were introduced in Congress. That first bill would have pro-

Army veteran Dane Hays, who served in both the Vietnam War and the Gulf War, marches in the Lesbian and Gay Pride March in New York City on June 25, 1995. Marchers urged an end to discrimination in the armed forces. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

vided civil rights protections to homosexuals and was proposed by groups such as NGLTF, which convinced two New York representatives to introduce the bill in the House. The bill did not even receive a committee hearing, but similar bills were introduced each year until committee hearings were finally held in October of 1980. The previous year, leaders of the Gay Rights National Lobby had convinced Senator Paul Tsongas (D-MA) to introduce a similar bill in the Senate for the first time.

In the late 1970s, gay interest group leaders increasingly gained access to Congress and were invited to testify in congressional hearings on a number of issues. The hearings covered diverse subjects, including the funding of venereal disease clinics that focused on homosexuals, homosexuality on television, alcoholism among lesbians, the impact of welfare reform on homosexuals, revision or elimination of Washington, D.C.'s sodomy law, homosexuality in prisons, the access of special interest groups to telecommunications, including questions in the census to identify homosexuals, and the repeal of federal welfare benefits to homosexuals under HR 4122, the Family Protection Act of 1979.

Anti-gay opponents, however, fought back. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, members of Congress opposed to gays used the amendment process to prevent the Legal Services Corporation from using any of its funds to deal with homosexual issues or to promote gay rights, and to prevent the District of Columbia from repealing its laws against homosexual sodomy. These efforts coincided with the rise of an anti-gay backlash, led by the religious Right, a backlash that was first manifested in several state and local direct democracy efforts to repeal or ban legal protections for gays.

As the 1980s progressed, it became clear that AIDS was decimating the gay community. Gay groups had mobilized to force government action on the issue, but Congress did not allocate specific funds until 1985. However, Congress began holding hearings on the disease that came to be known as AIDS as early as 1982, and once Congress began to act on AIDS, the gay movement began to find more support in Congress, largely from northern Democrats and moderate Republicans. However, conservatives in Congress, such as Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC), also consistently used AIDS funding legislation as a vehicle for passing amendments to prohibit the use of any federal funds in "promoting" homosexuality.

In the late 1980s, gay groups were largely able to defend against conservative attacks directed at the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) in a series of battles that arose because of NEA funding of what some legislators referred to as "homoerotic" art. National gay groups were also successful in building liberal coalitions to pass the 1990 Americans with Disabilities Act, which included legal protections for persons with HIV/AIDS; the 1990 Hate Crime Statistics Act, which required the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to collect statistics on hate crimes motivated by bias toward the victim's race, ethnicity, gender, or sexual orientation; and the Ryan White CARE Act of 1990, which provided ongoing funding for AIDS treatment and research.

Some of these victories in the early 1990s were quickly followed by major defeats. In 1993, the movement, even with the support of the president, was un-

able to convince Congress to overturn the ban on homosexuals serving openly in the military. Instead, existing administrative rules were replaced with the now infamous "don't ask, don't tell" policy, and in 1996, Congress passed the Defense of Marriage Act, which banned persons in same-sex marriages from receiving a number of government benefits. In addition, following two decades without a floor vote, legislation that would have banned sexual orientation discrimination was narrowed to cover only discrimination in employment in 1994. When this watered-down bill (the Employment Nondiscrimination Act) finally reached its first floor vote in 1996, the Senate killed it in a tight (50–49) vote. The remainder of the 1990s saw minor victories and losses for the gay movement in Congress. But in December 2001 Congress finally lifted its ban preventing the District of Columbia from using federal funds to operate its domestic partner benefits program for city employees—Congress had upheld the ban since 1993.

Outside of Presidents Carter and Clinton, the executive branch has paid little attention to the gay rights movement, but movement lobbying did lead to some actions. In 1975, the U.S. Civil Service Commission ended the ban on the hiring or retaining of homosexuals, and in 1976 the Immigration and Naturalization Service limited its ban on homosexual immigration to only those who had been convicted of sex crimes. A policy barring gays from employment in the Foreign Service was lifted in 1977, the same year that gay and lesbian activists were invited to the White House for the first time, and the Internal Revenue Service canceled a policy that had forced homosexual education and charity groups to publicly state that homosexuality is a "sickness, disturbance, or diseased pathology" before being given tax-exempt (501) status.

After initially responding slowly in the 1980s to AIDS, federal bureaucracies such as the National Institutes for Health bowed to pressure from gay activists and increased their funding for HIV/AIDS research. President Clinton took office in 1993 after having heavily courted the gay community in the 1992 campaign. Although Clinton was unable to fulfill his promise of overturning the ban on gays in the military, he quickly began appointing open gays and lesbians to executive branch positions, some of which required Senate confirmation, and established the first official liaison office for the gay community. President Clinton also supported congressional legislation protecting gay civil rights and strengthening federal hate crime laws. When Congress refused to act, President Clinton signed an executive order in 1998 prohibiting civilian federal departments, agencies, and commissions from discriminating on the basis of sexual orientation. An attempt by Congress to overturn the order was blocked, and by 2002 most federal civilian departments, agencies, and commissions had instituted programs to reflect the order.

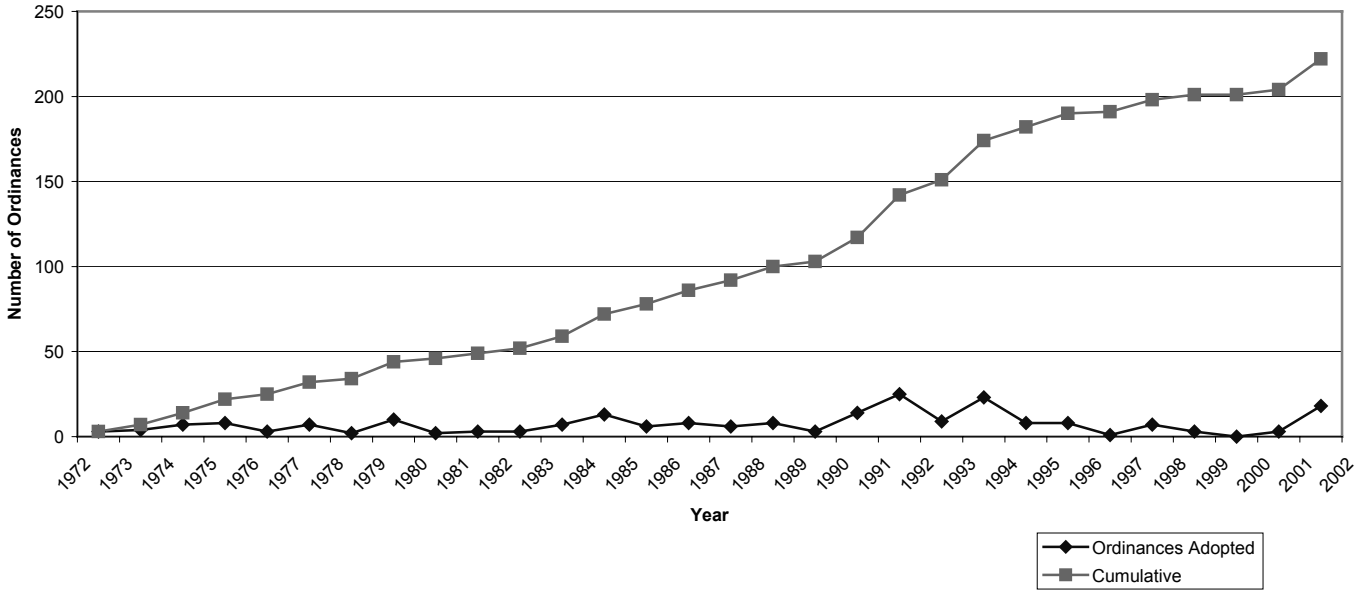
State and Local Policy

Although the movement has clearly made inroads at the national level, its greatest policy accomplishments have occurred at the state and local levels, especially in the areas of antidiscrimination laws, hate crimes, domestic partner benefits, and the repeal of laws banning homosexual sodomy. Figure 1 dramatically shows how the movement has built an impressive record of local policies banning sexual orientation discrimination. Gay activists have fought for and passed these laws in well over 200 localities since 1972. The laws typically cover public employees, but some cover discrimination in other areas, including private employment, credit, and housing. Based on state and local laws, about 38 percent of the U.S. population is protected from sexual orientation discrimination in private employment, and about half of the U.S. population is protected from sexual orientation discrimination in public employment.

Wisconsin was the first state to pass an antidiscrimination law when it banned discrimination based on "sexual preference" in 1982. Since then, another twelve states have passed statutes to ban discrimination based on sexual orientation in public employment; another five states have similar laws through gubernatorial executive orders. In 1993, Minnesota became the first state to add gender identity to its civil rights laws, and two other states soon followed. Another twenty-seven local governments have adopted similar policies since 1990.

In the absence of legal marriage, some movement activists have called for other forms of legal recognition for same-sex partners. One type of recognition is a domestic partner registry. Same-sex partners meeting certain criteria apply for the registry, pay a fee, and receive a certificate from the government that formally recognizes their commitment to one another. In some areas this registry also provides certain legal rights, such as hospital visitation rights. By 2002, at least forty-one localities in California had some type of domestic partner registry. In addition, Vermont adopted the first civil union law in 2000, providing legal recognition of same-sex partners and most of the legal benefits and obligations of marriage. Through

Figure 1. Local Adoption of Antidiscrimination Laws Covering Sexual Orientation, 1972–2002



Source: Data compiled by the author based on information from the National Lesbian and Gay Task Force and keyword searches of LexisNexis newspaper archives.

legislation and litigation efforts by gay groups, eight states and eighty-three local governments have begun to offer domestic partner benefits for the partners of public employees. These benefits typically include health and dental insurance coverage. In addition, a few cities, such as San Francisco and Atlanta, have passed laws requiring companies with city contracts to offer domestic partner benefits to their employees.

State and local legislation addressing movement policy goals has generally been on the increase since the late 1980s. But prior to 1993, few pro-gay bills were introduced. Two additional areas of concern for the gay rights movement at the state level have been hate crime and laws banning homosexual sex. Early repeals of laws banning homosexual sex, typically called sodomy laws or laws banning "crimes against nature," began in the 1960s when many states were revising their criminal codes. However, activists began focusing on these laws in the 1970s, seeking legislative repeal. In those states where legislative repeal seems remote, gay groups have challenged these laws in court. Indeed, the *Bowers* v. *Hardwick* case discussed above was a challenge to Georgia's sodomy law. By June 2003, the Supreme Court nullified all sodomy laws in its ruling on the constitutionality of a Texas law banning sodomy. Only thirteen states had not repealed, through court decisions or legislation, laws banning homosexual sex.

Another area of significant concern for gay groups at the local and state levels has been hate crime. Hate crimes are crimes committed wholly or in part because of the victim's perceived status or group affiliation, such as being a homosexual. Starting in the 1980s, local and state gay groups have attempted to combat hate crime in several ways, including establishing street patrols, creating counseling services and hotlines for reporting hate crime, working with police on training programs for the identification and pursuit of hate crime, and lobbying for local and state policies that track hate crime, allow for civil penalties, and enhance criminal penalties for hate crime. By 2001, at least twenty-seven states and twelve local governments had adopted at least one of these policies.

The gay movement at the state and local levels has also faced political battles in direct democracy campaigns. In many U.S. localities and twenty-four states, citizens can petition the legislature (referendum) or directly place policy questions (initiative) before voters after collecting a set number of voter signatures. If the proposal passes by popular vote, it becomes law. Citizens draft these proposals, and they cover virtually every topic. The gay movement has been involved in these ballot contests by placing their own proposals on the ballot—typically measures to ban discrimination based on sexual orientation—but most of these measures fail. In fact, since 1972 at least thirty-two pro-gay measures have been voted on in

HARVEY MILK (1930–1978)

Born on May 22, 1930, in Long Island, New York, Harvey Milk graduated from Albany State College in 1951. Milk entered the U.S. Navy shortly thereafter and advanced to the rank of chief petty officer on the *USS Kittyhawk* during the Korean War. He was dishonorably discharged when his homosexuality was discovered. He returned to Manhattan to become a Wall Street investment banker.

Milk moved to San Francisco, California, in 1969 and operated a camera store. He served as an advocate for local businesses in dealing with the municipal government. To help his neighboring merchants cooperate more effectively with the city government, Milk founded the Castro Valley Association (CVA). Through the CVA, Milk organized the gay community along political lines and made alliances with labor unions and political leaders. After four unsuccessful attempts, he was elected to San Francisco's Board of Supervisors in 1977. His election came at the same time the national political scene was becoming increasingly conservative and less tolerant of minority opinion, epitomized by anti-gay activist Anita Bryant's campaign "Save Our Children."

One of the first openly gay elected officials in California, Milk was instrumental in passing the city's gay rights ordinance. After serving only eleven months, and at the peak of his influence in gay civil rights even on the national scene, Milk was shot to death. Former city supervisor Dan White shot and killed Milk and Mayor George Moscone on November 27, 1978. White had resigned his seat on the board following the enactment of the Gay Civil Rights bill, which he had opposed. White's attorney argued that the defendant could not be held accountable for his actions because the amount of junk food he had eaten on the day of the shootings had exacerbated White's depression. The "Twinkie defense," as it is now known, worked and White received a conviction of only two counts of voluntary manslaughter and a prison sentence of seven years and eight months. White's sentence triggered a riot in San Francisco's homosexual community. After serving only six years, White was paroled and committed suicide a short time later. Milk's assassination brought Milk something that was then rare for openly gay men—mainstream empathy.

James G. Lewis

local and state elections, but only 31 percent of these measures have passed. But perhaps most important, since 1977 opponents of gay civil rights have used the direct democracy process to repeal or ban gay civil rights laws. Gay rights opponents have been far more successful in these contests, passing 71 percent of the ninety-two measures voted on since 1977. And although the courts have frequently overturned these measures, it seems clear that gays and lesbians tend to lose when their civil rights are decided in a majoritarian arena. The upshot for the gay movement has been that the battles to defeat these measures have often led to the creation of new local or statewide gay interest groups that continue to mobilize the gay community even after the measures are voted on.

Openly Gay and Lesbian Public Officials

In any democratic system a central concern is political representation. One means by which we can evaluate the success of the gay movement is in terms of the movement's ability to achieve symbolic representation through the election or appointment of government officials that belong to or identify with the movement. Furthermore, research suggests that the likelihood that governments will adopt at least some of the policies discussed above is enhanced by the presence of openly lesbian or gay elected officials. The gay rights movement has clearly recognized these important elements of representative democracy and since 1969 has increasingly focused on the election and appointment of openly gay or lesbian officials at the national, state, and local levels.

There are over 500,000 elective offices in the United States and perhaps five times that number of government positions for which someone has to be appointed by a legislature or executive. Although gays hold very few of these positions, their numbers have been steadily increasing since the 1970s. The first openly gay person to run for public office was Jose Sarria, who ran for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in 1961. Sarria lost his race but helped to inspire gays and lesbians, such as Harvey Milk, to run for public office throughout the 1970s. Most of these candidates lost their races as well, and by 1987 the movement could claim only twenty openly gay elected officials in the country. By 1990, a total of fifty openly gay officials had served in public offices across America. In 1991, there were only fifty-two openly gay elected officials; by April of 1998 there were at least

One of the nation's most prominent openly gay politicians, San Francisco Supervisor Harvey Milk acknowledges supporters during the Gay Freedom Parade on June 26, 1978. He would be assassinated five months later. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

146 gay elected officials holding office in twenty-seven states and the District of Columbia, and by 2002 that number had risen above 200.

By 2002, the movement could claim significant success at the ballot box, with increasing numbers of lesbians and gays running for and winning local, state, and national elections. In 2002, there were three openly gay members of Congress, including Rep. Tammy Baldwin (D-WI), the first open lesbian elected to Congress, and the first nonincumbent open lesbian or gay elected to Congress. At the state level, increasing numbers of gays have been elected to state legislatures and even executive branch positions. Arizona has been a leader in the election of openly gay officials, with a gay member of Congress, two openly gay state legislators, and a city (Tempe) that is the largest city in the country with an openly gay mayor. States such as California have considerable numbers of gay officials in state and local offices (thirty-six), while New York has at least seventeen. Moreover, some cities, such as Wilton Manors, Florida, even have a gay majority on their city councils.

The number of openly gay state legislators has risen dramatically since 1996, but the first openly gay state legislators were Elaine Noble (Massachusetts House) and Allan Spear (Minnesota Senate). Noble came out first in 1974 as an open lesbian after being elected and went on to serve two terms. Spear was first elected to the state senate in 1972 and came out in 1974, serving until he retired in 2000. In addition, the first transgender state legislator in the county was Althea Garrison, elected in 1992; she served only one term in the Massachusetts House of Representatives.

At the local level, gays have most often served on city and county legislatures but have held a variety of executive positions, including mayor and sheriff. Since 1983, at least twenty gay individuals have served at least one term as mayor. At least 130 openly

Leaders of the Spirit of Stonewall, one of many groups spawned by the gay liberation movement of the late twentieth century, speak to reporters on June 24, 1994. The legendary Harry Hay, founder of the Mattachine Society and the Radical Faeries, is third from left. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

gay persons have occupied seats on local legislatures, and representation has increased over time, especially during the 1990s. However, the first openly gay elected official (for any office) in the county was Kathy Kozachenko, who was elected to the Ann Arbor, Michigan, City Council in April 1974. Other positions held by open gays and lesbians at the local level include seats on special commissions, neighborhood committees, planning boards, local party organizations, school boards, community college districts, and courts.

Finally, movement representation through the appointment of open lesbians and gays to government positions has also been aggressively pursued by gay activists and has generally been on the increase since the 1970s. However, because many of these positions are relatively obscure, no systematic data exist on the number of open gays and lesbians appointed to local, state, or national positions.

President Carter was the first president to appoint an openly gay person to a national office, and Presidents Reagan and Bush did not appoint any open gays to office. President Clinton repaid the gay movement for its support of his 1992 and 1996 campaigns by appointing 150 open gays and lesbians to positions in the executive branch and the White House. However, the names of only twenty-six of these appointees were ever released, and only five of these appointments required Senate confirmation. Although President George W. Bush suggested during the 2000 presidential campaign that he would not appoint an open homosexual in his administration, the strong electoral support provided to him by groups such as the Log Cabin Republicans apparently convinced him to appoint seven open gays to his administration by March 2002 over the objections of religious conservatives. However, the White House never publicly stated any of these officials were gay, and the White

House press secretary, Ari Fleischer, "said a person's sexual orientation is irrelevant to the appointment process."

At the state and local levels, at least 200 gays and lesbians have been appointed to positions in government, but the actual figure is certainly much higher. These local and state positions have included seats on courts, coastal commissions, zoning boards, human rights commissions, and boards of trustees for state university systems. The first appointment to a local or state position occurred in San Francisco in 1973 when the mayor appointed lesbian Jo Daly to the city's Cablevision Task Force. Over time, appointments became more diverse and significant, offering gays access to the halls of power. In 1998, Reform Party Minnesota governor-elect Jesse Ventura even selected openly gay Steven Bosacker to lead his transition team. Bosacker went on to become Ventura's chief of staff in 1999. In California, Governor Gray Davis thanked the gay community for their 1998 electoral support by appointing at least thirty-seven high-level, open gays and lesbians to his administration by March 2002.

Public Opinion

Perhaps the most dramatic impact of the gay rights movement can be seen through changes in public opinion about homosexuals and homosexuality since 1969. Public support for the civil rights of lesbians and gays has increased considerably in the past thirty years, along with support for openly gay candidates and tolerance of homosexuality and same-sex sexual relations.

For example, the percentage of Americans who believe that homosexual sex should be illegal has generally declined over time. In 1977, the Gallup Poll asked national adults if "homosexual relations between consenting adults should be legal or illegal?" Almost 43 percent of respondents said illegal and 43 percent said legal. The percentage of respondents saying that homosexual sex should be illegal spiked in the middle of the AIDS scare in 1988 at 57 percent, but by 2001 the percentage of respondents saying it should be legal became a majority for the first time at 54 percent. Similar questions have been asked in the General Social Survey since 1972, and after 1991, the percentage of respondents believing that same-sex sexual relations are sometimes not wrong or never wrong nearly doubled.

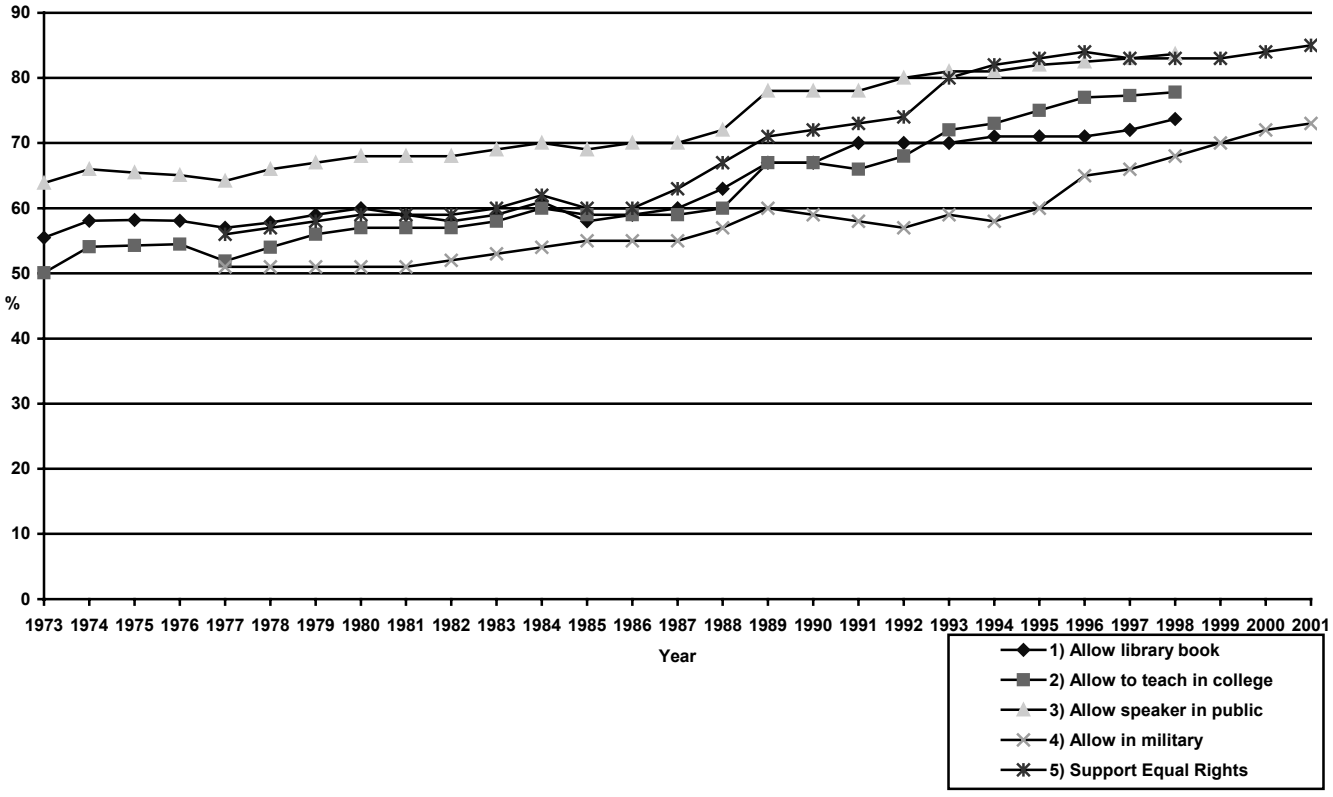
On specific questions concerning the civil rights and liberties of gays and lesbians, the public has become increasingly tolerant and supportive of legal protections against discrimination. Since the 1970s, the General Social Survey and the Gallup Poll have also asked survey questions on support for allowing homosexuals to speak in public, to teach, and to serve in the military, permitting books on homosexuality in public libraries, and for ensuring equal employment rights. The responses to each survey question are displayed in Figure 2 as the percentage of respondents supportive of gay civil rights and liberties.

Support for gay civil liberties and civil rights has increased significantly since the early 1970s, and the increase tracks well with the increasing number of government protections for homosexuals, as well as the increasing number of elected lesbian and gay officials. Moreover, these numbers correspond with the increase and growth of gay interest groups over time. Other national surveys also clearly show that large majorities of Americans now favor equal rights for gays in housing, employment, public accommodations, and credit practices. However, these same polls suggest there is weaker support for same-sex marriage, for the adoption of children by same-sex couples, and for allowing homosexuals to work in professions dealing directly with children.

Support for gay and lesbian political candidates has also been on the increase since the 1970s. The Gallup Poll has asked adults in several national surveys if they would vote for a homosexual presidential candidate. Specifically, in 1978, 1983, and 1999 Gallup asked if respondents would support their party's nominee for president if the party nominated a generally well-qualified person for president who happened to be a homosexual. In 1978, only 26 percent of respondents said yes, in 1983, 29 percent said yes, but by 1999, 59 percent said they would vote for a homosexual candidate for president.

Finally, since the 1970s, the gay rights movement has consistently argued that a major goal of the movement must be to educate the public about homosexuality. In order to accomplish this goal, gays and lesbians must be public about their sexual orientation—they must "come out." By coming out, gays and lesbians allow their friends, family, and co-workers to know a gay person, and thereby come to realize that gay people are just like everyone else. Movement activists believe this recognition leads to greater tolerance of homosexuality and support for lesbian and gay civil rights. Public opinion data support this perspective. The more gay people a person knows, the more supportive they are of homosexuality and gay civil rights and liberties, spanning issues from job protections to gay adoption and to same-sex marriage.

Figure 2. Support for Homosexual Civil Rights and Liberties, 1973 to 2001



Notes: Data compiled by the author from General Social Survey (GSS) and Gallup Poll questions asked of adults in the United States. The responses to each survey question are displayed as the percentage of respondents indicating a response supportive of gay civil rights and liberties. The questions were stated as: 1) "If some people in your community suggested that a book he wrote in favor of homosexuality should be taken out of your public library, would you favor removing this book, or not?" 2) "And what about a man who admits that he is a homosexual? Should such a person be allowed to teach in a college or university, or not?" 3) "And what about a man who admits that he is a homosexual? Suppose this admitted homosexual wanted to make a speech in your community. Should he be allowed to speak, or not?" 4) "Now I'd like to ask you about the hiring of homosexuals in specific occupations. Do you think homosexuals should or should not be hired for the following occupations: The armed forces?" 5) "As you may know, there has been considerable discussion in the news regarding the rights of homosexual men and women. In general, do you think homosexuals should or should not have equal rights in terms of job opportunities?"

Indeed, the only subgroup that has majority support for same-sex marriage is those people who know at least one gay person. One potential benefit of this phenomenon is that as more public figures and celebrities are open about their sexual orientation, the public may grow even more tolerant and supportive of gay civil rights and liberties because individuals come to see public figures as people they "know."

Donald P. Haider-Markel

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Referenda and the Anti–Gay Rights Movement

The gay liberation movement emerged in the late 1960s on the heels of the black civil rights and women's movements. From that time, gay groups became more aggressive in protesting discrimination. During the first half of the 1970s, the movement encountered little organized opposition and successfully lobbied for a number of legislative reforms. By 1982, twenty-five states had repealed sodomy laws prohibiting consensual sex acts conducted in private between adults. By the end of 1978, thirty-six municipalities, seven counties, and one state had enacted some form of legislation or executive order prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. These policies varied widely in wording and scope, but most included protection against discrimination in employment, housing, and public accommodations.

Miami Gay Rights Law

The first challenge that resulted in a referendum on a so-called gay rights law occurred in Florida in Dade County (which is coextensive with the Miami metropolitan area) in 1977. The previous year, forty-five of forty-nine candidates endorsed by a coalition of gay organizations were elected, and soon after the group began to lobby for passage of an amendment to the county antidiscrimination law to include sexual and affectional preference. Opposition formed, and the debate was quickly subverted to a discussion on the acceptability of homosexuality rather than a human rights issue. Conservative Christians, objecting on religious grounds, were the primary opponents of the ordinance. Other popular arguments against the ordinance were that children would be more exposed to homosexuality, encouraged to become homosexuals, and possibly molested. The ordinance did not apply to public schools but would have affected hiring practices in private schools.

When the ordinance passed, prominent Roman Catholic, local attorney, and sometimes public official Bob Brake arranged an initiative petition to repeal the law. An organization called Save Our Children (SOC) was formed to coordinate this effort, and singer Anita Bryant was elected president. Strong local and national media attention throughout the campaign resulted from her involvement. SOC gained most of its support from religious communities and laid plans to collect the necessary 10,000 signatures on a petition to force a referendum on the issue. Opponents also mounted legal challenges to the ordinance, which failed. The media in Miami largely opposed the ordinance. Forty-five percent of registered voters turned out for the June poll; 66 percent voted for repeal.

The SOC campaign encouraged a series of gay rights repeal efforts and other measures that occurred across the country: Later in June, U.S. Representative Edward Boland (D-MA) introduced the Stable Family Amendment, and Representative Lawrence McDonald (D-GA) introduced similar legislation designed to limit certain government services to homosexuals. In Minnesota, State Senator Florian Chmielewski praised Bryant and announced plans to introduce legislation to make sodomy a criminal offense. The Arkansas House of Representatives voted unanimously to commend Bryant and reinstated a law banning sodomy. In Florida, laws were passed prohibiting homosexuals from adopting children and same-sex marriages. In Broward County, Florida (Ft. Lauderdale), the Human Rights Advisory Board voted not to support a similar gay rights ordinance. In Austin, Texas, voters rejected a gay rights bill that the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) had expected to pass easily before the Miami campaign. In Dover, New Hampshire, City Councilor Arnold Peters announced that he was inspired by Bryant and proposed an ordinance banning gay school teachers. And though he later backed down, in November 1977, Nolan Estes, superintendent of the Dallas, Texas, school

system, stated that any schoolteacher identified as homosexual would be asked to resign. Conservative Christians around the nation, typified by leaders such as Jerry Falwell, became vocal in their opposition to gay rights

Extension and Repeal of Antidiscrimination Laws

In the eighteen months following the Miami repeal, Ingham County, Michigan, and six cities (Champaign, Illinois; Wichita, Kansas; Eugene, Oregon; Aspen, Colorado; San Francisco, California; and Berkeley, California) extended their antidiscrimination laws to protect gay people. New York City Mayor Ed Koch issued an executive order to this end the day after his inauguration. Two of these laws were withdrawn or repealed (Wichita and Eugene) a short time after passage. In addition, in two places, laws that had already been in existence for some time came under challenge.

In April 1978, St. Paul, Minnesota's four-year-old civil rights law amendment, which banned discrimination on the basis of sexual or affectional preference, was repealed after a referendum held in response to an initiative procedure resulting from a successful petition drive led by Richard Angwin, a Baptist minister. (In neighboring Minneapolis, a similar law that was enacted in 1974 went unchallenged.) The campaign tactics, arguments, and results were remarkably similar to the repeal in Miami a few months earlier, with both sides drawing on the experience of their Miami counterparts. The same was true of the Wichita repeal referendum, which also occurred in April and was run by a Baptist minister, Ronald Adrian, who was a friend of Angwin. The Wichita referendum repealed the gay rights law of nine months earlier.

In May 1978, a referendum was held in Eugene, Oregon, on its recently passed gay antidiscrimination ordinance. Eugene is a relatively liberal university town in a state that was a pioneer in marijuana and consensual sex law reform. Twice before 1978, Oregon had come within two votes of enacting a state antidiscrimination law protecting gay people, and so gay leaders were hopeful that the outcome of this vote would be different. Although many of the principals of the repeal effort and their supporters were religious (which may have been a major source of their objections), attempts were made to base the repeal campaign on more secular arguments—that is, there was no need for the law, and gays were a special interest group asking for special favors.

ANITA BRYANT (1940–)

Anita Bryant was a beauty queen who had several hit songs in the late 1950s. In the 1970s, Bryant was mostly known for co-hosting NBC telecasts of the Orange Bowl parade and for promoting Florida orange juice. She was featured in *People* magazine in 1976 and known to be a committed Christian. Bryant was instrumental in repealing legislation in Miami in 1977 that prohibited discrimination on the grounds of sexual or affectional preference. Shortly before the Miami legislation was introduced, Bryant's Baptist pastor, William Chapman, encouraged his congregation to become civically and politically active. Bryant endorsed her agent's wife, Ruth Shack, for a seat on the county commission. When Shack introduced the amendment adding sexual orientation as a protected category to (greater Miami) Dade County's antidiscrimination ordinance, Bryant was embarrassed and angry, and with other members of her church opposed the ordinance. A conservative Christian organization, Save Our Children (SOC), was formed to repeal the ordinance. Bryant was elected president, and her husband, Bob Green, treasurer. Bryant's involvement contributed to strong media attention in the campaign, which was essentially run by its secretary, Bob Brake, and a hired public relations consultant, Mike Thompson. The repeal effort succeeded, but these activities probably negatively affected Bryant's career. Gay rights leaders began a boycott of Florida orange juice and other products Bryant advertised. Although the boycotts did not have a major impact on sales, Bryant began to lose contracts. In 1978, Bryant and Green divorced.

The amendment to the city's antidiscrimination law was initiated by local Miami gay rights activists, Bob Basker and Bob Kunst, who were principals in the formation of the Dade County Coalition for the Humanistic Rights of Gays (DCCHRG), which was active in defending the amendment after opposition emerged. Jack Campbell, owner of the Steamworks chain of gay saunas, helped raise funds and encouraged the involvement of national gay rights leaders such as David Goodstein, then publisher of *The Advocate*, to defend the law.

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Predictions of child molestation were also present, however, and claims were made that the issue being voted on was social approval of homosexuality. The law was presented as being the thin edge of homo-

Spurred by the civil rights movement, gay rights advocates demonstrate at the White House in 1965, demanding an end to discrimination against homosexuals. *(Kay Tobin Lahusen)*

sexual demands. Although those who supported the law put up a good campaign, consistent with the results of preceding referenda on this issue, 63 percent voted in favor of repeal. Gay rights leaders began to think that referenda results were inevitable.

Emboldened by the success of previous votes, the Save Our Moral Ethics (SOME) group organized an initiative and collected petition signatures that mandated a vote on rewriting Seattle's 1973 antidiscrimination law to leave out the sexual orientation clause and remove gay people as a protected class. In addition, the proposal included a provision to allow employers or landlords to "invoke the accusation" that an employee or tenant was homosexual as a basis for discriminating against them.

Gay rights activists were relieved by the results of the November 1978 poll when 63 percent of voters rejected it. SOME lacked leadership and failed to gain strong support. The initiative would have also tampered with the enforcement of antidiscrimination laws protecting women. By going too far in its opposition to antidiscrimination legislation and affecting the established rights of another very large group, the initiative lost support.

The same day an important referendum occurred in California. This was an escalation of previous antigay campaigns because it occurred at the state level, was initiated by an elected official, was not a reaction to legislation protecting gay people, and was positively discriminatory rather than merely repealing antidiscrimination legislation. Shortly after the Miami vote, State Senator John Briggs (R-CA) introduced legislation to ban homosexual teachers from California schools and sponsored a Senate resolution commending Bryant. When both measures failed to gain support in the legislature, Briggs organized a ballot initiative in an attempt to enact the measure into law. Briggs pulled together a coalition largely of fundamentalist Christians to support the measure, and although 2.8 million people voted for it, 58 percent of voters rejected it.

Although Briggs's initiative failed in California, it encouraged state senator Mary Helms (R-OK) to introduce similar legislation in Oklahoma. A resolution commending Bryant was passed by both houses of the legislature, and a bill very similar to Briggs's proposals became law in 1978. Helms's bill provided that school districts be permitted to refuse employment, or dismiss or suspend a teacher, student teacher, or teacher's aide who engaged in "public homosexual behavior," defined as "advocating, soliciting, imposing, encouraging or promoting public or private homosexual activity in a manner that creates a substantial risk that such conduct will come to the attention of school children or school employees." (In 1985, the U.S. Supreme Court, by tie vote, upheld a 10th Circuit Court of Appeals decision overturning the Oklahoma law.)

Repeal movements continued sporadically in subsequent years. In 1980, Christian coalitions organized referenda on ordinances banning discrimination on the basis of sexual preference in Santa Clara County and nearby San Jose, California. Both laws were repealed. In 1984, a court challenge was mounted against Mayor Ed Koch's executive order protecting gay people from discrimination. In 1985, Houston voters repealed the part of that city's antidiscrimination ordinance that included lesbian/gay people as a protected category. At the same time, legislators in

At the Statehouse in Boston on July 17, 2002, activists discuss a measure aimed at banning gay marriage. A Massachusetts court decision in November 2003 ruled that people had the right to marry members of the same sex. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

various constituencies continued to extend antidiscrimination laws to protect gay people.

1990s Repeal Movement

By 1993, eight states (California, Connecticut, Hawaii, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Jersey, Vermont, and Wisconsin) had antidiscrimination laws, and eight more (Maryland, Michigan, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Washington) protected gay employees in public employment; 128 cities and counties prohibited discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation (including some where they had previously been repealed by referenda); and 27 states had decriminalized sexual acts by consenting adults in private. In the long run, although conservatives won many individual battles to repeal lesbian/gay civil rights laws, they also inadvertently contributed to national organizing efforts by lesbian/gay civil rights activists.

During the early 1990s, a new wave of antigay initiatives emerged, with Christian conservatives now proposing discriminatory legislation rather than trying to repeal antidiscrimination laws. In 1992, in both Oregon and Colorado, initiatives resulted in statewide referenda aiming to reverse the tide of increasing gay rights.

In 1992, the Oregon Citizens Alliance (OCA) had placed on the November ballot a proposal to amend the state constitution to prevent the passage of any gay rights legislation. After Measure 9 did not gain enough votes to be enacted, OCA ran petitions leading to referenda in several Oregon cities and counties on a toned-down version of whether local governments should "recognize" or "promote" homosexual

rights. Voters in four counties and four cities approved this proposal before the state legislature voted to invalidate the new ordinances by passing HB3500, a bill prohibiting local governments from enacting any laws dealing with gender rights—pro or con. OCA challenged the law as unconstitutional and won a judgment that similar referenda could be held pending the outcome. Subsequently, voters in six cities and one county passed OCA-sponsored proposals, and referenda were planned for five more constituencies. OCA failed to gain adequate petition signatures to force a vote in fourteen municipalities, cities, or counties. Although OCA's successes have been limited, it remains active in pursuing an antigay agenda.

Also in November 1992, 53 percent of Colorado voters supported Amendment 2, which overturned local laws prohibiting discrimination based on sexual orientation and prevented the passage of new ones. A principal argument by adherents of the measure was that homosexuals should not have special rights. Gay activists responded by calling for a boycott of business with Colorado. The "gaycott" became controversial but was said to have cost the state millions of dollars in lost convention business and tourism. The Oregon and Colorado campaigns struck a chord among voters in many other constituencies. Organizations began work to pass similar measures in Florida, Idaho, Maine, and New Hampshire, as well as in Cincinnati and Ohio. The antigay movement was slowed by a judgment of the Colorado Supreme Court in July 1993, which upheld a lower court injunction against Amendment 2 issued in January, on the grounds that it was probably unconstitutional. This allowed antidiscrimination laws in Aspen, Boulder, and Denver to remain in force.

Supreme Court Ruling

The constitutionality of Amendment 2 was appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, which ruled 6 to 3 on October 10, 1995, against Amendment 2 in the case of *Romer v. Evans* on the grounds that it contravened the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution. The ruling was important because it undermined the "gay rights are special rights" rhetoric of those opposed to antidiscrimination rights on the basis of sexual orientation and has been used to end antigay legislation proposed in Alachua County, Florida, as well as a gay harassment case brought against a school district in Wisconsin and a parental visitation case in Illinois. However, the U.S. Supreme Court judgment in *Romer v. Evans* made no reference to the earlier U.S. Supreme Court decision upholding Georgia's sodomy law in the case of *Bowers v. Hardwick* (1986), nor did it address the key equal protection issue of whether "sexual orientation" is a suspect or quasi-suspect classification analogous to race or sex. Thus, it left the legal status of lesbians and gay men somewhat uncertain. The culture war between gay rights advocates and opponents continues, with gay rights advances most successful at the local level.

Gerard Sullivan

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Bisexual Movement: A Brief History

In the contemporary world of gay-versus-straight, bisexuals who are out and open about their identity present a confounding middle ground. Out bi women and men also have more than one closet to free themselves from; they cannot pass as heterosexual *or* homosexual. Ridiculed and questioned for who they are, out bisexuals often encounter distortions, disbelief, and hostility from gay and straight people alike.

Bisexuality Explained

What is so threatening? The open, sociopolitical assertion of bisexual identity refutes the assertion that sexual orientation is binary. When someone comes out as bisexual, he or she raises different issues. Coming out gay is more and more commonly perceived as a *reversed* orientation; that is, this person is oriented toward her or his *own* sex, not the *opposite* one. But coming out bisexual calls the categories themselves into question—not only the categories of sexual orientation but of gender as well. Both identities are based, at least at present, on seeing heterosexuality as the default and its prescribed gender roles as norms.

An openness to emotional, romantic, and/or physical relating that is not confined to either one's own or another sex challenges both homosexual and heterosexual identity. One of the greatest challenges in publicly expressing, and thus politicizing, bisexual identity has been making bisexuals visible in this either/or world.

Bisexuals have been part of, and apart from, the lesbian and gay rights and liberation movement since its origin, but they have not often been visible *as bisexuals* in these groups. Indeed, in the early phases of the gay liberation movement during the late 1960s and early 1970s, several bisexual activists contributed to "gay liberation" without feeling any need to insist on a separate bisexual identity. Many bisexual women activists saw political value in calling themselves lesbians to undermine the antifeminist practice of lesbian baiting.

Consider these little-known historical facts:

- An out bisexual man founded the first student homophile group at New York University in 1971 and went on to become an organizer against prison rape before he died of AIDS in the 1990s.
- An out bisexual was one of the first women to write about loving women in the national feminist news journal *off our backs* in 1972.
- An out bisexual man was one of the key organizers of the first ever gay people of color conference, the National Third World Lesbian and Gay Conference, which was associated with the national March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights in 1979. He also co-founded the National Coalition of Black Lesbians and Gays and led the first delegation of black gays to meet with President Jimmy Carter's White House staff.
- It was an out bisexual man who conceived and spearheaded the successful national "gaycott" of Florida orange juice in response to Anita Bryant's homophobic Save Our Children campaign in Dade County, Florida, in the late 1970s.
- An out lesbian-identified bisexual mom ran for vice president on a bisexual/lesbian/gay civil rights platform during the 1984 Democratic Party convention.
- An out bisexual AIDS educator and therapist, one of the first innovators of safer sex teaching methods in the early 1980s, actively lobbied the San Francisco Department of Public Health to recognize bisexual men in official city AIDS statistics, thus setting the standard for health departments nationwide, which previously had recognized only gay men,
- In May 1989, an out bisexual veteran from New England, representing the National Gay, Lesbian

Marchers for sexual freedom parade in the Christopher Street Liberation Day celebration in New York City in June 1971. *(Kay Tobin Lahusen)*

and Bisexual Veterans Association, was the first veteran ever invited to testify before Congress on behalf of all lesbian, gay, and bisexual veterans. He pointed out, rightly, that you can be discharged from military service for being bisexual as well as homosexual.

Bisexual Organizing Strategy

Bisexuals often were, and are still, perceived as gays and lesbians by the media, society, and the LGBT movement. So bisexuals have realized the necessity of a dual strategy: (1) organizing a separate bisexual movement and (2) continuing to work in coalition within the lesbian and gay movements and other movements for sexual and gender liberation. How did the coordinated efforts of lesbians, gay men, bisexuals, and transgender people eventually become called the LGBT Civil Rights Movement? How did the "B" get in LGBT?

Early Gay Liberation Front slogans, such as "Gay is what we make it," used *gay* to mean all people who celebrate their same-sex attractions and feelings. *The Gay Manifesto*, frequently circulated in the early 1970s, stated: "The reason so few of us are bisexual is because society made such a big stink about homosexuality that we got forced into seeing ourselves as either straight or non-straight. . . . We'll be gay until everyone has forgotten that it's an issue. Then we'll begin to be complete people."

Only later, as gay and straight "sides" polarized, did the bisexual middle zone become "no man's, or woman's, land." The gay liberation movement during the mid-1970s changed from a culture-wide sexual liberation movement into a less militant, more reform-oriented mobilization for gay civil rights. In the

mid-1970s, the American Psychiatric Association and the American Psychological Association began declassifying homosexuality as a mental illness. Bisexual therapists were active in making sure that bisexuality was also written into the guidelines that the associations developed to promote positive approaches to sexual minorities. However, it took until 1997 to make the language of the American Psychological Association's guidelines fully inclusive of bisexuals.

When mental health professionals began declaring same-sex loving no longer a sickness, conservatives countered by calling it a sin, accusing gays, and bisexuals especially, of willfully choosing how they loved. Unfortunately, at this point gay legal strategists ceded ground on the freedom-of-choice basis, asserting that gays were "born that way" and could not change even if they wanted to, thus equating gayness with ethnicity and arguing that homosexuality was a "protected class." (Bisexuals were not considered part of the class or even a legitimate group under discussion.) This isolated bisexuals and eliminated the possibility of defining bisexuality as an equally valid orientation. Gay lawyers have yet to argue that same-sex love can also be a choice and, like religion, deserves defense on that ground.

AIDS, Bisexuality, and Activism

The AIDS pandemic helped mobilize the already growing bisexual movement when the federal government's Centers for Disease Control (CDC) labeled bisexuals as a major risk group, as a vector for HIV disease to enter the "general population." *Newsweek* and other major news media branded bisexuals social "pariahs." This scapegoating, combined with the fact that many bisexuals were already infected, dead, or dying of AIDS, increased bi militancy and catalyzed bi pride. During the mid-1980s, two other factors fertilized the ground upon which the modern U.S. bi movement was born: (1) a new generation of young people with more fluid identities became active in helping found campus gay, lesbian, bisexual (and sometimes transgender) groups and started demanding bi inclusion in the names and programs of these groups, and (2) a new generation of bi women—who had gained leadership in feminist groups, gay and lesbian groups, and other organizing efforts for social justice—began to apply their organizing theory and practice to their political/sexual orientation identity as well. By 1990, the first U.S. academic course on bisexuality was offered at the University of California/Berkeley. While still rare, courses on bisexuality are offered at several other universities today.

Although there had been individual "out" bisexual activists and local support and political groups organizing since the 1970s and 1980s, the first time bisexuals came together nationally was as a contingent of seventy-five bisexual activists from around the country who marched together in the 1987 March on Washington for Gay and Lesbian Rights. Not coincidentally, this was also the first time the Names Project/AIDS Quilt—an artistic homage to those who died—came to Washington. Many bisexuals who had already died in the epidemic were represented by quilt squares on the Mall, while their surviving family members, lovers, and friends marched down Pennsylvania Avenue in mourning and in rage. Networking from that 1987 contingent helped create the first National Bisexual Conference in June 1990 in San Francisco, planned to coincide with the International AIDS conference and the Lesbian and Gay Pride Day Parade. San Francisco's Board of Supervisors proclaimed a citywide "Bisexual Pride Day," and plans were laid for the national organization that was later to become BiNet USA.

BiNet USA organizers met again in Seattle in 1991, and in Minneapolis in 1992, to create a national and regional structure, elect national coordinators, and begin publishing a national newsletter. Bi activists also began providing staff training and board presentations to national gay and lesbian organizations to help educate them about bisexual issues and bisexual identity at this time. Most significantly, a regional alliance of bisexual activists and groups, the East Coast Bisexual Network, worked with Boston-area bi activists to form the Bisexual Resource Center (BRC). The BRC established a bi archives in Boston and publishes educational brochures and materials.

Bisexuals in the LGBT Movement

By the early 1990s, the term *LGBT* (sometimes *GLBT*) was beginning to catch on, especially on campuses and among younger people who tended to identify more as queer. Many bisexually identified activists were actively involved in organizing for the 1993 March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay, and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation. They lobbied successfully to get "bi" placed in the official title of the march, which represented a tremendous victory. And, for the very first time, an out bi speaker was chosen to speak on the main stage at the afternoon rally. BiNet USA, the Bisexual Resource Center of Boston, and AMBi—a local Washington, D.C., bi political action group—all cosponsored a national Conference Celebrating Bi-

sexuality and Bi Dance in Washington, D.C., that weekend.

The right wing's 1991 inclusion of bisexuals in the language of Colorado's antigay Amendment Two, which was soon copied in the early 1990s by many other states, inadvertently helped bisexuals educate resistant gay and heterosexual supporters. Using the slogans "Our enemy recognizes us, why don't you?" and "Don't let them divide us, we're all in this together," bisexuals mobilized in many states to fight homophobic and biphobic ballot measures. A notorious memo from the National Legal Foundation, which became Plaintiff's Exhibit 18-92 CV7223 in the legal challenge to Amendment Two, and subtitled "Re: Analysis of Language in Amendment Initiative," was called, by bi organizers, "The Smoking Gun Memo" because it exposed the right wing's strategy of including *bisexual* as well as lesbian and homosexual in the amendment language. The memo's stated rationale was that ". . . many persons who engage in same sex relations attempt to make their homosexual behavior appear more 'normal' or legitimate by saying that they also engage in heterosexual relations. From a moral standpoint of course homosexuality and bisexuality are indistinguishable."

Backlash Against Bisexuals and Transgendered People

In 1994, the right-wing backlash specifically aimed at bisexuals and transgendered people occurred in Minnesota. Norm Coleman, then mayor of St. Paul (and later elected senator from Minnesota in 2002), refused to sign a city proclamation declaring June as the month of the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender Pride Celebration. He said that though he supported human rights for gays and lesbians, he saw "no public purpose in promoting bisexual or transgender pride." Coleman used the protected class argument in his defense, asserting that gays and lesbians have legal status because of their sexual orientation, but that bis and trans didn't.

In 1995, BiNet USA developed a national media packet of informational materials that helped generate a ground-breaking *Newsweek* cover story on bisexuality. BiNet also established a Bisexual Youth Initiative that surveyed all U.S. organizations serving LGBT youth and then gave them the survey results in report form so that it could be used to help them improve their services to bisexual youth. Bisexual activists worked locally and nationally throughout the 1990s to increase bi visibility and gay, lesbian, and transgender understanding of bi issues at local, regional, and national conferences of organizations such as the National Youth Advocacy Coalition; GenderPAC; the Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation; the National Black Lesbian & Gay Leadership Forum; the National Latina/o Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Organization (LLEGO); Parents, Friends and Families of Lesbians and Gays; the Gay, Lesbian and Straight Teachers and Educators Network, and, most actively with the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force's popular annual activist/organizer training ground—the Creating Change Conference. In 1992, bisexual activists had instituted the tradition of same-sex Women's, and Men's, Dialogues at Creating Change. These dialogues began as an effort to help bisexual women and lesbians talk with each other as women and to help gay men and bi men communicate with each other as well. Several years into the experience, however, it was clear that transgender women and men also needed to be included in the women's and men's dialogues. When transgender women and men joined these Creating Change dialogues in the mid-1990s, the discourse quickly expanded beyond orientation politics to include complexities of gender identity as well.

At the 1996 Creating Change in Alexandria, Virginia, bisexual and transgender activists staged a confrontational yet peaceful Bi/Trans Action. The activists requested time during a plenary assembly when thousands of people were gathered in the auditorium together, to speak out about specific incidents of biphobia and transphobia experienced during the gathering. They called on everyone in the auditorium who was bi, trans, and/or intersexed (one whose reproductive and sexual anatomy does not conform to standard expectations about "male" and "female") to come forward to the front of the room. As one-quarter to one-third of the room came forward to face the audience, the visual, visceral impact of a truly LG AND BT community became evident and real.

The bi, trans, and intersexed spokespeople then asked those left sitting in the audience who had ever spoken up as allies to bisexual, transgender, and intersexed people in their organizations and in their communities to stand up in their rows. A large majority of the audience did. Lastly, they asked those who remained seated who had not done so yet, but now resolved to in the future, to stand. Very few were left sitting as the action dissolved into cheers and applause. During this conference week, bi/trans activists

also met with the White House LGBT liaison for the first time ever.

In 1996, NGLTF organized a roundtable entitled "Strategizing Change: A Roundtable on Law and Social Science," the largest and most influential council of LGBT organizations, and invited BiNet USA to join. The roundtable includes national lesbian, gay, and transgender groups such as NGLTF, the National Center for Lesbian Rights, Gender PAC, FTM International, Inc., the Human Rights Campaign, LLEGO, and Children of Lesbians and Gays Everywhere. During this period, BiNet also organized a national Allies Campaign where gay, lesbian, transgender, and other progressive organizations supportive of sexual orientation rights issues were asked to sign on as advocates of bisexual rights and to contribute to BiNet. The next year Harvard University hosted the Fifth International Conference on Bisexuality. Organized by the Bisexual Resource Center of Boston, the conference was attended by more than 900 people from twenty countries.

In 1998, bisexual activists responded to a call to counter the Religious Right's "Ex-Gay" Movement by mobilizing a major media campaign whose centerpiece was a poster featuring candid photographs of a wide variety of bisexual people and text meant to imitate recent full-page ads placed by fundamentalist conservatives in major newspapers that advocated "changing people back to straight." The effort was also designed to counter or supplement response ads that the Human Rights Campaign and PFLAG had developed, which spoke only for the most conformist, born-that-way elements of the gay community. Unlike these campaigns, in which bisexuals were invisible, the bisexual poster's text made clear that bisexuals are some of the people most easily and often harmed by such moral judgments and manipulations, since they do have attractions for different sexes. Imitating yet reversing the hate-filled language of the original poster, this bi response piece proclaimed, "The Truth Is, All of Us—Bisexual, Lesbian, Gay, Transgender, Heterosexual—Deserve the Right to Love Whom We Choose." The bi poster campaign was backed by the national bi magazine *Anything That Moves*, in conjunction with BiPOL San Francisco, the Bisexual Resource Center, and BiNet USA. It enlisted the bulk of LGBT organizations in the country for the first time (all but HRC, which didn't respond) in publicly endorsing an educational campaign designed to highlight bisexual people's rights and their vulnerabilities under right-wing attack.

In 1998, organizers of a proposed Millennium March on Washington solicited support from the U.S. bisexual movement. The movement, represented by BiNet USA, was one of the earliest national groups and the most united in raising questions about the flawed structure and strategy of the march for the next two years. National bisexual activists became active in the Ad Hoc Committee for an Open Process, the coalition of LGBT groups that questioned the march's top-down planning process. At a national meeting in November 1998, BiNet USA delegates unanimously passed a resolution to withhold endorsement of the march, to use HRC's and the Metropolitan Community Church's pushing of the march "as a teaching tool about how BiNet USA does grassroots organizing differently," and "to continue participating in the Ad Hoc Committee's critique, which is developing a larger, progressive LGBT agenda for our movement beyond the March." This resolution was also made into a flyer and widely distributed at that month's Creating Change in Pittsburgh.

In 1999, bisexual activists continued to work in local, state, and national coalition with lesbian, gay, and transgender activists through NGLTF's state-by-state Equality Begins At Home rallies, bringing bisexual issues to these forums. In 2001, BiNet USA reorganized its board, held a series of fund-raising house parties around the country, and opened a national office with its first paid staff person. Unfortunately, that effort did not succeed more than a year, but individual bi activists continue to work with other bi groups such as the Bisexual Resource Center and as out bi activists in many local and national LGBT organizations as well. Haworth Press, which has long published *The Journal of Homosexuality*, began publishing a *Journal of Bisexuality* in the new millennium. In 2002, bisexual leaders and the NGLTF Policy Institute began work on a publication on policy issues and bisexuality.

Conclusion

Some lesbian and gay political theorists still argue that there are no "bisexual issues," that all questions of bisexual rights are subsumed under lesbian and gay rights, and that bisexuals will be automatically liberated and accepted fully once lesbian/gay rights are won. In objection to this oversimplification, the emerging bisexual politic asserts that there are specifically bisexual issues and that they are integrally related to gay liberation and sexual liberation as a whole. One example: notice that same-sex marriage is a more accurate term than gay marriage. Bisexuals often partner with someone of their own sex while re-

taining their bisexual orientation. Their union is a same-sex one, not a gay marriage. One's bisexual orientation does not change according to the sex of one's partner(s). Identity is separate from the relationship(s). Another example is that bisexuals, although they share many issues of discrimination concerning their same-sex relationships with lesbians and gay men, are also sometimes discriminated against because they ARE bisexual—because they upset the dichotomies and refuse to choose sides in a world that is polarized with respect to both gender and sexual orientation. Hatred against bisexuals is also often disguised as generalized sex-phobia. Bisexuals are often the target of nonbisexuals' erotic fantasies and projections. During the title debate for the 1993 March on Washington, for instance, there was a very firm, majority view, that the words "gay" and "lesbian" could appear in the title but that the full word "bisexual" could not because it was "too sexual." It was suggested that bisexuals be included as just "Bi's." Bi organizers agreed to this compromise, and their orientation was included in the title of a national gay march for the first time in history.

Out bisexuals in the year 2002 are active in many LGBT and progressive causes and organizations. They continue to integrate bi issues into larger efforts for social justice and sexual liberation. There are now bisexual Internet chat rooms, a bisexual summer camp in New England, an annual national bi men's gathering in Southern California, a newly organized bisexual charitable foundation, and regular international bi conferences in Europe, Canada, Australia, and elsewhere in which many U.S. bisexuals participate. But the next steps of political organizing among U.S. bis, and between U.S. bis and other sectors of the U.S. LGBT movement, remain unclear. A number of first-wave U.S. bi activists have now diminished their activism or gone on to organize in other arenas, as out bisexuals focused on issues such as labor, the environment, or women's health. A new generation of young people now identifies more as queer and less as L, G, B, or T. They will probably write the next chapter in a way no one has yet conceived of.

Loraine Hutchins

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AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power: The ACT UP Movement

Early Responses to the AIDS Crisis

Acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) was first identified in the United States in August 1981 when doctors noted a "rare cancer" among gay men in New York, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. Within the gay community, initial reactions included rumor and fear, sentiments fostered by a lack of medical knowledge about the new disease. Except for a small number of sympathetic scientists and physicians, the healthcare industry and the federal government ignored the epidemic as it emerged among gay men in the United States and Western Europe in the early 1980s. A wide range of organizations responded to this lack of knowledge and action in the early and mid-1980s. Most were based in the large cities where gay neighborhoods had developed in the 1970s. Staffed overwhelmingly by gay men, these groups focused on care, treatment, and emotional support for people with AIDS (PWAs) and their friends. The earliest was the Gay Men's Health Crisis, founded in New York City in 1982; other umbrella organizations included the San Francisco AIDS Foundation, Boston's AIDS Action Committee, and AIDS Project-Los Angeles. Groups like God's Love We Deliver (New York), Food and Friends (Washington), and Project Open Hand (San Francisco) delivered meals to homebound people with AIDS; San Francisco's Shanti and the Coming Home Hospice focused on care for the dying; the Names Project began work on the AIDS Memorial Quilt in San Francisco in 1987.

In later years, activists criticized these early responses to AIDS for not being more aggressively political. Yet these were difficult times in which to build a social movement: leading political organizers from the gay rights movement of the 1970s were lost to the disease, very little medical information was available, the medical establishment remained hostile to people with AIDS, and twenty states considered legislation in the 1980s that would have quarantined or tattooed people with AIDS or otherwise curtailed the civil liberties of gay men and people with AIDS. Considered in this context, the service work of early AIDS organizations—and the political work of existing gay and lesbian organizations on behalf of people with HIV and AIDS—appears more significant. These efforts required courage in the face of medical uncertainty and achieved defensive victories that prevented the implementation of even more drastic measures at a time of severe stigma and discrimination.

The Emergence of ACT UP

By the mid- to late 1980s, many had grown impatient with existing responses to AIDS. Some gay and lesbian activists, many living with HIV or AIDS or confronting society's resurgent homophobia, formed a new organization in March 1987: the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power, often known by its acronym, ACT UP. Activists were angered by the slow pace of government action and frustrated by lesbian and gay rights organizations that they felt paid too little attention to the AIDS crisis. Many also criticized the social service orientation of existing AIDS groups and hoped a new organization could focus specifically on political action. ACT UP's origins are often traced to a March 10, 1987, speech by AIDS activist Larry Kramer at the New York City Lesbian and Gay Community Services Center, in which Kramer denounced the apathy and inaction of gay men in the face of the AIDS crisis and warned that two-thirds of the audience would be dead within five years unless they took more active steps to stop AIDS. In fact, while Kramer's speech was a key prompt for organizing ACT UP, many AIDS activists had by this time already begun to focus on direct political responses to the crisis. Sit-ins and civil disobedience had taken place regularly in San Francisco, including a vigil that started in October 1985 and would continue for nearly ten years;

ACT UP ORIGINAL WORKING DOCUMENT (1987)

ACT UP, founded in New York in 1987, is a direct action organization structured on the principles of ending the AIDS crisis. To draw public attention to the dire need for greater funding for treatment and cures, ACT UP engaged in civil disobedience actions in New York and throughout the country. What follows is the justification and structure envisioned for the organization's coordinating committee.

Proposal to Create a Coordinating Committee

Purpose

To create a coordinating committee which would streamline the administrative functioning of ACT UP without usurping the power and energy residing in the body as a whole.

Why we need a Coordinating Committee?

In the weeks since its creation, ACT UP has had considerable victories. We have focused the media's attention on the drug development bottleneck which exists within our government and on the greed of Burroughs Wellcome. We have shown governmental agencies that we are watching: they will be held accountable. And we have brought new energy and hope to the lesbian/gay community.

We can do much, much more. With planning, we'll have 600 angry people at our next demonstration, not 300, and the demonstration after that will have 1,200 people. As our numbers grow, our power will grow. We can continue to shed light on the drug situation and bring new insight to AIDS education, insurance discrimination, and other aspects of the AIDS crisis.

But to accomplish these goals—to continue to grow—we need more structure. We need to know who is authorized to make decisions in a crisis, who can spend money between meetings, and we need to ensure, on a day-to-day basis, that fundraising, outreach, publicity and other increasingly important tasks are handled consistently.

Each of us became involved with ACT UP because of frustration and anger with the U.S. government and its lack of interest and leadership in the AIDS crisis. We can't afford to squander the energy we've developed. But we will if we allow ourselves to become bogged down by details at weekly meetings. We need to trust ourselves enough to give up some administrative authority to permanent standing committees which will be better equipped to handle these details. . . .

Who will be on the Coordinating Committee?

The committee will consist of the following people:

A. One representative of the following five committees. Each committee will select its own representative to the coordinating committee. Alternates should also be selected to attend coordinating committee meetings if the regular representative can't attend.

Outreach: committee works on increasing the diversity of our organization involving people of color, women, and others affected by AIDS. Ensures that these groups' concerns are discussed at meetings.

Logistics: committee publicizes demos, interacts with police and works with outreach committee to ensure that demos are attended by all interested parties. Activates the phone tree.

Issues: committee researches and reviews our demands. Keeps in contact with health care providers and policy makers to keep abreast of new developments.

Media: committee ensures consistent and accurate coverage of our events.

Fundraising: committee coordinates all fundraising activities.

B. The following four people would be selected by the group as a whole:

Secretary: keeps the minutes. Makes sure our phone and mailing lists are up to date. Serves as historian.

Treasurer: Keeps all financial information. Signs checks. . . .

Time for Proposal

May 4. Proposal accepted by ACT UP. The five committees arrange to meet within the next two weeks and select their representatives and alternates.

May 18. The At-large members are elected at general meeting. Representatives of the five committees should be selected. Coordinating Committee arranges to meeting within next week.

May 25. Coordinating Committee gives its first report to the general body.

What is the Coordinating Committee not authorized to do?

Examples of some of the things the committee would not do are:

A. **Elect officers**. There will not be a President, Chair, or other executive in charge.

B. **Decide Policy**. All general policies will be decided by the body as a whole. The Coordinating Committee will ensure that policies are developed if needed, but will not have the power to adopt them for the group as a whole.

Amended version, May 4, 1987

Source: ACT UP, Aids Coalition to Unleash Power, http://www.actupny.org/documents/firstworkingdoc.html.

a group calling itself the Lavender Hill Mob had engaged in direct action tactics in the winter of 1986 and 1987; and the People with AIDS Coalition's Community Research Initiative had already begun work on grassroots PWA-led drug testing initiatives.

Activists met regularly at the Community Center in New York following the speech. Only at their third meeting did they act on Steen Borher's suggestion to name the group ACT UP, and chose Avram Finkelstein's striking "Silence = Death" symbol as their logo. The organization's first public demonstration followed soon thereafter. On March 24, 1987, some 250 protesters chained themselves to the balcony of the New York Stock Exchange to protest the profiteering of Burroughs-Wellcome, a pharmaceutical company that marketed AZT (then the only AIDS treatment drug available) at the prohibitive price of $10,000 a year. Seventeen were arrested. ACT UP continued its protests throughout 1987, including its first demonstration in Washington, held in front of the White House in June 1987. In October of that year, ACT UP members participated in the March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights, the nation's largest such demonstration to date.

ACT UP grew at an astonishingly rapid pace. Within two years, chapters had formed in over sixty cities across the United States and around the world. The group's membership is difficult to estimate: ACT UP maintained a highly fluid and decentralized structure that made formal membership irrelevant to the everyday workings of the group, and many more participated in ACT UP than ever formally joined it. By the end of 1988, ACT UP/New York (the largest chapter) had a budget of $300,000, counted 150 members at its weekly meetings, and could rely on several hundred or a few thousand to turn out for its demonstrations.

ACT UP's confrontational political tactics contrasted with its relatively moderate goals. The group sought to expand access to drug treatments, to achieve legal and political protections for people with HIV and AIDS, and to battle discrimination and fear of AIDS and homosexuality. What made ACT UP unique was the use of radical methods to achieve these goals. The group's tactics reflected its members' diverse experiences in the political process. Many came to the movement with experience in the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s and considered their work in ACT UP as a continuation of the radical aims of the early gay liberation movement. Through their cultural protest work, members of ACT UP challenged cultural assumptions about AIDS and about gay men through carefully staged actions that at times exaggerated cultural stereotypes or displayed positive and defiant images of gay sexuality. Protest marches, drawing on Gay Pride parade traditions, were often both angry and festive. Other highly visible methods included "zaps," which targeted a particular organization or individual, and the group's trademark "die-ins," which drew from traditions of 1960s guerrilla theater and frequently blended protest and theatricality. When the United States Civil Rights Commission held hearings in 1988 on the right to discriminate against people with AIDS, members of ACT UP engaged in silent protest while wearing clown masks. Other initiatives blended direct action street protest techniques with media savvy approaches staged to court controversy and maximize press coverage. When Chicago's Cook County Hospital refused in 1990 to treat a woman with AIDS because it had no women's AIDS ward, ACT UP/Chicago activists set up a makeshift ward on the street outside the hospital to draw attention and force quick action by hospital administrators. The new ward opened two days later.

Probably the group's most visible action, the "Stop the Church" protest at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City on December 10, 1989, gathered more than 4,500 activists to protest the antigay and antiabortion views of New York's Cardinal John O'Connor. Most protesters stood outside the church, but some entered the church and engaged in a "die-in" during the service. In a highly controversial action (which was neither planned nor supported by ACT UP), two participants in the Mass destroyed the Eucharist during communion service. Over a hundred were arrested.

These tactics, which addressed issues of institutional politics while simultaneously confronting the power of cultural symbolism, have been characterized by scholars as part of the broader trend among late twentieth-century "new social movements." Similar debates concern the distinction between ACT UP's tactics, which appear quite radical, and its political goals, which some have characterized as quite conservative. The visibility of the group's more dramatic protests drew attention in both the mass media and the gay press, and many in ACT UP hoped their work would radically transform the nation's political and cultural institutions, but the organization's agenda also included working within government institutions and the healthcare industry. In this sense, ACT UP continued the efforts of earlier AIDS organizations like Gay Men's Health Crisis (GMHC), drawing on and developing its substantial connections to govern-

mental and health bureaucracies. But unlike their counterparts in GMHC, ACT UP members were generally more willing to employ direct action tactics when confronted with political obstacles that could not be overcome through patient petitioning.

The complex interplay of ACT UP's tactics and goals demonstrates the simultaneously "inside" and "outside" nature of the movement. Some scholars have noted that many members of ACT UP, particularly the middle-class white gay men who made up its core constituency in its early years, joined in radical political action only after their HIV-positive diagnoses mobilized them politically. Acting with a faith that the political system could be made to work for them and that their middle-class resources could acquire AIDS treatments if they were developed more quickly, some members of ACT UP may have been politicized by their frustration at no longer being able to work the system from within. Other scholars have pointed out that many in ACT UP, especially those members who were not HIV-positive, saw their AIDS activism as part of a multivocal response to sexism, racism, and homophobia. Only their outsider status as gay men in a homophobic society allowed them insight into the connections among society's multiple forms of discriminations. In fact, the dichotomy is overdrawn. People joined ACT UP for a wide variety of reasons and brought with them a wide array of experiences and assumptions. On one level, the group's multiple approaches and sometimes conflicting styles only reflected the diversity of its members. Yet on a deeper level, this combination of insider and outsider status was one of the organization's strengths, allowing some members to deploy their social positions in the most politically effective manner in a given situation. The organization's politics cannot easily be boxed in to a single interpretation.

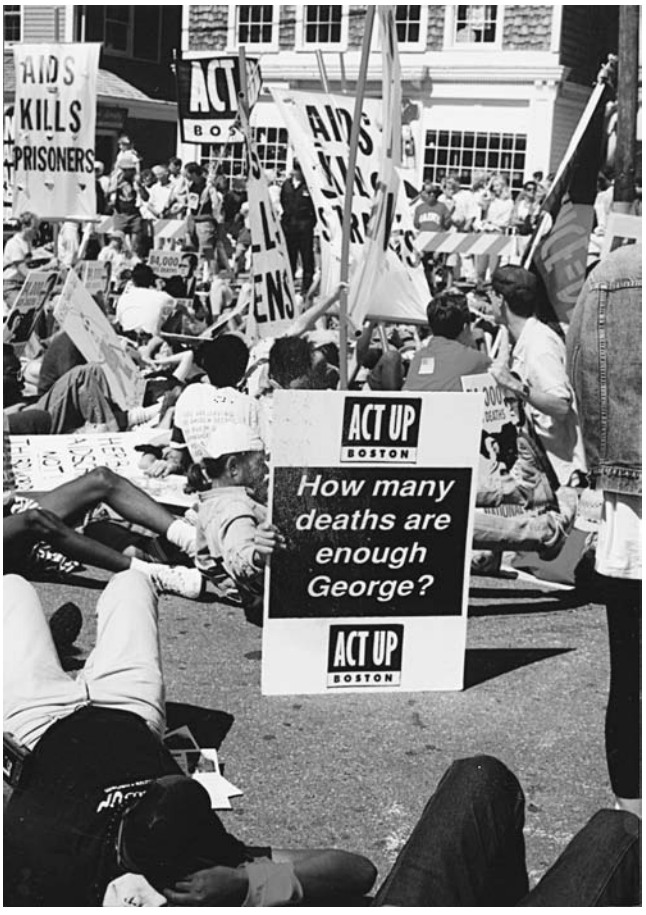
Assessing the Impact of ACT UP

ACT UP had many victories. Its first protest at the New York Stock Exchange contributed to media pressure that pushed down the price of AZT significantly. Civil disobedience and political petitioning combined to change laws, as when the success of ACT UP's clandestine needle exchange programs to protect intravenous drug users prompted many states and localities to liberalize laws regulating the dispensing of syringes. The group's single most important and direct achievement was the reformulation of drug approval procedures by the United States Food and Drug Administration (FDA). Beginning in 1989, ACT UP proposed what it called "parallel track testing" in which people with advanced cases of AIDS could participate in promising drug trials from which bureaucratic red tape had previously excluded them. Under pressure from protesters who established international AIDS drug-smuggling operations, the FDA likewise relented on an earlier policy and allowed people with "life-threatening illnesses" to import unapproved drugs for personal use. Members fought for and won the right for people with AIDS to have a say in the formation of research, development, and testing regimes; ACT UP members, most without formal medical training, frequently played prominent roles in the research community.

Some of ACT UP's activities contributed to long-term social changes of the 1980s and 1990s. Their grassroots healthcare activism opened doors for later activists on issues such as breast cancer research. ACT UP's challenge to the medical establishment's monopoly on knowledge and expertise also gave support to a growing interest in the late twentieth century in alternative medicine and natural remedies, which some ACT UP members explored as alternatives to costly and toxic drug treatments. In addition, AIDS activists in ACT UP and other groups dealing with death and dying also contributed to an emerging movement within American culture in support of a right to die for people with terminal illnesses.

ACT UP met with significant opposition from the social institutions that it targeted, from the government, and from within the gay community out of which it grew. ACT UP members experienced police brutality and harassment, including violence at the 1992 Republican National Convention in Houston and unnecessary and unconstitutional strip searches of protesters arrested during demonstrations in New York City and Portland, Oregon. Government harassment could also be more systematic. Freedom of Information Act requests have revealed that ACT UP was investigated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation's "domestic terrorism" and "civil unrest" arms as early as 1987; police in Philadelphia infiltrated the group's branch in that city.

Beyond this harassment, ACT UP also had to face the opposition of those who disagreed with its radical tactics. President George H.W. Bush, whose summer home in Kennebunkport, Maine, was the target of ACT UP in September 1991, called the work of ACT UP an "excess of free speech" and was one of many who argued that demonstrations like those at St. Patrick's Cathedral "set back the cause." The group's rush-hour sit-in that stopped traffic on the Golden Gate Bridge in San Francisco raised the ire of morning



ACT UP members demonstrate near President George H.W. Bush's summer home in Kennebunkport, Maine. *(Liz Highleyman)*

commuters and prompted a flare of anti–ACT UP coverage in the local press. Actions such as these led many, both within the gay community and outside it, to believe that the organization's confrontational style created as many enemies as friends and that its deployment of gay stereotypes and its explicit sexuality alienated many potential allies or confirmed their negative views of homosexuality. Representative Barney Frank (D-MA), an openly gay member of Congress, called the group's demonstration at St. Patrick's Cathedral "wrong and stupid," and throughout the late 1980s and early 1990s, the gay press bristled with heated debates about the implications of ACT UP. By contrast, some have suggested that the group's methods were essential to combat popular understandings: by fighting back, vocally and publicly, ACT UP challenged the labeling of people with AIDS as "victims." Another interpretation suggests that the radical tactics of ACT UP made the moderate approach of groups like Gay Men's Health Crisis more palatable to some people. In retrospect, ACT UP's radical tactics surely alienated many straight Americans, while at the same time doing much to mobilize and empower people within the gay community.

The movement was also torn apart by divisions within the organization over issues of race, gender, and class. As the demographics of the disease changed in the late 1980s and early 1990s, cases among women and people of color skyrocketed while infection rates among gay men remained steady. Women participated in ACT UP from the outset. ACT UP's women activists played a crucial role in publicizing the devastating effects of AIDS on women at a time when most Americans thought of AIDS as a disease that affected solely gay men. The primary manifestations of AIDS differ in the bodies of men and women; in the early years of the epidemic, most women were diagnosed with AIDS only after their deaths, prompting ACT UP's famous slogan "Women don't get AIDS. They just die from it." The group challenged the federal government's Centers for Disease Control to redefine the methods by which it measured the definition of AIDS, which gave women with AIDS access to treatments and social welfare services from which they were otherwise excluded. ACT UP also demanded that the National Institutes of Health take active steps to include women and people of color in its research trials, and the ACT UP Lesbian Caucus pushed the United States Health and Human Services Department to form a Lesbian AIDS Task Force in 1993. Many women in ACT UP came to the organization through their experiences with feminism and were active in both movements simultaneously. For these members (and many others), the group's work on AIDS could not be separated from a broader defense of women's reproductive freedom during a time of attack on abortion rights. Many grew frustrated at the unwillingness of many male ACT UP participants to include abortion in the group's agenda or to acknowledge sexism within the organization itself.

As people of color joined ACT UP in greater numbers, they, too, expressed dismay with the white members' domination of the group, and internal discussions about racism in ACT UP bitterly divided some chapters in the early 1990s. Some members formed People of Color Caucuses within ACT UP, while others left in the mid-1990s to mobilize movements that focused specifically on the political organization of communities of color to fight AIDS. Early groups like the Hispanic AIDS Forum and National

Minority AIDS Council have since been joined by the Asian and Pacific Islander Coalition on HIV/AIDS, the Latino Commission on AIDS, and New York's Audre Lorde Project.

All these factors—public opposition, government surveillance, internal division—did much to sap the organization's strength. But far and away the most difficult obstacle that ACT UP faced was the steady and tragic loss of its members to AIDS. While activists joined ACT UP for a variety of reasons, most were politicized by their own HIV-positive diagnoses. As the disease continued to claim victims, the organization's membership core was constantly under attack. Membership in the group began to decline in 1991, and its visible public protests began to diminish soon thereafter; by 1995, many of the group's chapters had disbanded.

A Changing Disease, a Changing Movement

In part, ACT UP was defeated by its own success. In 1995–1996, AIDS doctors made significant strides in treatment of HIV through the use of protease inhibitors, a new form of drugs that suppressed the virus in the bloodstream and brought dramatic and immediate results for people living with AIDS. Significantly, the first protease inhibitor approved for public use and marketing, saquinavir, moved through the FDA's bureaucracy in only ninety-seven days, testament to the success of ACT UP and other organizations that had challenged the FDA in the preceding years. People with HIV who can afford these new treatments (and whose bodies respond favorably to them) often see less need for radical political activism around the issue of AIDS.

Nevertheless, the ravages of AIDS have decidedly not abated, particularly when the disease is considered on a global scale. By the year 2000, more than 21.8 million people had died of AIDS worldwide, and an estimated 36.1 million were living with the disease. The divisions of race and class in the United States have also been made more apparent by AIDS: in 1998, African Americans accounted for 49 percent of AIDS deaths, and mortality rates among people of color are markedly higher than those among white Americans.

ACT UP continues to exist and fight against AIDS. The group's agenda still places AIDS treatment at the center, especially for people in the Third World who lack access to expensive new drug therapies. ACT UP's largest demonstration since its heyday took place in 1999, when members protested the U.S. government's opposition to a South African plan to support the production of generic equivalents of expensive AIDS treatment drugs to battle the epidemic in that country. But the group's membership and budget are severely strained. The battle against AIDS on a global scale awaits the development of a new social movement that will mobilize the world's population of people with AIDS to fight for their own survival.

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Transgender Activism

"Transgender" has become a blanket term to describe a wide range of activities and identities, ranging from heterosexual persons who dress in the clothing of the other gender on occasion to persons who undergo sex reassignment surgery in order to match their sexual anatomy to their gender identity.

Probably no American social movement illustrates more vividly the complications of identity politics in modern society. The relationship between sexual orientation and gender identity is complicated, as is the relationship between transgender activists and the lesbian/gay/bisexual/transgender civil rights movement.

Berdaches

Prior to contact with Europeans, Native American groups had transgendered members. In 1988, historian Will Roscoe listed 133 nations with as many native terms as he could find. In the intervening years, other historians have expanded on that list. When European explorers arrived in the Americas, they began to use the term *berdache*, from the Persian *bardaj*, meaning gay male, to describe these people. The term was not entirely accurate and was used in a pejorative sense. They did not define sexuality or gender identity in the same way that European Christians did. Furthermore, their biological gender was not always that of male. Of course, these native transgendered were part of their respective communities, and some of them held important positions as spiritual leaders, homemakers, farmers, and warriors. The Spanish often used them as examples for the others of how not to behave, and many transgendered natives were abused or murdered.

Molly Clubs

The first real attempt to organize were the Molly Clubs, which first appeared in the late seventeenth century in England. These groups met secretly, mostly around London, allowing members to dress in women's clothes and to interact together as women. There is no evidence that North American colonists had anything similar. North America lacked a large urban center like London, which could provide anonymity. Furthermore, the majority of colonies were established as religious communities with virtually no tolerance for diversity of sexual expression.

After the United States gained its independence and the cities grew in size and diversity, transgender expression began to find an outlet on the stage. Performers in minstrel, vaudeville, and burlesque shows occasionally did female impersonation. Some of the oldest American collegiate theaters, the Hasty Pudding Club at Harvard, the Mask and Wig Club at the University of Pennsylvania, the Triangle Club at Princeton, and the Black Friar Club at the University of Chicago continue to feature cross-dressing performances. Although cross-dressing off of the stage was not socially acceptable, it did sometimes take place at great risk to the person. Some drag performers became famous, such as Julian Eltinge, who starred in several silent films, including *Madame Behave* (1925), and opened his own theater near Times Square. In the early twentieth century, drag balls began to appear in communities like New York, which offered organized social events that continue to the present day.

World War II created a new, albeit unexpected, sense of identity for many gays, and with it, the transgender community found the same. Uncounted thousands of gay people did enlist, or get drafted, in all branches of the military and served overseas. Many interacted with others like themselves for the first time in their lives. In addition, those in Europe were exposed to the more open gay communities in London and post-liberation France. They developed a new sense of identity and community, which led to the opening of new trans-friendly bars and organizations. Although discrimination and hostility in the

McCarthy-era Cold War environment was quite high, more outlets now existed than ever before, making organization increasingly inevitable.

Christine Jorgenson

For many transgendered, as well as nontransgendered, people, the first real revelation came from the unexpected announcement in December 1952 of the sex reassignment surgery of former Army private Christine Jorgenson in Copenhagen, Denmark. When news of the Bronx resident's surgery broke, she made headlines around the country. But her story also inspired others to realize what might be possible. She was inundated with letters and telegrams from many interested in her journey, including others like herself. As more and more transsexuals within the United States came forward, this led to the creation of the first gender clinic in the United States at Johns Hopkins University Hospital in 1966.

Dr. Virginia Prince

One of those inspired by the story of Jorgenson was Dr. Virginia Prince of Los Angeles. Prince, who had a Ph.D. in chemistry, heard of Jorgenson and began to consider pursuing surgery herself. In the end, she decided that it was not for her. Instead, she believed that there must be others like herself who had the desire to cross-dress but did not have the desire to pursue genital surgery. She began publishing *Transvestia* magazine in 1960. As her subscription base grew, she had enough readers in the Los Angeles area by 1962 to consider forming a group. She invited eleven other people to a rented room in Hollywood, asking each of them to bring two bags: one with a food item and one with a pair of nylons and high heels. Thus was born the first cross-dressing organization, the Hose and Heels Club. A few months later, at a retreat near Hunter, New York, Prince announced the founding of a national sorority for cross-dressers called Full Personality Expression (FPE), although it became known by its Greek initials, Phi Pi Epsilon. As FPE chapters began to form around the country, Prince became increasingly active as a speaker and writer. She also is credited with being the creator of the word *transgender*.

One member of the Alpha Chapter of FPE, Carol Beecroft, founded a second organization in 1971 called Mamselle Sorority. Her desire was to provide additional meetings for people in the Los Angeles area. One key difference between FPE and Mamselle was that FPE was open only to heterosexual cross-dressers and their partners, whereas Mamselle was open to all transgendered persons regardless of sexual orientation. In April 1976, the two organizations merged to form the Society for the Second Self (Tri-Ess), which is open to heterosexual cross-dressers only. Beecroft accepted this, believing that it would be easier to form a national organization if the members were united in their interests.

Drag queen Marsha P. Johnson was one of many transgendered patrons at the Stonewall uprising in New York City's Greenwich Village in June 1969. *(Bettye Lane)*

Prince retired *Transvestia* in 1976, but another publication, *Femme Mirror*, continues to be published by Tri-Ess today under the leadership of Jane Ellen and Frances Fairfax of Houston.

Stonewall

The event that has come to define the history of the gay rights movement is one that was triggered by transgendered people, and yet, the transgender com-

munity has, generally speaking, not focused its own history on this event. The June 1969 Stonewall Riots in Greenwich Village began when patrons of the Stonewall Inn, who were predominately drag queens, transsexuals, and their supporters, resisted arrest by New York City police. The resistance and its impact had been well documented elsewhere, but the question of why it could begin with transgendered people, and why both the gay and trans communities tend to ignore that fact, is indicative of divisions between the two movements. Many in the gay community are transphobic and do not wish to acknowledge their gratitude to trans members for standing first, while simultaneously, many trans people are homophobic and deny any association with the gay community.

Fantasia Fair

The oldest annual event in the transgender community is Fantasia Fair. It was first held in October 1975 in Provincetown, Massachusetts. The idea for an event came from the Boston-area support group the Cherrystones. They chose Provincetown because of its reputation for tolerance of all regardless of sex, orientation, or identity. The first fair had about forty attendees.

Its programs include seminars on makeup and feminine presentation, sex reassignment surgery, and various personal issues, including professional, family, and spiritual concerns. Over the years, management of the fair was handled by the Outreach Institute of Gender Studies (OIGS) and its director, Ari Kane. In subsequent years, Fantasia Fair expanded its reach to include the growing Female to Male (FTM) community. In 2001, the board of Fantasia Fair voted to divorce itself from OIGS and become a separate organization. It incorporated under the name Real Life Experience (RLE).

The success of Fantasia Fair inspired other groups to start their own conventions, including Tri-Ess with Holiday En Femme in 1978.

IFGE

One of those inspired by seeing Kane on a Boston television talk show was Merissa Sherrill Lynn. This led to her contacting, first, the Gender Identity Service in Boston and, subsequently, the Cherrystone Club. Lynn was exposed through the Cherrystone library to a wider array of reading materials than she knew existed, but she still felt that there was a niche not being served. With the creation of a new group in the Boston area, Tiffany Club, Lynn started a new publication called *Tapestry*. Her purpose was to provide nonsexual community news and information. Then, while attending the seventh Fantasia Fair in Provincetown in 1981, Lynn participated in a meeting sponsored by Betty Ann Lind of Washington, D.C., in Chicago House on Winslow Street. That meeting was the first effort to bring together national leaders. From that discussion emerged an agreement to create a national transgender organization that would bring together the entire community on a regular basis and would attempt to pull together the varied interests of the transgender community. This resulted in the creation of the International Foundation for Gender Education (IFGE) in 1986, with Lynn as its first executive director. *Tapestry*, with Lynn as editor, became the organization's official publication. The first IFGE convention was held the following year in Chicago with the name Coming Together.

Trans Activism

The murder of twenty-one-year-old Brandon Brayman (Brandon Teena) and two friends in Humboldt, Nebraska, in December 1993 triggered a new sense of identity within the transgender community. This event served as the basis for a book, *All S-He Wanted,* by Aphrodite Jones (1996), and a motion picture, *Boys Don't Cry* (1999), for which actress Hilary Swank won an Academy Award. But the event's greatest impact lay in helping galvanize many transgendered groups and leaders into assuming a more activist role. The murder site was visited by Tonye Barreto-Neto (Transgender Officers Protect and Serve, TOPS), author Leslie Feinberg, and Riki Ann Wilchins (Transexual Menace).

The FTM community began to become increasingly visible and active. FTM International, founded by Louis Sullivan before he died of AIDS in 1991, sponsored its first national Conference of the Americas in August 1995 in San Francisco. It was the first time a convention focused entirely on the concerns of FTMs had ever been organized.

That same year, members of the entire transgender community lobbied Congress for language inclusive of gender identity in the Employment Non-Discrimination Bill. This effort was coordinated by attorney Phyllis Frye of the International Conference on Transgender Law and Employment Policy (ICTLEP). Several subsequent Lobby Days have taken place since 1995.

This increased political activism led to the creation of a political action committee, GenderPAC, designed to focus on the concerns of the transgender community. This resulted from a growing desire by

many trans activists to have a formal organization that could lobby full-time in Washington. The final touches were made during a meeting in Philadelphia in November 1996, sponsored by Renaissance Education Association. It included many transgender groups, including the American Educational Gender Information Service and It's Time America! Wilchins was appointed as the first executive director. In 1999, however, disagreements between the leadership of GenderPAC and organizations that created it led to the creation of a new lobbying organization, the National Transgender Advocacy Coalition (NTAC), with Yoseñio Lewis at the helm. Wilchins and GenderPAC have explicitly adopted a program of activism against gender expectations and roles under the aegis of poststructuralist and queer theorists, particularly Judith Butler. They argue that a specific focus on transgender issues perpetuates an apparent separation between transgender persons and persons with "normal" gender identities, when in fact all persons suffer from oppression based on gender categories. Transgender activists, in turn, have criticized Wilchins and GenderPAC for operating with a theoretical model that appeals to highly educated white activists while failing to account for the problems faced by transgender persons who are also racial or ethnic minorities, or from lower socioeconomic positions.

The transgender movement continues to grow and evolve as its members become more visible and active in the twenty-first century.

Marisa Richmond

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15

Conservative, Nativist, and Right-Wing Movements

Introduction

Conservative social movements in the United States defy easy categorization. Dozens of different conservative groups have struggled for myriad causes, ranging from the expulsion of Chinese immigrants to the elimination of federal taxation to the establishment of a Christian Republic. These groups have adopted various forms of organization, including mobs, paramilitary cells, and political parties, and they have used numerous tactics, including violence, political mobilization, and civil disobedience, to forward their causes. Making generalization about conservative social movements more difficult is the tension running through conservatism between its libertarian and normative forms. Some conservatives have sought to drastically reduce the roles of federal and state governments in the economic and social lives of Americans, while other conservatives have insisted that the state not only guarantee law and order but also regulate many important aspects of social life, including religion, leisure, sexuality, reproduction, and morality. Ultimately, however, conservatives have, with a few notable exceptions, found common ground in the promotion of individualism, property rights, free enterprise, law and order, and some form of nationalism. Opposition to socialism, communism, environmentalism, unions, and taxation has also brought conservatives together, as have racism and nativism, again with important exceptions.

What has been remarkable about conservative movements is that their participants have deemed them necessary in such a conservative country. In this regard, they have been reactive efforts to preserve the benefits of an existing social order against perceived threats. This has been the case with racist and nativist groups, including the Know-Nothings in the 1850s, the Ku Klux Klan from the 1870s to the 1920s, Social Darwinian anti-immigration advocates at the turn of the twentieth century, White Citizens Councils in the 1950s and 1960s, and neo-Nazis in the 1980s and 1990s. It has also been the case with libertarian conservative movements, which have sought to retard the growth of the welfare state, and normative conservative movements, which have opposed liberalism, feminism, secularism, and internationalism. In making their appeals to preserve the social order, conservatives have often invoked a mythical American past of self-sufficient, God-fearing, community-minded, morally righteous, and hard-working people. As they see it, America is fundamentally a harmonious, beneficent, and self-regulating country of such people and would remain such but for misguided politicians and policies. Conservative movements thus seek to maintain or restore a distinctly American set of social arrangements that includes a distinct group of people.

Despite their frequent invocations of a glorified past, most conservatives have not been antimodern. They have continued to respect the traditions they value while embracing potentially disruptive changes brought about by capitalism, such as technological innovation, the rise of conglomerates, and the development of mass media. Most often, conservatives achieve this uneasy balance by combining modern economic philosophy with traditional social ideals. Thus, conservatives of all stripes have promoted free markets, property rights, and the importance of self-sufficiency. Some, including elitist conservative intellectuals like Russell Kirk and Friedrich von Hayek in the 1940s and 1950s, have adopted a philosophical individualism consonant with extreme laissez-faire economic thought. They have needed no balancing act to meld their social and economic thought. It has been normative conservatives, such as those in racist, nativist, or Christian conservative movements, who have had to find ways to combine seemingly contradictory free-market economic thought with proscriptive social policy. Nativists have appealed to a sense of moral economy to justify their interference in free-labor markets when they have demanded the exclusion of immigrants and African Americans from certain jobs. Similarly, Christian conservatives have

called for limits on the freedom of free markets when they have sought to restrict the content of television, music, and film, and their insistence on respect for authority, self-control, moral righteousness, and religiosity has put limits on the free will of individuals. Taken to their logical conclusions, normative conservative tenets can be contradictory, but conservatives have successfully mixed and matched their ideals to create a viable worldview that millions have lived by even as the development of capitalism has undermined the social basis for many of those ideals.

Conservative movements have drawn their supporters from various groups of Americans. Leaders have most often come from the country's elites, including wealthy businesspeople, religious leaders, and intellectuals. Supporters have most often been middle class, including small-business people, professionals, managers, and supervisors. Some skilled and unskilled workers have also supported conservative movements, most often in the South, but also in places where urban populations kept ties to rural life, such as Michigan. Working-class support for conservatism has focused on its normative aspects—Christian morality, self-control, respect for authority, and nationalism—and less on laissez-faire economic policy. To the extent that working-class people have come to own property, they have become more open to conservative appeals to the overriding importance of property rights. Job concerns have also motivated workers to support such conservative causes as immigration restriction, opposition to affirmative action, and military spending. Not surprisingly, conservative champions of the free market have most often come from the middle and upper classes—those most likely to benefit in the marketplace.

Like other social movements, conservative movements have adopted a wide variety of organizational forms and tactics. Remarkably, given their professed belief in the superiority of the American system, conservatives have employed extralegal tactics, particularly violence and intimidation, to a far greater extent than other movements. In the 1850s, the anti-Catholic, anti-immigrant, and racist American Party, better known as the Know-Nothings, used mob violence as part of its political campaigns. In both its original post–Civil War formation and its second incarnation in the 1910s and 1920s, the Ku Klux Klan was a terrorist organization aimed at violently suppressing the political mobilization of African Americans, Jews, and other "un-American elements." Its tactics included physical intimidation, house bombing, rape, torture, cross burning, and lynching. The American Legion and other paramilitary nationalist organizations frequently attacked strikers, radicals, and Socialists on numerous occasions, just as White Citizens Councils employed violence in their campaigns against racial integration in the South. Making all this violence possible and effective was the complicity of government authorities. Only in the 1990s, when they arrested paramilitary militia members, have government agencies moved quickly to suppress conservative violence. Most other times, it took massive protest and political mobilization to induce government action.

Conservative movements have been extremely successful in the United States. This success reflects the ability of conservatives to articulate a set of policies that have resonated among influential segments of the society, thereby allowing conservatives to develop considerable social, economic, and political power. In part, they have been able to do this because, in defending the status quo, they have momentum on their side. More important, their ideas, particularly those associated with individualism, property rights, free markets, and nationalism, have better reflected the reality as lived by many Americans. That is, conservatism has been more deeply rooted in the social, economic, and political development of the United States than other competing social philosophies.

Aaron Brenner

Conservative Movement

Since the election of President Jimmy Carter in November 1976, political culture in the United States has veered decisively to the right. With the possible exception of the single-term presidency of George H.W. Bush (1989–1993), which scholars argue did little more than consolidate the achievements of the Reagan administration (1981–1989), the trend has been further rightward. Today President George W. Bush (2001–) heads what is not only the most conservative administration in American history but also the most conservative to appear in any Western country since the 1930s.

An effective conservative movement has been the main force propelling the nation's rightward shift since the 1970s. Public opinion polls have consistently demonstrated that the mass of Americans are not less liberal than they were in the 1950s and 1960s; indeed, in relation to social issues they are markedly more liberal. Conservatism has transformed the face of American politics by shifting the political and economic national agenda to the right. Conservatism has promoted unfettered free markets and the elimination of social protections, and has tried to roll back the gains of the civil rights and women's movements achieved in the 1960s and 1970s. Political operators like Howard Phillips, Paul Weyrich, Lee Atwater, Roger Ailes, Karl Rove, and Grover G. Norquist have skillfully manipulated the country's nearly gridlocked electoral system. Generous corporate sponsorship has played an important role in distancing the Republican Party from the economic concerns of lower-middle- and working-class Americans and the mainstream establishment media's ability to filter out the voices of conservatism's most formidable critics and competitors.

The primary vehicle of the modern American conservative movement has been the Republican Party, which, in the 1950s, was in the hands of party moderates. The history of the conservative movement is, therefore, very largely the history of the Republican Party's transformation into an instrument of its conservative flank. It is necessary to point out that American conservatism cannot be identified solely with the Republican Party. Indeed, the conservative movement would never have attained its present level of success without the frequent collaboration of a substantial minority of conservative Democrats.

Historically, the Democratic Party has long carried the burden of a mainly southern minority whose views on many economic and social issues stand well to the right of the party's majority. It is largely thanks to this conservative structure that liberal Democrats have failed to implement initiatives like the 1991 bill that would have outlawed the permanent replacement of striking workers. By the 1990s, however, its conservative flank had effectively transformed the Democratic Party into a force standing further to the right even than the moderate Republicanism that the Republican Party repudiated in the 1960s. Propelling the shift was the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC), an organization for elected Democratic politicians formed early in 1985 by Democratic Party congressional staffer Al From. The function of the DLC was to help the Democrats recapture the White House by bringing back into the fold the so-called Reagan Democrats—middle-class whites who had defected to Reagan in 1980 and 1984.

Initially, the DLC was more concerned with image—with redressing the widespread perception fostered by Republican campaigning that the Democratic Party represented an elitist left-liberalism whose time had passed. But after the party lost its third consecutive presidential election in 1988, the DLC, whose membership by that stage had reached around 200, began fashioning a new policy agenda that was designed to radically transform the way the party was perceived at large. In policy papers released by its newly founded think tank, the Progressive Policy In-

stitute (PPI), the DLC denounced liberalism and embraced positions on the economy, foreign policy, race, and welfare that were often difficult to distinguish from those advocated by conservatives.

The DLC policy mix—whose conservative thrust was rendered more palatable to the party's grassroots supporters by a mild social liberalism—became the Democratic Party's official platform when in 1992 it was adopted as the program of the party's presidential nominee, William Jefferson Clinton. During Clinton's tenure of the White House (1993–2001), it became apparent that the Clinton "New Democrats" differed only modestly from their Republican competitors. Although Republicans campaigned aggressively against many Clinton initiatives, it is likely that they would have supported them if they had come from a Republican president.

To be sure, the New Democrats thought of themselves as exemplifying centrism rather than conservatism. Their policy agenda aspired to represent a "progressive" Third Way between the party's erstwhile liberalism and the conservative Republican alternative. However, under pressure from the right—largely via the media—the New Democrats effectively implemented conservative policies while placating their liberal constituency with symbolic gestures, such as Clinton's 1997 apology for the infamous Tuskegee experiments on syphilitic black men. An important source of conservative success, therefore, is to be found in the Democratic Party's reluctance to stand for more than symbolic continuity with the country's progressive political tradition.

A second force independent of the Republican Party that has underwritten the conservative revolution is the American strain of right-wing libertarianism. During the 1950s and 1960s, libertarians were fellow travelers of the nascent conservative movement, an alliance that was capped by the so-called fusionism of Frank S. Meyer's *In Defense of Freedom: A Conservative Credo* (1962). Libertarianism reemerged as a political ideology distinct from conservatism due to the work of Murray N. Rothbard, a political philosopher who took the view that conservatives conceded far too much when they endorsed the minimal state as a necessary evil. While conservatives disapproved of the postwar growth of the state, Rothbard disapproved of the state itself. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, Rothbard perfected a blend of radical antistatism and Austrian liberal economics that enjoys considerable currency in the United States today, particularly on the Internet. Although libertarians (or "anarcho-capitalists") are staunch opponents of American militarism, which often makes them forceful critics of the new conservative establishment, their antistatist rhetoric has served conservative purposes by fostering an ideological climate in which the unregulated "free market" is seen as the greatest force for good in the world and state intervention in spheres such as education, health, and welfare is dismissed out of hand as counterproductive and even dangerous.

Conservatives Take Control of the Republican Party

Pioneering Intellectuals

The conservative movement's original momentum came from a relatively small number of ideological entrepreneurs whose books appeared in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Among what scholars termed the New Conservatives were writers like Richard Weaver, Peter Viereck, Ayn Rand, Frank Chodorov, Russell Kirk, Willmoore Kendall, Raymond Moley, and William F. Buckley. Although these writers did not share a homogeneous ideological outlook, they all had a tendency to identify with the "individual" against the "mass." These early conservatives stood against the collectivism that was embodied by welfare state programs that they detected in the postwar development of the American welfare state. They often shared the alarmist diagnosis of Friedrich von Hayek's immensely influential political tract *The Road to Serfdom* (1944). According to Hayek, recent tendencies within liberal democracies like Britain and the United States were reminiscent of those that in Germany had contributed to the rise of National Socialism in the 1930s. The notion that the United States, fresh from a victory over Nazism, had set out on its own trajectory to "collectivism" provided nascent conservatism with perhaps its most powerful idea.

During the Truman era, conservatives were lone operators situated firmly outside the mildly progressive consensual political discourse. Only during the Eisenhower administration did they begin to encounter a wider echo in society. Russell Kirk's *Conservative Mind, from Burke to Eliot* (1995) is generally recognized as the work that made conservative ideas respectable again. In the wake of the success of *Conservative Mind*, a lively intellectual conservative movement began to grow, and Kirk himself was to enjoy a long career as one of its leading spokesmen. Although he does not loom nearly as large as Kirk in the numerous histories of the conservative movement, the libertarian Frank

Founder of the group Young Americans for Freedom and the magazine *The National Review*, William F. Buckley has been perhaps the nation's most influential conservative voice for more than half a century. A prolific author, he is shown here in 1998 at a symposium at Greenwich Library in Connecticut. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

Chodorov was important as a force for the diffusion of free-market ideology on U.S. campuses. In 1953, he founded the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (ISI). Functioning primarily as a student book club, the ISI distributed, free or for a nominal charge, paperback editions of Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom*, Richard Weaver's *Ideas Have Consequences* (1948), and Chodorov's *One Is a Crowd: Reflections of an Individualist* (1940).

Of the pioneering conservatives, multimillionaire Buckley can be cited as the most important. Buckley—who was the ISI's first president—wrote the first major conservative attack on liberal education in America, *God and Man at Yale: The Superstitions of Academic Freedom* (1951), and founded the first major conservative magazine, *The National Review*, which commenced publication in 1955. Together with public relations expert Marvin Liebman, Buckley also founded an important conservative youth organization, Young Americans for Freedom (YAF). In YAF's founding document, the so-called Sharon Statement—named after Buckley's ancestral estate in Sharon, Connecticut, where YAF's first meeting was held in September 1960—the new organization declared itself a grouping of "90 of the best and brightest conservative minds" committed to the doctrine of free will, economic freedom, law and order, minimal government, states' rights, militant anti-Communism, and a nationalist foreign policy.

Yet none of this formidable intellectual power would have been to any avail had the Republican Party not been captured and harnessed as a compliant political vehicle for the new conservatism. Without control of either of the two major political parties, conservatism would never have emerged as an important electoral force, let alone the major force shaping the nation's destiny. For with the possible exception of pockets like Orange County in Southern California in the early 1960s, conservatism was never a mass social movement. It was, however, a major insurgency within the GOP (for Grand Old Party, a synonym for the Republican Party).

WILLIAM FRANK BUCKLEY JR.

(1925–)

Born in New York City on November 24, 1925, Buckley was the sixth of ten children of a Catholic oilman who championed conservative causes and raised his family to do likewise. Buckley spent his early childhood in France and England, attended a private boarding school in upstate New York, and graduated from Yale in 1950. His father encouraged him to read the works of Albert Jay Nock, an anti–New Dealer who argued that Communism and fascism could best be met by American economic growth based on reducing regulation and taxes. Nock's ideas and Buckley's privileged background deeply influenced Buckley, and he rose to become one of the most popular, eloquent, and witty spokesmen for the conservative point of view in the late twentieth century.

Shortly after graduation, Buckley published his first work of nonfiction, *God and Man at Yale* (1951). In it, Buckley asserts the conservative point of view as it pertains specifically to the theory of education. Buckley questions the level of secularization of American schools. He accuses it of hypocrisy in its movement away from the ideological foundation upon which the institution was built. In his opinion, Yale was founded upon the belief in God. Therefore, virtue and individualism should have been cornerstones of a Yale education. But Buckley found that in his time at Yale the university was embracing "statism and atheism," the alternative to which was a return to political conservatism, according to Buckley.

Buckley then became an editor for *The American Mercury* (1951–1952) and went on to found the *National Review* in 1955, which soon became the leading journal of conservative opinion in the United States. He remained editor in chief until his retirement in 1990. A devout Catholic, he spoke out against Pope John XXIII's encyclical *Mater et Magistra*, issued in 1961. His objection that it focused attention on social as well as moral issues sparked debate among American Catholics. He encouraged a more progressive church that would allow its priests to marry and would not oppose divorce and contraception.

In 1965, Buckley was an unsuccessful candidate for mayor of New York City, receiving about 12 percent of the vote. Buckley wrote about his campaign experience in the entertaining firsthand account, *The Unmaking of a Mayor* (1966). That same year, he launched his popular weekly political television talk show, *Firing Line*, a show he hosted for the next thirty-three years. His strong showing on the Conservative Party ticket in the three-way race prefigured Richard Nixon's election to the presidency in 1968 and the rise of the conservative wing of the Republican Party led by Ronald Reagan in the 1980s. His public support of the Nixon, Ford, and Reagan administrations, along with his television show, gave him celebrity status, a rarity at that time for a political pundit. Throughout that time, Buckley remained an icon of conservative thought. His writing has sparked healthy debate between individuals with both liberal and conservative points of view.

Buckley writes a syndicated newspaper column, "On the Right." He has also published over forty fiction books, including several best-selling spy novels. In addition, he is an accomplished harpsichordist and sailor. His range of talents and erudite style have made him something of a Renaissance man and one of the most respected voices in the conservative movement.

James G. Lewis

The early history of the conservative movement has yet to be written from a sociological point of view, and only the loosest generalizations can be hazarded about those who supported the movement before it became an institutionalized political force. What seems clear enough is that ideologues like Buckley enjoyed the backing of reactionary (i.e., anti–New Deal) elements of the business class. The impetus for the ISI, for example, came from a businessman who had read an article in which Chodorov pointed out that socialism might be eradicated in America by a campaign to instill the young with free-enterprise principles and a reverence for private property. He promptly sent Chodorov a $1,000 check to start up "freedom" clubs on U.S. campuses. The movement's real shakers and movers were business magnates like J. Howard Pew of Sun Oil and Eugene S. Pulliam, publisher of the *Indianapolis News*, who contributed financially to the cause.

Geographically, the social elements financing the new conservatism were found mainly in the southern and midwestern regions of the United States, where they remained separated from the liberal currents that emanated from the major educational institutions situated in the Northeast. What united such men in opposition to the dominant liberal culture was op-

position to trade unionism and the steps that had been taken toward a modern welfare state. Galvanized by the disconcertingly popular 1945–1946 strikes and the unexpected victory of Harry Truman at the polls in 1948, businessmen associated with organizations like the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) mounted a series of ad hoc initiatives intended to undermine organized labor, denounce welfare, and school American workers in the virtues of free-enterprise capitalism. They funded institutions like the Foundation for Economic Education, the Industrial Information Institute, and the American Heritage Foundation to disseminate pro-business ideology, and they pressured broadcasters and journalists to tone down stories sympathetic to labor.

By the 1950s, however, once it was clear that the Eisenhower administration did not plan to reduce government spending or reverse any of the key postwar developments they opposed, businessmen supplemented their local initiatives with a broader political activism aimed at taking control of the Republican Party away from the Eisenhower moderates by using knowledge and skillful maneuvers over GOP rules and procedures in states in which the electoral laws facilitated the capture of the party by grassroots activists. Conservatives gained the upper hand over an establishment that chiefly represented the Northeast, a region that was becoming relatively less important to the nation as a whole. The takeover was accomplished between 1957 and 1964 and consolidated by 1968.

Discontent with Eisenhower

Since 1884, the Republican Party has been internally divided between an eastern, urban, liberal faction that supported effective and well-managed public services and the so-called stalwarts or Old Guard Republicans, who objected to liberal reforms and generally supported business interests. Until the Crash of 1929 discredited financial capitalism, the stalwarts dominated the party. But in the wake of the New Deal, eastern liberals based mainly in New York came to control it. The stalwarts, unreconciled to the New Deal reforms that lay the basis for the country's subsequent prosperity, formed into a minority led by Senator Robert A. Taft (R-OH). This group was composed overwhelmingly of men (like Prescott Bush and Taft himself) whose business affairs had either prospered or suffered relatively little during the Depression.

Following Taft's death in 1953, the stalwarts found themselves leaderless. The conservative movement received a further blow when anti-Communist zealot Senator Joseph McCarthy (R-WI) was discredited in 1954. Under President Dwight Eisenhower, who was elected in 1952, the party moderates were clearly in control. Although Taft conservatives did not trust Eisenhower, who once described himself as "conservative on the economy and generally a progressive," conservative opposition remained muted. However, simmering conservative discontent began to boil over during Eisenhower's more uncertain second term. After being reelected in November 1956, the president adopted a domestic policy that was based on constructive government intervention. He strengthened government welfare programs, created the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, broadened the Social Security system, increased the minimum wage, overhauled the federal tax system, and initiated the most costly domestic program ever, the Interstate Highway system.

Conservative opposition reached fever pitch in 1957 when details of the president's forthcoming $71.8 billion budget—the largest peacetime budget in the country's history—were leaked. Although they wanted more spending on the military to confront the Communist threat, conservatives were unwilling to accept the deficit this entailed. George M. Humphrey, Eisenhower's secretary of the Treasury, who resigned shortly afterward, warned that it would precipitate "a depression that will curl your hair." Whether or not the development was related to the 1958 budget, 1958–1959 saw the first major recession since the war had ended, a circumstance that partly accounted for the loss of 8 million votes to the Democrats at the polls in 1958. Conservatives interpreted the party's extremely poor showing in 1958 as a sign that the nation had rejected the president's "modern Republicanism," while party moderates blamed the disaster on the party's "extreme right wing fanatical fringe."

The conservative attempt to capture control of the GOP from Eisenhower Republicans began when, against the backdrop of the 1957–1958 budget controversy, the conservatives seized the party's youth wing, the Young Republican National Federation (YR). Founded in Washington in 1931, the YR began to take a rightward turn at its 1957 convention when F. Clifton White and William E. Rusher, two members of the New York State Young Republican Federation, vehemently opposed modern Republicanism. The Young Republicans immediately staked positions on several topical issues that were diametrically opposed to those of the Eisenhower administration. Cultural exchanges with Communist countries and compulsory unionism were rejected, as was federal financial

aid for general public education and school construction. "The Syndicate," as the Rusher-White faction was known, scored a further victory in 1959 when, at the YR convention in Denver, Rusher and White saw through the election of an alliance that was overtly anti-Rockefeller, anti-Eastern, and antiliberal. On that occasion, Ned Cushing, a young banker from Kansas, was elected chairman. The convention proceeded to adopt what Cushing referred to as "the most conservative [platform] in the history of the federation," including the virtual elimination of Social Security.

The Man from Arizona

By 1959, the GOP had entered a period of relative unity. One reason for the de facto truce between factions was renewed support for the president. Conservatives felt more comfortable with Eisenhower once he embraced the cause of fiscal austerity, which he did after the Democrats elected in 1958 mooted plans to increase social spending. However, the primary reason was the party's need to rally behind its 1960 presidential candidate. Although neither moderates nor conservatives were entirely satisfied with chief contender, Richard M. Nixon, neither was able to produce a candidate who stood a better chance of winning. While Nixon spent most of his campaign trying to avoid offending either faction, the conservatives proved extremely hard to please. In particular, they objected to the so-called Pact of Fifth Avenue, the agreement Nixon had signed with Rockefeller, his running mate, calling on Nixon to strengthen his positions on civil rights. Most conservatives interpreted the agreement as a full-blown sellout to moderate Republicanism.

Although Nixon narrowly lost the 1960 election to John F. Kennedy, the South and Southwest emerged as clear growth areas for the GOP, which had been building viable party organizations in these regions since the 1920s. Investing in conservative ideology was, therefore, investing the party's future in the growth of the southern vote. Although he had the advantage of coming from Southern California, Nixon did not speak for the Sunbelt nearly as clearly as Senator Barry Goldwater (R-AZ). Goldwater first came to national attention as the most forthright critic of the 1958 budget, which he depicted as a gross betrayal of the mandate the nation had bestowed upon Eisenhower in 1956. Then in 1960 he consolidated his support among GOP conservatives when he bitterly denounced the Rockefeller-Nixon agreement, which he dubbed the "Surrender of Fifth Street." In October 1961, under the leadership of F. Clifton White, twenty-two conservatives, mostly Young Republicans, assembled in a Chicago motel where a committee was formed to pressure the Republican Party into nominating Goldwater as its presidential candidate in 1964. White and his supporters in the Draft Goldwater Committee spent two years traveling around the country building support for Goldwater before the GOP was finally wrested from the grip of its Eastern leaders and Goldwater was nominated.

Some rather airy explanations have been offered for the tremendous impact Goldwater had on the country in the leadup to the 1964 election. Yet it seems clear in retrospect that Goldwater's appeal was comparatively straightforward: he was the first attractive national political figure whose rhetoric presented pro-business conservatism as a moral choice. According to the journal *Human Events*, Goldwater's *The Conscience of a Conservative* (1960) provided "humanitarian reasons for following policies which have usually been associated with a mere lust for gain." Business funded Goldwater's campaign with unprecedented generosity. He raised $7 million more than Nixon had in 1960, ending his campaign with a surplus that was sufficient to provide the seed money for several new conservative organizations. By giving vent to the sort of pro-business conservatism to which they had been exposed in the course of campaigns such as those waged by the NAM, Goldwater inspired a great many people to experience a thrill that at last someone was speaking out loudly and clearly on behalf of views that seemed to them entirely commonsensical.

Goldwater also benefited from the fact that the GOP was becoming better versed in the public relations techniques demanded by the television age. Kennedy's victory over Nixon in 1960 was largely attributed to his impressive appearance on TV (Nixon was said to perform best on radio). The GOP therefore hired advertising executives to spruce up the party's image. As part of the public relations process, the spotlight fell on younger candidates. For conservatives, it was imperative that conservatism came across as youthful and congenial rather than old and cantankerous. If Goldwater was not all that young, he was at least considered ruggedly good looking. He also possessed a certain straightshooting candor that many young people, in particular, found appealing.

During the course of the Goldwater campaign, conservatives based in the southern and midwestern states established firm control of the presidential GOP. In fact, the party's liberal wing never regained control of the party, and the highest office its leader, Nelson Rockefeller, ever attained was the vice presidency. The

Nicknamed "Mr. Conservative," Arizona senator Barry Goldwater won the Republican nomination for president in 1964. Despite his overwhelming defeat by Democrat Lyndon Johnson, his campaign inspired many conservatives and paved the way for Ronald Reagan's election in 1980. Late in life, Goldwater voiced many libertarian beliefs. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

social basis for conservative domination of the Republican Party was not the Taftite stalwarts, however, but a fresh ingredient in the mix, the so-called Easy Street Republicans. This new group owed its existence primarily to the military-industrial complex. Its basis was the phenomenal 62 percent of the federal budget which, between 1946 and 1965, was allocated to defense spending. Easy Street Republicans were found chiefly in the South and the Southwest, in centers like Orange County, California, which depended almost entirely on government defense contracts. During the Cold War, defense contracts brought unprecedented prosperity to many previously backward regions of the United States. Between 1940 and 1960, the population of Orange County grew by an astonishing 385 percent. By 1960, most Orange County residents earned incomes markedly higher than the national average and enjoyed a rate of home ownership—around 70 percent—that was higher than that of any other part of the country. While not everyone in Orange County—and other such regions whose growth was fueled by the military-industrial complex—was employed in the defense sector, most everyone who grew rich in such regions did so by providing those who were not in the sector with support services.

After the Goldwater Debacle

Despite the extensive appeal of his antistatist ideology, Goldwater's presidential campaign came to an ignominious conclusion, and his Democratic opponent, Lyndon Baines Johnson, won by a landslide. The only part of the nation that Goldwater carried was the South—by far the country's most conservative quarter and the region that had experienced the most marked social upheavals in recent times.

Despite the crushing extent of the defeat, the mid-1960s witnessed the entrenchment of conservatism's hold over the Republican Party. Although liberal Republicans tried to benefit from the crisis, they lacked a sufficiently large grassroots base to prevail against the conservative tide. Important in this respect was the fact that GOP liberals were essentially pragmatists who dealt with developments as they arose rather than through the lens of ideology. Their pragmatism was a major weakness in an increasingly ideologized political environment. For all his talk about modern Republicanism, Eisenhower had never sponsored a movement to turn it into an intellectual force. The inability of party liberals to understand the importance of ideas in politics left them vulnerable to the charge that they represented nothing more than accommodation with the Democratic Party. Despite attempts to breathe life into liberal Republicanism, after 1965 liberal Republicanism entered a stage of decline that left it virtually irrelevant by the time Nixon was elected in 1968.

The conservative movement largely evaded responsibility for the Goldwater defeat by blaming dishonest advertising by the Democrats and widespread media misrepresentation of Goldwater's views. The movement continued to build on what it had achieved during the course of the campaign. In January 1965, Marvin Liebman and Robert E. Bauman founded the American Conservative Union (ACU) as a permanent vehicle for tapping the resources of the short-lived groups that had mobilized in support of Goldwater's candidacy. The ACU and the many new conservative groups heeded the most important lesson of the campaign—the ease with which the Democrats could

identify them with the John Birch Society (JBS), a right-wing organization opposed to the 1960s movements, and other extreme right-wing groups. Liebman, supported by Buckley, made an effort to keep JBS members out of the ACU. However, the ACU majority did not want to risk alienating rank-and-file Birchers, and in the end Liebman and Buckley had to make do with a public statement declaring only that the JBS and the ACU were "distinct" organizations.

Clearly, while distinguishing conservatism from the radical Right was an aim of the most sensitive conservative operatives, it was one that conflicted with a higher priority—the need to build a Republican majority. In the course of his campaign for mayor of New York, however, Buckley made a further effort to distinguish the sort of conservatism for which he stood from the hysterical anti-Communism and racial bigotry of the Far Right. In *The National Review* in October 1965, he and a number of other contributors attacked what Buckley called the "surrealisms" of JBS leader Robert Welch, pointing out that the kind of conspiracy theories in which Welch believed were shared by many Birchers. Although many Birchers (and members of other far-right-wing groups) regarded Buckley's attacks as an act of betrayal, it certainly helped Buckley, whose campaign benefited from the perception that a clear distinction existed between conservatism and the Far Right.

That conservatism was, despite the Goldwater defeat, not necessarily an electoral liability for the Republican Party seemed roundly demonstrated by its first major victory, the election of Ronald Reagan as governor of California in 1966. During his 1966 gubernatorial campaign, conservatism benefited from the emergence of the counterculture as an electoral issue. In 1964, the moralistic rhetoric of the Goldwater campaign had foundered precisely because no real threats to American peace and stability existed. Indeed, in the early 1960s, Americans had never had it so good. By 1966, however, Reagan was able to exploit two recent developments that struck fear into many middle-class hearts. These were, first, the civil rights movement's escalation into a more violent phase and, second, the growth of student unrest on the Berkeley campus of the University of California. Profiting from sensational media reporting that focused on inner-city violence and "campus malcontents," Reagan turned his campaign into a debate about retaking control of a society that was allegedly sliding into chaos.

By latching on to the new student activism as a campaign issue, Reagan showed the GOP that implacable opposition to the trends associated with the growing independence of youth (sexual liberation, marijuana), although they affected, at this stage, only a relatively small number of students, could nonetheless be transformed, with the assistance of a sympathetic press, into a formula for electoral success. He also performed another important service for Republican conservatives. During the campaign, he proved adept in teaching the electorate how to distinguish between conservatism and the anti-Communist fringe. He succeeded in distancing himself from the JBS by denouncing only some of Robert Welch's ideas. Ordinary Birchers, on the other hand, he described as "fine upstanding citizens." With his law-and-order policies glossed by a sugarcoated, genial public image, Reagan brought together the essential ingredients of a textbook conservative victory when he won fifty-five out of fifty-eight counties against two-term Democratic governor Pat Brown.

Nixon's Conservatism

In 1968, conservatives remained sufficiently tarnished by the 1964 debacle that they were not in a position to have a conservative nominated as the GOP's presidential candidate. Although there was a groundswell of support for the idea of Reagan entering the fray, in the end the field was left open to Richard Nixon, whose chief rival for the nomination was Nelson Rockefeller. Although GOP conservatives had never regarded Nixon as a member of their own camp, he enjoyed the advantage of being acceptable to them, whereas Rockefeller remained anathema. Conservatives were only too happy to support Nixon over Rockefeller. In any case, by the time of the 1968 presidential contest, Nixon's image was rather more conservative than it had been in 1960. His conservative appeal had been powerfully reinforced by the rhetoric of his new speechwriter, staunch conservative Patrick Buchanan, who helped him target his arguments at what Buchanan called the "silent majority." Nixon also won the backing of some of the country's most high-profile conservatives—Goldwater, Buckley, Senator Strom Thurmond (R-SC), and Clare Booth Luce—a considerable feat for a man who at the same time was able to successfully cultivate the support of key party moderates.

Nixon also shared the advantages Reagan had enjoyed in California in 1966. As the civil rights movement became more militant, student protests against the Vietnam War escalated, and the news media paid more and more attention to urban crime, Nixon's campaign was played out against the backdrop of gathering social crisis, making the moment opportune

for conservative "law-and-order" rhetoric. A further feature of the 1968 electoral landscape that redounded to the conservatives' advantage was that this time there was a prominent "extremist" candidate, Governor George Wallace of Alabama. The clear differences between Nixon and Wallace made it impossible for anyone to think of Nixon as a fanatic.

Once elected, however, Nixon governed in a way that greatly disappointed his more diehard conservative supporters. Conservative dissatisfaction with Nixon came to a head in 1971, when he pursued policies that were deemed at odds with his conservative mandate: the opening of diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, détente with the Soviet Union, and the imposition of wage and price controls, the most stringent implemented since World War II.

In July 1971, the "Manhattan Twelve," a group of leading conservatives, including Buckley, Rusher, Tom Winter, and Allen Ryskind of *Human Events*, Randal Teague of YAF, and John Jones and Jeff Bell of the ACU, announced their "suspension of support" for the president in the forthcoming election. By December, they had recruited another dismayed conservative, John Ashbrook, the ACU's chairman, to challenge Nixon in the primaries. Ashbrook's campaign, which Rusher started off with a $1,000 check, was premised on the view that Nixon's policies were carrying the nation to the brink of disaster. Although the campaign generated substantial support from YAF and young conservatives generally, it fizzled after disappointing results in three states where Ashbrook had campaigned vigorously. Despite its failure, conservatives credit the Ashbrook candidacy with Nixon's decision to veto the Child Development Act in 1971, a progressive initiative sponsored by Senator Jacob Javits (R-NY). They also believe that it obliged Nixon to govern in a more conservative manner throughout his second term.

Nixon's second term began by showing every indication of being more conservative than his first. "Let us remember that America was not built by government but by people; not by welfare, but by work," he intoned in his second inaugural address. Yet we will never know how the American people would have responded to Nixon's new conservatism, for the Watergate revelations soon precipitated his downfall and created a reaction at the polls in 1974 and 1976 that benefited the Democrats. Many commentators believe that, despite the Democratic victories, Watergate helped consolidate the conservative agenda by fostering public distrust of the executive branch.

Yet what really paved the way for the conservative ascendancy was the electorate's rejection of President Gerald Ford at the 1976 elections. The American business community had benefited greatly from the fact that Nixon's successor was a staunch defender of business interests. Throughout his tenure in the White House, Ford vetoed almost every Democratic initiative of any importance, thereby stalling the labor–public interest coalition that had for a time seemed capable of changing the face of the nation forever. Yet conservatives remained dissatisfied with Ford, whose politics were in most other respects continuous with those of the (first) Nixon administration.

Buckley, Rusher, and others from the crowd that had sponsored Ashbrook's bid for the presidential nomination against Nixon cast around for a conservative challenger to Ford. They even considered forming a third party to run Ronald Reagan (who had completed his second term as governor of California in 1974) on a ticket with George Wallace. However, after Reagan launched a bid for the Republican Party nomination in 1975, the third party idea was dropped and conservatives rallied behind Reagan's campaign. Reagan miscalculated badly, however, when, in a bid to broaden his electoral appeal, he endorsed party moderate Richard Schweiker (R-PA)—the only Republican senator who has ever received the endorsement of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)—as his running mate. The decision to share the ticket with a moderate annoyed key southern Republican politicians like Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC), who switched over to Ford at the last minute, ensuring that Ford won the nomination.

The Politics of Economic Recovery

By the time Ford was defeated by Carter at the polls in November 1976, the party had settled on tax cuts as its primary cure-all for the nation's economic ills. The post-1973 economic crisis had initially focused the nation's attention on rising unemployment, an issue that briefly became the Democrats' defining cause. For wealthier Americans, the economic malaise was interpreted as proof that American governance had taken a turn in an anticapitalist direction. During the Carter era, conservatives claimed that excessive government spending had hampered economic recovery by "crowding out" private firms from the credit market and that business's performance was hampered by excessive governmental regulation.

These two myths brought business and the conservative movement together on the basis of shared interest. The very forces that, so it was claimed, im-

Ronald Reagan gives the thumbs up to a cheering crowd in Los Angeles on November 5, 1980, a day after winning the presidential election. Reagan's presidency marked the major political triumph of the conservative movement in the late twentieth century. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

peded economic recovery were precisely the things that conservatives abhorred for ideological reasons—strongly progressive taxation and governmental regulation. Once the Republican Party took up the cause of supply-side economics, which offered a theoretical rationale for generous tax cuts for the rich, and radical deregulation, all conservatives had to do was convince business political action committees to direct their moneys to Republican candidates on the basis of ideological compatibility. Republican operatives proved successful in making business alter its traditional electoral strategy, which had previously involved ensuring access to incumbent politicians regardless of party. In the 1980 elections, business funded Republican candidates generously, a practice that was even expanded in the 1982 midterm elections, when five times as many funds went to the Republican Party as to the Democratic Party.

One of the striking facts about the 1980 presidential campaign is that Ronald Reagan was not business's candidate. Most corporate executives favored John Connally, former Democratic governor of Texas. However, conservatives did not want simply another pro-business administration in the Eisenhower or Ford mold; they wanted a candidate who stood for the retrenchment of the public sector and an offensive against the so-called New Class, social groups that derived power and influence from the activist liberal state. In the end, Reagan was recognized by conservatives as the most suitable vehicle for the implementation of their far-reaching agenda.

Yet the Reagan victory of 1980 was not a mandate for ideological conservatism. Today, even Reagan's greatest admirers would concede that the 1980 election was less a victory for conservatism than a decisive repudiation of Jimmy Carter, whose economic policies were widely regarded as inept. Reagan's agenda was only implemented with the collusion of a coalition of around forty conservative Democrats known as the "Boll Weevils," who voted with con-

gressional Republicans on budgetary and tax bills and stood firmly behind the Reagan administration's aggressive military buildup. Without the support of Southern Democrats like Representative Charles W. Stenholm (D-TX), there would have been no "Reagan Revolution." (Indeed, many Boll Weevils subsequently joined the Republican Party.)

The first Reagan administration was at odds with the public mood on a great many counts; the 1982 midterm elections produced a backlash that clearly demonstrated the unpopularity of the conservative agenda. What enabled conservatism to overcome the 1982 reversal was the economic recovery that began in 1983, maximizing Republican fortunes in the forthcoming presidential elections. Following the Reagan victory of 1984, the somewhat precarious conservative domination of the party was consolidated. At this stage, riding on the crest of an economic upturn and a considerable wave of patriotic fervor prompted by the administration's invasion of Grenada, conservatism became solidly entrenched as the dominant philosophy of the GOP.

Although the Reagan administration pursued few conservative initiatives during its second term (and enacted fewer still), Reagan himself did not forfeit his popularity with conservatives. At the very least, his continuity in office allowed the reforms of his first term to remain unreversed, despite the massive deficits "Reaganomics" brought the country. The same was true of the administration of George H.W. Bush, who acquired the presidency in the 1988 election. At the very least, the Bush victory bought conservatives another four years in which to dominate the national policy agenda.

Conservatism's Gains Under Clinton

Sometime between the second Reagan victory in 1984 and the 1992 election, the conservative movement ran out of steam. Certainly, the fire in American conservatism had faded away once the Cold War ended and the Soviet Union ceased to exist as a rival to American global interests. The Republican Party seemed split by Bush's presidency, and the divisions became apparent in 1992 when conservative columnist Patrick Buchanan, a former official of the Nixon and Reagan administrations, challenged President Bush for the Republican nomination. Although Bush prevailed, Buchanan's maverick campaign contributed to Bush's defeat in the national election. However, while the Republican Party underwent a period of adaptation to the new post–Cold War realities, the Democratic Party carried on the conservative revolution.

The DLC's rightward strategy followed since 1988 seemed vindicated in 1992, when New Democrat Bill Clinton captured the White House from George H.W. Bush. Initially, the Clinton administration embarked on a number of liberal initiatives, notably a major proposal for healthcare reform. But in the space of a few months the hugely popular proposal was vilified and quickly rendered unpopular by a media campaign orchestrated by GOP strategist Grover Norquist, whose concern was that it might turn America into a European-style social democracy. In league with lobbyists from the Christian Coalition, the National Rifle Association, and homeschooling organizations, Norquist represented the Clinton plan as a crisis of "big government" rather than an efficient solution to America's unwieldy and expensive system.

With the failure of his healthcare plan, Clinton changed tack and implemented what David McGowan describes as "the most reactionary agenda of any president in modern history," including hard-line welfare and penal policies. The shift began when Clinton appropriated the issue of crime from the Republicans. By early 1993, the Republican Party had fastened on crime as the issue of public concern most likely to give it an electoral edge over the Democrats. Writing in *The American Spectator* in May 1993, Norquist endorsed the GOP's new preoccupation with crime as sound conservative policy, arguing that it was "an issue on which the Democratic Party is institutionally incapable of following—or even mimicking—the opinions of the American public."

What the Republicans perhaps did not expect was the ability of the New Democrats to successfully appropriate conservative policies. Indeed, Clinton's hard-line policies on crime and welfare were actually tougher than those enacted by the Reagan administration, even though they impacted particularly harshly on black people, who remained among Clinton's strongest supporters. Although the administration of George W. Bush has subsequently implemented an even more reactionary agenda, there is no doubt that it was during the Clinton years that the conservative revolution was "completed" and fully institutionalized. However, Democratic successes in enacting a great deal of the conservative agenda during the 1990s left the Republican Party with nowhere to go except still further to the right. That development first became apparent in the 1994 midterm elections, when the Republican Party bypassed the crime issue for radical social conservatism.

Patrick Buchanan addresses the Republican National Convention in Houston, Texas, on August 17, 1992. An outspoken conservative columnist, Buchanan worked in both the Nixon and Reagan administrations and ran for president in 1992, 1996, and 2000. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

Gingrich and the Contract with America

In response to the Clinton administration's callous but politically adept handling of the crime issue, the Republican Party honed a new conservative platform based primarily on domestic issues. Between 1992 and 1994, under the leadership of Newt Gingrich, the so-called culture wars emerged in anti-Communism's place as the main force fuelling conservative politics. In November 1994, entirely unexpectedly, the Republicans mobilized their highest level of electoral support ever, bringing into existence a GOP-packed House that granted conservatives a rapid round of legislative successes.

Whereas conservatism in the Reagan era was buttressed by foreign interventionism that aroused American patriotism, the conservatism of the 1990s period saw the GOP pursue radical domestic reform of the sort that Reagan would never have dared attempt for fear that it would undermine support for his foreign policy. In this phase, the crowning moment of the GOP's role as the conservative movement's political instrument, the locus of activity was Congress rather than the executive branch, and the man of the hour was the House Speaker rather than the president.

Thanks to resounding victory at the polls in 1994, the Gingrich Republicans were given the opportunity in 1995 to implement a radical package of reforms, the Contract with America, despite the fact that relatively few voters had even heard of the contract when they cast their votes. The Contract with America was a ten-point legislative program whose central features included ending government programs that support the poor, tax cuts, and deficit reduction. The Gingrich Republicans were the most ideologically consistent in Republican Party history: only thirty to forty members of the House and ten to fifteen senators could be described as moderate or centrist. If ever there was a moment at which the conservative revolution can be said to have peaked, therefore, it was during the "First

Hundred Days" of the 104th Congress, which convened on January 4, 1995.

Yet the further the 104th Congress progressed with its Contract with America agenda, the less popular it became. By mid-March, public approval of Congress's performance was waning, back to where it had been before the elections were held the previous November. Since ideological conservatism is unlikely to ever again enjoy the kind of power it wielded between 1994 and 1996, it seems likely that posterity will judge the conservative movement largely on the basis of the American people's less than fully enthusiastic response to the 104th Congress. For the first time in its history, conservatism was in power with what seemed an overwhelming popular mandate. Yet as soon as the conservatives began legislating their agenda into existence, support for Gingrich and his supporters began to fall. Once the full implications of conservatism were spelled out, there took place a liberal backlash when the Republicans were crushed in the 1996 presidential election. Then, in the 1998 midterm elections, the GOP barely held on to its fledgling congressional majority. Indeed, 1998 saw the worst showing by a party not holding the presidency since 1934.

The 1998 result was disappointing for the Republican Party for two reasons. First of all, it suggested that the country as a whole did not stand firmly behind its shift from economic to social conservatism. But perhaps the most serious problem for conservatives was the abstention of significant numbers of evangelical Christian voters. Given the low rates of voter participation in U.S. elections, American elections are largely determined by a political party's ability to rally its base. Since the civil rights era, it has become apparent that the Democratic Party needs the support of black voters to win. Elections that mobilize higher than average numbers of black voters tend to be elections that the Democratic Party wins. (Democratic victories in 1996 and 1998 were largely owed to black support, while the 1994 and 2002 midterm elections went badly largely on account of low black turnout.) The Republican Party is in a precisely analogous position with regard to evangelical Christians, who failed to support the Republicans in their usual numbers in 1998.

Spiritual Allies: The Christian Right

American evangelical Christianity is a natural ally of conservatism for the reason that it is founded on an ideological premise that is compatible with conservative opposition to the activist state. This premise is the Calvinist notion that social activism is either irrelevant or, in a world of reprobates, utterly futile. Conservative Protestants hold that it is presumptuous of human beings to believe that they can devise a better social order than that already in existence. With its inherent bias against attempts to fashion a better society for ordinary people, therefore, conservative Christianity constituted an importance resource for pro-business ideologues like Sun Oil's J. Howard Pew, whose aim was to reverse the trend to liberal governance that had accelerated in tandem with the Cold War.

Along with Texas oil billionaire H.L. Hunt, Pew can be considered as one of the first major conservative philanthropists. Without his substantial investment in the cause, it is unlikely that a conservative revival would have taken place in the 1950s at all. Like many business leaders, Pew was spurred into action by Truman's victory over Thomas E. Dewey in 1948. In the wake of that unanticipated calamity, he used his wealth to bankroll a number of religious groups willing to promote the message that free enterprise was the only economic system compatible with Christianity. In 1950, he contributed $50,000 to finance a new organization, the Christian Freedom Foundation (CFF), led by conservative clergymen Norman Vincent Peale and Howard E. Kershner.

To promote the view that Christianity and capitalism march hand in hand, the CFF published a journal, *Christian Economics*, which was sent to over 175,000 Protestant ministers. *Christian Economics* was largely a platform for the views of the Reverend Carl McIntire, founder of the American Council of Christian Churches (ACCC). A close friend of Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) director J. Edgar Hoover, McIntire was a pivotal figure in the emergence of the Christian right. One of McIntire's protégés, the Reverend Billy James Hargis, founded the Christian Crusade in Tulsa, Oklahoma, in 1948. Hargis told his supporters that the Christian Crusade "is the best equipped anti-Communist organization in America to do the titanic job of retrieving our college and high school students to paths of sound, decent, sane Christian-Americanism."

Another McIntire protégé was the Australian psychiatrist Dr Fred C. Schwarz, who founded the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade in Waterloo, Iowa, in 1953. The crusade grew rapidly and became the leading vehicle for American anti-Communism between McCarthy's downfall in 1954 and the foundation of the John Birch Society in 1958. Both Hargis's Christian Crusade and Schwarz's Christian Anti-Communism Crusade targeted American youth and

JERRY FALWELL (1933–)

New Right leader Jerry Falwell was born in 1933 in Lynchburg, Virginia. He did not grow up religious; his father was agnostic, and his grandfather was an atheist and a bootlegger during Prohibition. Falwell converted to fundamentalist Christianity in 1952 as a college sophomore. In 1956, he founded the Thomas Road Baptist Church in Lynchburg, Virginia, where he remains pastor.

Falwell, who studied journalism in college, was a pioneer in the area of religious broadcasting. He started the *Old Time Gospel Hour* radio show in 1956 and expanded into "televangelism" in 1968. In 1971, he founded Liberty University, where he serves as chancellor. In the 1970s, Falwell began to publicly criticize abortion, homosexuality, and pornography, and to promote "family values." In 1979, he founded the Moral Majority. The organization was one of the first religious Right groups to gain national influence in the early 1980s. Using grassroots strategies, the Moral Majority and similar groups are credited with playing a major role in the elections of Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush.

Falwell has been at the center of numerous controversies. He often preaches about the moral decay of society and the breakdown of the traditional family, focusing especially on abortion, pornography, and homosexuality. He favors prayer, abstinence-only sex education, and the teaching of creationism in the public schools. Claiming that "secular values are destroying the heart and soul of America," Falwell frequently denounces political correctness, multiculturalism, and relativistic morality. In the 1980s, he suggested that AIDS was God's punishment for immoral behavior. He has often targeted popular culture, complaining about subliminal sexual messages in Disney movies and suggesting that Tinky Winky—a purple children's television character—is gay. His sermons rail against enemies including liberals, secular humanists, and Democratic politicians—especially Bill Clinton.

In 1983, Larry Flynt's *Hustler* magazine printed a parody suggesting that Falwell had sex with his mother in an outhouse. Falwell sued for libel, invasion of privacy, and emotional distress. In 1988, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled against him, stating that freedom of the press allows satire about public figures.

In the late 1980s and 1990s, Falwell and the religious Right as a whole lost much of their political clout and social influence; the Moral Majority folded in 1989. But Falwell remains in the spotlight as a public speaker and talk show guest.

Speaking on Pat Robertson's "The 700 Club" after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, Falwell stated, "I really believe that the pagans, and the abortionists, and the feminists, and the gays and the lesbians who are actively trying to make that an alternative lifestyle, the ACLU, People for the American Way—all of them who have tried to secularize America—I point the finger in their face and say 'you helped this happen.' " Since then, Falwell—who believes that only Christians can be saved and has said that radical Islam is "more dangerous than Soviet Communism and Nazism under Hitler"—has preached unwavering support for President George W. Bush, for the war in Afghanistan, and for the state of Israel.

Liz Highleyman

can be credited with more than a passing role in the emergence of youth conservatism as a prominent feature of American society in the late 1950s.

The Counterculture Awakens a Sleeping Giant

Business's manipulation of religion in the 1950s was an important factor in the early growth of the conservative movement. By about 1960, conservatives were distinguished from liberals not only by antigovernment attitudes but also by more intense religious convictions. (Atheists, chiefly disciples of Ayn Rand, comprised a small, politely tolerated minority.) Although they voted for Goldwater in large numbers in 1964, religious conservatives did not, in the 1960s, field their own national political movement. They tended rather to participate in secular conservative groups like Young Americans for Freedom.

That began to change in the 1970s. What paved the road for the eventual reemergence of the Christian Right were the new perspectives that emerged largely under liberal sponsorship in the 1960s and 1970s. The civil rights movement raised questions in regard to education and affirmative action. Next, the countercultural movement, rooted in opposition to the Vietnam War, called attention to issues important to youth. Then the renascence of the women's movement in the late 1960s prompted controversy over women's reproductive rights and the female role in society generally. Finally, the advent of gay liberation in the 1970s raised the question of whether the state should accord

PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY (1924–)

Phyllis Schlafly has been a national spokesperson for the conservative movement since the publication of her best-selling 1964 book, *A Choice, Not an Echo*, a history of Republican National Conventions. She is America's best-known opponent of the women's liberation movement, having led a ten-year battle that defeated the Equal Rights Amendment.

Schlafly was born Phyllis McAlpine Stewart in St. Louis, Missouri, on August 15, 1924. She graduated Phi Beta Kappa from Washington University in 1944 and in 1945 earned a master's degree in political science from Harvard University. Schlafly also earned a law degree from Washington University in 1978. She worked as a researcher for several members of Congress in Washington, D.C., and participated in the successful campaign of Republican congressman Claude I. Bakewell in St. Louis in 1946. After the election, Schlafly worked in a bank as a librarian and researcher, but she remained active in politics and has attended and played an active role in every Republican National Convention since 1952. She ran unsuccessfully for Congress in 1952 and 1970.

In the 1970s and early 1980s, Schlafly campaigned against the proposed Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). The amendment called for men and women to be given equal treatment under the law. Schlafly opposed the ERA because it would require women to serve in combat, and because she believed it would take away the legal rights of wives and would negatively influence family life. Schlafly claimed that its passage would lead to unisex restrooms and the disintegration of the traditional family structure and women's roles. In 1977, she organized a "pro-life, pro-family" convention in Houston, Texas, as a challenge to the International Women's Year meeting in the same city. Hundreds of women rallied to her call to oppose not only the ERA but also abortion rights, gay rights, and other liberal concepts. She became a leading opponent of the ERA through her lobbying organizations, Stop ERA and Eagle Forum, and by testifying against the ERA before thirty state legislatures. The ERA was defeated in 1982. She also served as a member of the Commission on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution, 1985–1991, appointed by President Ronald Reagan.

After defeating the ERA, Schlafly continued to lead her Eagle Forum organization in campaigns advocating conservative issues, including opposition to sex education and federal funding of the arts, family leave, and day care. She disseminated her opinions through her syndicated column and her radio commentaries. She founded the Republican National Coalition for Life in 1990, which helped draft the uncompromising anti-choice plank in the party's 1992 platform. In the 1990s, Schlafly pushed for child tax credits to be given for each child in the family, and she opposed tax breaks for the costs of child care. She has fought for years to ensure that marriage-penalty relief flows to families with stay-at-home moms as well as two-income households.

During the presidential campaign of 2000, Schlafly expressed concern over George W. Bush's candidacy because she feared he had a soft stance on abortion and chose a running mate tolerant of it. She also spoke out in opposition to the federal and state governments collecting private data on its citizens as an invasion of privacy. In addition, Schlafly wanted to protect or increase parental rights laws that would limit or reduce government and school intrusion into family life. When President George W. Bush proposed a special 10 percent tax break for two-income families in his 2001 tax bill, Schlafly's opposition helped kill the idea.

Schlafly has been a syndicated newspaper columnist for Copley News Services since 1976, and she has served as president of her lobby group, Eagle Forum, since 1975. Since 1967 she has produced a monthly newsletter, *The Phyllis Schlafly Report*, and her daily commentary on social and political issues of the day is heard on forty radio stations. Schlafly is also the author or editor of more than twenty books on subjects as varied as family and feminism (*The Power of the Positive Woman*, 1977), education (*Child Abuse in the Classroom*, 1984), child care (*Who Will Rock the Cradle?* 1989), and nuclear strategy (*Strike from Space*, 1966, and *Kissinger on the Couch*, 1974).

James G. Lewis

homosexual men and women the same civil rights as other Americans, a question that, for traditionalists, was tantamount to asking whether the state should condone the "homosexual lifestyle."

Conservative Christians were angered and powerfully mobilized by the unprecedented display of discontent with traditional morality. For the first time in Western history, perhaps, traditional morality's victims commanded the national stage, while its supporters found themselves on the defensive. This historic reversal was enough to force evangelical preachers like Jerry Falwell to overcome their previ-

ous aversion to religious involvement in politics. By the mid-1970s, polls showed that evangelical Christians were far more active in politics than nonevangelicals, a departure from the situation that had prevailed since the 1920s. National pollster George Gallup declared 1976 "the year of the evangelical," while *Time* and *Newsweek* ran cover stories on the phenomenon.

Finally, in the waning years of the Carter administration, conservative Christians emerged as the shocktroops of a predominantly southern social movement anxious to reinstate the traditional gender order with its central commitments to female subordination and compulsory heterosexuality. What galvanized the movement's shift into political activity at this time was a threat by Jimmy Carter's Internal Revenue Service (IRS) commissioner in 1978 to strip Christian schools of their tax-exempt status. This skirmish between the IRS and the Christian schools ignited resentments that had been accumulating for at least ten years. Major campaigns were waged in support of school prayer and against abortion, sexual education, the Equal Rights Amendment, and the gay liberation movement.

The new religious activism, whose visibility was enhanced by the rise of television evangelism, was eagerly welcomed by mainstream conservatives working to fashion a Republican majority. They saw newly politicized conservative Christianity as a major ally in its campaign to recreate their nostalgic vision of "Middle America." In 1978, therefore, a conscious attempt was made to awaken the "sleeping giant" of conservative Christianity and turn it into a force for funneling evangelical voters to the GOP.

This initiative came from Republican Party strategists Howard Phillips and Paul Weyrich, who persuaded Falwell to found the organization that became known, on Weyrich's suggestion, as the Moral Majority. They promised him support in the form of direct-mail technology, organizational assistance, and leadership training. Falwell began building the Moral Majority by drawing on his connections with fellow Baptist pastors in the Baptist Bible Fellowship denomination. Moral Majority chapters were quickly founded in all fifty states.

The Moral Majority was not the only major organization of the Christian Right to emerge in the late 1970s, however. Although most politically active conservative Christians are women, Concerned Women for America, led by Beverly LaHaye, was the only such organization whose membership was predominantly female. The other four most important conservative religious organizations were Focus on the Family, founded by psychologist James C. Dobson in 1977; the National Christian Action Coalition, which grew out of opposition to President Carter's education policies; Christian Voice, which emerged from the California antigay-rights movement; and the Religious Roundtable, founded by Weyrich and Edward McAteer, which focused on recruiting fundamentalist preachers and their congregations into politics. Although the membership of these organizations was overwhelmingly Protestant, they incorporated a substantial minority of politically conservative Catholics.

In August 1980, the national media "discovered" the Christian Right, which it depicted as the great new force in American politics. Between 1981 and 1984, evangelical support for the Reagan administration rose markedly: in 1984, Reagan won 80 percent of the evangelical vote, the largest shift within an identified social category that had taken place since 1980. Although at the 1984 elections evangelical Christians emerged as the GOP's most consistent supporters—a situation that persists today—it remains unclear whether, on balance, the Christian Right has proven more of a liability than an asset to the party. As moral legislation seems incompatible with a movement professing to emancipate individuals from excessive government interference, the conservative movement has never fully embraced the religious Right's agenda. In addition, the Christian Right itself has been riven by tensions among its different factions, particularly its fundamentalist and Pentecostal wings.

From its inception, the Christian Right has turned off at least as many people as it has attracted. As the 1980s wore on, the nation grew increasingly wary of the movement, especially once President Reagan—who had grown more religious since the attempt on his life in 1981—began talking about Armageddon, which sounded to many ears as if he envisaged a nuclear showdown with the Soviet Union in the immediate future. During the 1980s, the religious Right brought upon the broader conservative movement the kind of opprobrium that had been previously reserved for extremists like the John Birch Society. In the late 1980s, the so-called Gospelgate scandals involving leading televangelists Jim and Tammy Faye Bakker and Jimmy Swaggart dealt a crushing blow to the movement's integrity.

Falwell found the end of the Reagan era a congenial moment to wrap up the Moral Majority and conclude his venture into political activism. By the time the Moral Majority was dismantled in June 1989,

MARION G. "PAT" ROBERTSON (1930–)

Marion G. Robertson, better known as Pat, was born on March 22, 1930, to a political family that claimed Benjamin Harrison, William Henry Harrison, and Winston Churchill as ancestors. His father, conservative Virginia Democrat A. Willis Robertson, served for thirty-four years in the U.S. House of Representatives and the Senate.

As a boy, Robertson attended military school in Maryland and a religious preparatory school in Tennessee. He earned a bachelor of arts degree, majoring in history, from Washington and Lee University in 1950. Despite what he describes as "wild partying," Robertson was made a member of Phi Beta Kappa. In 1948, Robertson joined the Marine Corps as an officer candidate; he later became a first lieutenant and served in Korea. In 1952 he enrolled in Yale University Law School, graduating in 1955.

Despite his accomplishments, by the mid-1950s Robertson had come to feel that his life was empty. Although raised as a Southern Baptist, he had not heretofore been religious. He accepted Jesus Christ as his savior in 1956. Robertson, feeling he was called by God to become a minister, earned a master of divinity degree from New York Theological Seminary in 1959.

With no television experience, Robertson founded the Christian Broadcasting Network in 1960; he continues to host its best-known program, *The 700 Club.* In 1978, Robertson started the humanitarian aid organization Operation Blessing International, and in 1990 he founded Regent University.

In 1987, Robertson declared his candidacy for president. The key themes of his campaign included the war on drugs, the national debt, anti-Communism, the breakdown of the American family, and the need to return God to the classroom. Robertson addressed the 1988 Republican convention, famously branding Democratic opponent Michael Dukakis "a card-carrying member of the ACLU." Robertson spoke of two opposing visions of America, a theme echoed at the 1992 convention with Patrick Buchanan's declaration of a "culture war."

Although he lost the nomination to George H.W. Bush, Robertson did not leave public life. In 1989, he founded the Christian Coalition. Robertson described the group's mission as being "to mobilize Christians—one precinct at a time, one community at a time—until once again we are the head and not the tail, and at the top rather than the bottom of our political system." The organization was among the religious Right groups that successfully pioneered direct-mail outreach and influenced politics by running candidates for local offices such as school boards. In 1990, Robertson formed the American Center for Law and Justice (ACLJ), a legal organization focused on issues such as fighting abortion and gay antidiscrimination laws. Over the years Robertson has authored several books, including *The New World Order* (1991).

By the end of the century, the religious Right's political influence had substantially declined. Robertson was widely criticized for a 1992 fund-raising letter in which he claimed, "The feminist agenda is not about equal rights for women. It is about a socialist, anti-family political movement that encourages women to leave their husbands, kill their children, practice witchcraft, destroy capitalism, and become lesbians." In 2001, Robertson was denounced for agreeing with Jerry Falwell that pagans, abortionists, feminists, gays and lesbians, and civil liberties activists were to blame for the terrorist attacks of September 11. In December of that year, Robertson resigned as president of the Christian Coalition to refocus on his ministry.

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conservative Christian organizations had not achieved any of their major objectives. A commonly cited index of their failure is their lack of success in shifting public opinion against abortion. By 1989, support for the anti-abortion position was only a couple of percentage points higher than it had been in 1979—while support for abortion on demand was significantly higher. At this stage, the Christian Right's only real achievement lay in its voter registration drives, which probably netted the GOP several hundred thousand new supporters in time for the 1984 presidential election.

The Second Coming of the Christian Right

The newly politicized Christian Right was not about to shrink from the scene so quickly, however. In 1989, the Reverend Marion "Pat" Robertson founded the Christian Coalition of America (CC) on the basis of mailing lists he had generated in the course of his unsuccessful 1988 presidential campaign. The CC, whose membership soon reached 350,000, instantly replaced the Moral Majority as the religious Right's flagship organization, leading some commentators to speak of the Christian Right's "second coming."

This time around, the emphasis lay on cultivating a stronger grassroots constituency and cooperating with mainstream political organizations. Most important, there was a new emphasis on damage control. Working on the venerable American assumption that there is no cause so unpopular that it cannot be salvaged by public relations, the CC played down Pat Robertson's headship and promoted instead "baby-faced," ostensibly moderate Ralph Reed as its primary spokesperson. Although Reed's record as an aggressive anti-abortion activist in the mid-1980s suggests that his real views are far from moderate, his prominence in the CC reflected the movement's new emphasis on refashioning its public image while working toward its goals by more sophisticated means. The CC also adopted new methods of bringing its message to the American people, including "mainstreaming," or the avoidance of biblical language in favor of liberal "rights" rhetoric. Reed also identified the CC with the use of stealth politics: concealing the organization's real agenda behind less controversial policies. "It's like guerrilla warfare," he told *The Los Angeles Times* in March 1992. "If you reveal your location, all it does is allow your opponent to improve his artillery bearings. It's better to move quietly, with stealth, under the cover of night."

In its second incarnation, the Christian Right soared higher, but finally plunged lower, than it ever had in the 1980s. In the lead up to the 1994 elections, the new Christian Right seemed an almost unstoppable juggernaut. In November 1994, 60 percent of the 600 candidates for local, state, and national office for which the CC had declared its support were elected. As about a quarter of the newly elected members of the House were affiliated with evangelical churches, Christian conservatives attained an unprecedented degree of legitimacy and influence in American politics during the 104th Congress. Gingrich even announced that a constitutional amendment allowing student-led prayers in public schools—a measure for which Christian conservatives had looked in vain to the Reagan administration—was likely to come before the House after the 1995 Easter recess.

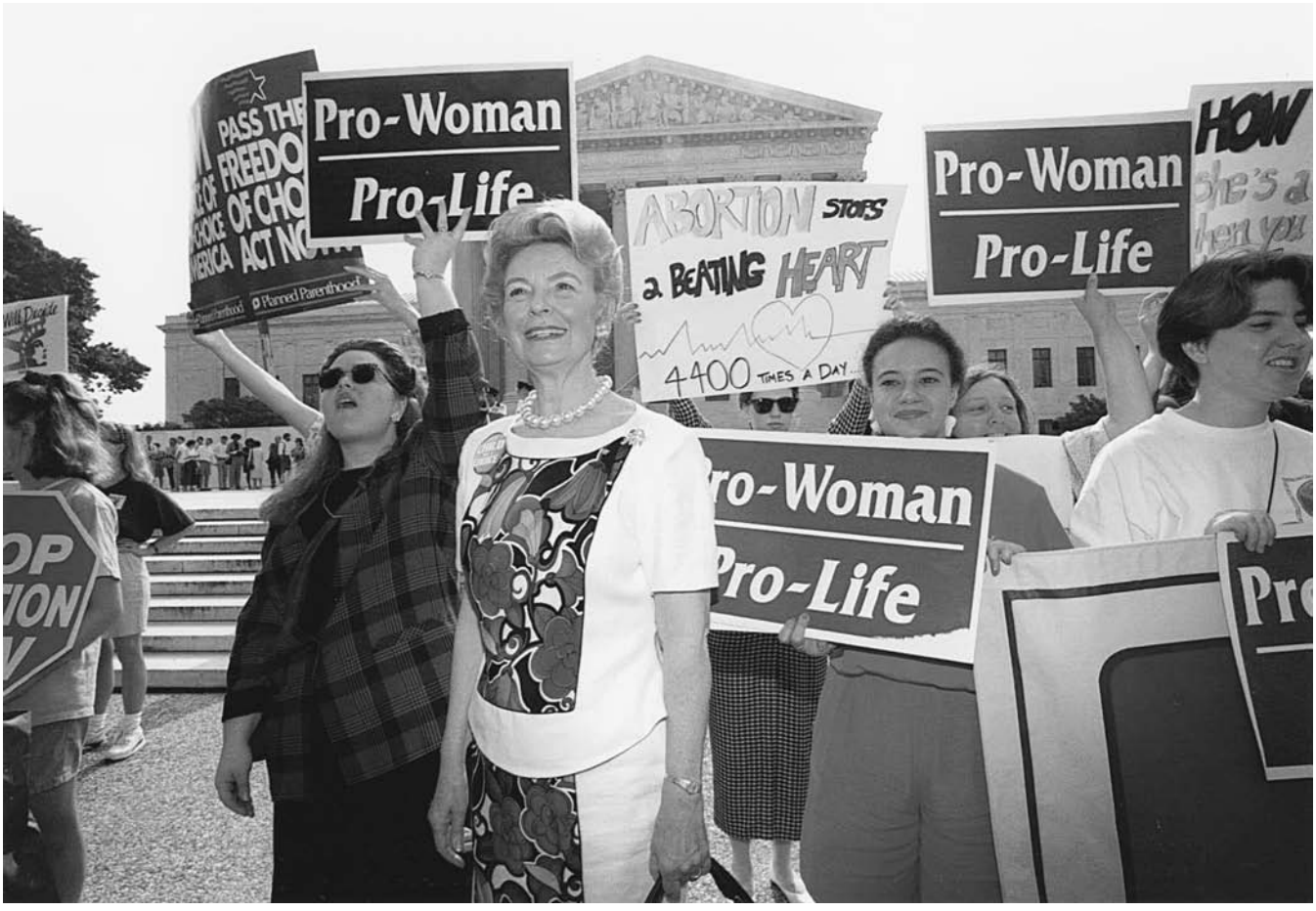
Yet the CC's blaze of glory was short-lived. Although the huge Republican majority in Congress after 1994 promised attention to the issues conservative Christians cared about most, by 1996 it was clear that conservative Christians had achieved no more under Gingrich than they had under Reagan and George H.W. Bush. Gingrich's Contract with America avoided controversial social issues such as gay rights and abortion. The failure of the most conservative Congress elected in modern times to pursue policies sympathetic to the religious Right precipitated the CC's decline. In the wake of a stillborn initiative that aimed to extend the contract into "family values" territory—the Contract with the American Family—Reed left CC to work for Enron Corporation in 1997, and the organization soon forfeited much of its political clout.

Confrontation and Conciliation with the GOP

With the demise of the Moral Majority and the parlous state of the post-Reed CC, the largest and most important organization of the religious Right today is, with an annual budget of $150 million, Focus on the Family (FF). FF, which operates out of a 75-acre complex in Colorado Springs, Colorado, was founded by Dobson as a support organization for his radio program of the same name. His half-hour program is heard by 2 million people on 4,000 stations across the country, an audience that is said to be exceeded on radio only by Rush Limbaugh, Paul Harvey, and Laura Schlesinger. Dobson has never aspired to the high public profile cultivated by Falwell, Robertson, or Reed, preferring instead to exercise his influence behind the scenes. FF's Washington lobby group, the Family Research Council (FRC), was headed by Gary Bauer until January 1999. Although during his time with the FRC, Bauer was cited by many as the most important voice of the religious Right, he effectively burned his bridges when, during the 2000 primaries, he endorsed Senator John McCain (R-AZ), an unpopular figure among religious conservatives.

With an annual budget of $14 million, the FRC is financed by the DeVos family (Amway Corporation) and California millionaire Howard Ahmanson. Although like the CC, it places an emphasis on grassroots organizing, FF is more openly theocratic in its outlook. Dobson insists that "scriptural principles . . . must again be brought to bear on every aspect of life, including education, government, and law." Even more single-mindedly than the Moral Majority and the Christian Coalition, FF and the FRC are characterized by extreme antipathy to homosexuality. FF opposed what they characterized as "The Homosexual Agenda"and participated in the May 1994 conference in Colorado Springs at which the essential outlines of the Christian Right's current antigay offensive were laid down.

In the 1996–1998 period, Dobson was one of the leaders of a showdown between the religious Right and the GOP that, in the end, created the most "religious Right-friendly" presidential administration so far. In February 1998, Dobson declared that the Re-



Pro-life supporters demonstrate on the steps of the Supreme Court building on June 29, 1992. Few issues galvanized conservatives in the late twentieth century more than abortion. Standing in the foreground is Phyllis Schlafly, one of the nation's most prominent conservative activists. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

publican Party had "betrayed" Christians by neglecting the Christian Right's social agenda. He condemned Gingrich for failing to deliver important legislative items such as the Religious Freedom Amendment and for allowing a pro-choice Republican to address the party's 1996 National Convention. He made similar statements to the Southern Baptist Convention, when it met in Salt Lake City in June 1998. It seems highly likely that Dobson's position kept religious conservatives away from the polls the following November, when the proportion of voters who identified with the religious Right fell to 20 percent (down from 30 percent in 1994). Although religious Right leaders professed to be disappointed by the 1998 result, which was indeed a poor one for the Republican Party, the result was victory of a negative kind. It forcefully reminded the GOP of the substantial risks it ran by alienating its conservative Christian constituency.

The apparent eclipse of the religious Right in the last five years seems to be partly a function of its dwindling financial base. Despite the widespread assumption that all rightist groups draw upon almost infinite financial resources, conservative philanthropists like Richard Scaife have never given generously to groups like the Moral Majority and the CC, while the pool of ordinary people willing to do so seems just about to have dried up. But the main reason that the religious Right seems weak and demoralized today is the conservative movement's failure to bring down President Clinton over a series of moral scandals that lasted virtually for the duration of his two-term presidency. Clinton's unexpected ability to marshal high levels of public support throughout the Monica Lewinsky scandal shattered the Christian Right's confidence that the nation could be brought "back" to Judeo-Christian morality. In a despairing

1999 statement, Weyrich, whose disillusionment with the conservative movement dates back to at least 1996, suggested that conservatives would be better off "dropping out" and forming their own Christian counterculture than trying to reform the dominant culture. "I know that what we have been doing for thirty years hasn't worked, that while we have been fighting and winning in politics, our culture has decayed into something approaching barbarism," he declared.

It would be inaccurate, however, to claim that religious conservatives no longer seek to promote a national agenda and no longer wield considerable power in the GOP. Even in the absence of a high-profile media figure like Falwell or Reed, the well-heeled Christian Right continues to exert formidable, behind-the-scenes influence—especially regarding such issues as abortion, school prayer, abstinence education, and others—on the legislative process, the court system, and the administration of George W. Bush.

Conservatism and the American People

Conservatism was essentially a social movement of a small minority of elitist intellectuals whose ideas would never have played a major role in American society had they not been made the "official" ideology of the Republican Party. Yet it is hard to deny that large numbers of Americans have proven receptive to the conservative message. Indeed, it would be difficult to imagine a situation in which conservatism could have reached its present degree of political importance without the support of at least a strategic minority of the American electorate.

A common explanation for the rightward turn of the last twenty-five years is that constituencies alienated from liberalism grew larger over time until eventually they composed a real majority. Evidence of a backlash against liberalism can be detected as early as 1965, when support for the civil rights movement began to falter. While Americans accepted the justice of conferring civil rights on the country's African-American population, most balked at the far-reaching policies required to bring about "equality as a fact and as a result," in the immortal words of President Johnson. However, it was only in the wake of the violent upheavals provoked by the Vietnam War that conservatism began to look as if it could triumph. The Nixon win in 1972 is sometimes depicted as the first major conservative victory, albeit one whose momentum was squandered shortly afterward by the Watergate debacle. Others argue that the loss of the war in Vietnam was crucial. In *The Strange Death of American Liberalism* (2001), for example, Cold War historian H.W. Brands maintains that the loss of the war in Southeast Asia, combined with Watergate and subsequent revelations about the iniquities of the Central Intelligence Agency and the FBI, created a downward spiral of disillusionment that ended with the repudiation of liberal governance itself. Others see the crisis-ridden Carter presidency as the moment of liberalism's final rout.

Whichever narrative of liberal decline one favors, however, the underlying premise is that the conservative capture of the executive branch in 1980 was the culmination of a massive groundswell of support for ideological conservatism that had been growing since the late 1960s. By electing Reagan, the American people can be seen as decisively rejecting liberalism and endorsing the New Right's crusade to dismantle big government, lower taxes, scale back the welfare state, and overturn regulations with adverse impacts on profits.

The problem with the thesis of a grand repudiation of liberalism by the 1980s is that political scientists and public opinion analysts have turned up little evidence to support it. That the much-vaunted turn to the right was a myth was first demonstrated in 1986 by Thomas Ferguson and Joel Rogers, who found that "the basic structure of public opinion in the United States has remained relatively stable in recent years." The most comprehensive research available, Tom W. Smith's 1990 study of 455 attitudinal indicators, shows that attitudes have remained more or less steady since liberal growth leveled off around 1974. (Small shifts here and there in a conservative direction have been compensated for by other shifts in a more liberal direction.) James A. Davis's 1992 study of forty-two General Social Survey items came to similar conclusions, averring that "even the much-maligned younger generation is not very conservative."

Initially, it would seem hard to reconcile the view that Americans are overall (i.e., when examined on a wide range of social and economic issues) not less liberal than they were in the 1970s with the fact that an unambiguously conservative party, the GOP, has dominated national politics for more than twenty years. Nonetheless, Republican electoral ascendancy was not the consequence of growing support for con-

servatism so much as an epochal shift in conservative voting strategies. One of the most unusual features of the postwar American electoral landscape was a direct legacy of the Civil War. Thanks to its role in bringing down slavery, the GOP never enjoyed the support of more than a small minority of southern voters for nearly a century. However, once the Democrats became identified with the civil rights movement (and liberal positions on welfare and other social issues), young southern white males began deserting the Democratic for the Republican camp.

At first, the movement was a gradual one. Despite gains made by Republican candidates in the 1952, 1954, and 1956 elections, the South still supported the Democrats at much higher levels than the rest of the country. The real break with tradition came with the unprecedented success of Barry Goldwater, the first GOP presidential candidate to associate himself with opposition to civil rights. The impact the Arizona senator had on the South has been described as "amazing." According to Donald S. Strong, "Here was a man whose restrained and reasoned opposition to civil rights legislation would have kept him from being elected sheriff in Alabama or Mississippi. Yet the electorate of the Deep South immediately perceived him as the white man's candidate and swept him to victory in the five states of the Deep South." (Indeed, the Deep South was the only part of the country that he carried.) Yet Goldwater's success in the Deep South was a one-off episode; it was in the marginal South that the GOP made its most substantial progress—the traditionalist states were the last to overcome their century-old aversion to the party of Abraham Lincoln.

Southern reaction against the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and other civil rights initiatives sponsored by President Johnson set the scene for Nixon's racially inflected "Southern strategy" that overturned the Republican Party's identification with ending slavery. Although Goldwater had precipitated the defection of 19 percent of self-described Democratic voters, Nixon did even better. Thirty-nine percent of Southern "Democrats" voted for him in 1968 and 54 percent in 1972. The real locus of change since the 1970s, however, has been subpresidential contests. Many southerners who voted for Nixon continued to think of themselves as Democrats (or as Independents) and to vote for Democratic candidates in congressional, state, and local elections until the late 1970s. As recently as 1972, only 13 percent of native white southern voters identified themselves as Republicans. But once dissatisfaction with conservative Democrat Jimmy Carter infected the South, the result was a rapid rise in Republican identification.

Since that time, the shift to the GOP has been dramatic. According to Alan Abramowitz and Kyle Saunders, between 1978 and 1994 southern white males from Democratic families moved heavily into the GOP, reflecting that party's standing as a clear bastion of racial and social conservatism. (Although this realignment of voter preferences has partly been compensated for by a shift of liberal Republicans to the Democratic Party, this group is only about half as big.) In 1980, 1984, and 1988, the GOP won all the South's electoral votes—meaning that they needed only one-third of the electoral votes in the rest of the country to be successful. The shift peaked in 1994, giving rise to a Republican-dominated Congress for the first time since 1952. In the 1994 congressional elections, the Republican Party became for the first time ever the majority party in the South. With a 59 percent share of the vote, the party snared 51 percent of the region's seats in the House and 59 percent of those in the Senate.

Today, the Republican Party commands its highest support in the South—a situation that was unthinkable when V.O. Key published his classic study *Southern Politics in State and Nation* in the late 1940s. From an average of about 16 percent in the 1960s, the white southern vote had reached 59 percent by the 1990s. Although political strategist Kevin Phillips had forecast the advent of a "Republican majority" in the South as early as 1969, it actually took another twenty-five years before the GOP became the region's dominant party. This development—the end of a historical anachronism—is the core development enabling conservative hegemony in the United States today. There is little about the conservative hold over American political institutions that is not primarily attributable to the southern shift. Indeed, there has been no growth at all in the Republican vote outside the South, where the GOP's share of the congressional vote has actually been falling gently over the entire postwar period.

Their continuing failure to comprehend the full significance of the southern shift has led some political scientists to draw inaccurate conclusions as to the social sources of the current Republican ascendancy. Around 1980, analysts first discerned the emergence of a "gender gap" in regard to support for the two major parties. Beginning in 1964, they noted, males seemed increasingly attracted to the GOP. By 1996, when females voted for Clinton more than males by

a 14-point lead, the gender gap had emerged as a central insight into the nature of the conservative shift in politics. But while no one can deny the existence of a very substantial gender gap within the white population—after all, only 36 percent of white males voted for Al Gore in the 2000 presidential election—those who emphasize the significance of the gender gap often fail to take into account the importance of the southern factor. The gender gap is largely a statistical reflection at the national level of the fact that since 1964 southern white males—conservatives who had formerly voted for the Democratic Party—have been breaking away from the Democrats to vote for a conservative party.

Today, in fact, most southern white males vote for the GOP. Although the southern shift to the GOP began with upper-income groups, by 1994 the trend had incorporated the overwhelming majority of southern white males regardless of economic status. Today, most southern white males vote for the GOP. In 2000, for example, George W. Bush received fully 70 percent of the southern white male vote, while his rival, Gore, managed a paltry 27 percent. If the southern states were abstracted from national data, the gender gap would be almost entirely eliminated.

The conservative victories of 1980, 1984, 1988, 1994, and 2000, therefore, were not the products of a broad popular mandate for conservatism, but opportunities created by a large-scale shift of conservative southern white males from the Democratic Party to the GOP. But if Americans *en masse* have not grown discernibly more conservative over the last twenty-five years, conservatives have certainly curbed liberalism's growth. For the moment, at least, Americans have suspended belief in government's ability to enact the liberal vision of a more democratic and more fully participatory society by means of federally funded social programs. It seems clear enough, therefore, that the right-wing political ascendancy has little to do with the changing political preferences of the mass of Americans.

James Paterson

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Women and the Conservative Movement 1933–Present

Although women are usually considered liberal because of their much-publicized affiliation with groups such as the National Organization for Women and SANE, women have also numbered among conservatives. The influence of conservative women on government policy has actually been significant since World War II.

Conservative women, like their liberal counterparts, are often difficult to characterize: Novelist Ayn Rand, an atheist, would recoil from Phyllis Schlafly's religious-based conservatism; while the female émigré writers of *National Review* would shrink from the anti-Semitism of the Mother's movement. Nevertheless, conservative women can be grouped according to a core set of beliefs: a fervent anti-Communism, a general distrust of the government (which, in the mid-twentieth century, was tied to their libertarianism and their anti-Communism in that they believed that government was either soft on or in the employ of Communism), and a support of free enterprise.

A visit to the Soviet Union activated Elizabeth Dilling into anti-Communist activism. In the early 1930s, Dilling became obsessed with researching and cataloging every Communist and pro-Communist organization in America. The result of her research, *The Red Network: A Who's Who and Handbook of Radicalism for Patriots* (1934), listed, among others, Mahatma Gandhi, H.L. Mencken, and President Franklin D. Roosevelt and First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt as Communists. Dilling expressed both her anti-Semitism and her hatred of the Roosevelt administration in her coining of the term *Jew Deal*. Dilling's notoriety as a lecturer on anti-Communism brought her into the previously all-male orbit of Huey Long, Father Charles Coughlin, and aviator Charles Lindbergh—all anti-Communist opponents of the New Deal.

Dilling would form the nucleus of the World War II–era Mother's movement. As America moved out of the Great Depression and into confrontation with the Axis, some conservative women of the Fascist variety would oppose Roosevelt's policies against Adolf Hitler. Like nineteenth-century feminists, these women would employ maternalist arguments as a political weapon against the state. The Mother's movement, originating in California in 1939 and then spreading to both coasts and the Middle West, used the time-honored tactics of other women's groups in articulating its position: its members testified before Congress, picketed the White House, and collected petitions. The group's opposition was not based on the fact that men were in charge—its members accepted it as "natural" that men should lead; rather, it was based on the notion that the *wrong* men were in charge. Highlighting their role as mothers, Mother's movement proponents argued that they owed it to their sons' safety to make sure that the right men were in leadership positions. They accepted Hitler's characterization of the Jews as the leaders of a worldwide conspiracy and applied it to American history (maintaining that the Jews caused the Civil War, invented Communism, and were plotting to destroy Christian, capitalist America through the New Deal).

The movement's peak power developed during the debate over Lend-Lease, in which President Franklin Roosevelt gave military aid to Great Britain when England was under aerial attack by Nazi Germany. Against aid to Great Britain, the Mother's movement was able to hinder President Roosevelt's ability to move as quickly as he would have liked in aiding the Allies. Most of the groups disbanded after Pearl Harbor, but a few remained, actively resisting the war and calling for a negotiated peace that would have left Hitler and Hirohito, emperor of Japan, in power. The hard-core members of these groups never believed that the war against the Axis was justified, even after revelations of the Holocaust. The group did not last through World War II but was ultimately dismantled by internal fighting and the brown scare in-

vestigation campaign against supporters of Fascist Germany, in which the federal government prosecuted many of them for possible treason and Axis sympathies in 1944.

As Cold War tensions heightened between the United States and the Soviet Union in the postwar period, several notable women would come forward as government witnesses. Usually, these women were born-again conservatives, having spent the previous decades as Russian espionage agents.

A significant, and highly credible, government witness, Elizabeth Bentley was partly responsible for the postwar Red Scare, in which the House Un-American Activities Committee, a congressional investigatory body, investigated possible Communist sympathies in Hollywood and the federal government in the late 1940s and early 1950s. A Vassar graduate, Bentley gravitated toward the Communist Party in the mid-1930s and eventually toward espionage by World War II. Her contact with several New Deal officials who were doubling as Communist spies would have important domestic repercussions in the postwar period, helping form the backbone of the Republican Party's platform charge of "Twenty Years of Treason"—a slogan emphasizing President Roosevelt's complicity or ignorance in allowing Communist agents to shape government policy. Bentley's testimony implicating Lauchlin Currie, special assistant to President Roosevelt, and Harry Dexter White, former assistant secretary of the Treasury, as Soviet spies would be validated in the 1990s by declassified secret Soviet cables. Bentley's description of her life in the Communist Party highlighted its misogynist nature, its feminist rhetoric to the contrary, by describing its demands that female members use sex as a recruiting tool.

Freda Utley was a British professor and Comintern worker until her husband was imprisoned in a Soviet concentration camp. An expert on the Far East, Utley wrote a series of books about Soviet intentions in the Far East. She came to prominence in the late 1940s when the Republican Right charged the Democrats with having "lost" China to the Reds. Her testimony before the government provided Red hunters with an authentic intellectual for their thesis that the New Deal was soft on Soviet expansion into China.

Ayn Rand combined government testimony with literary explanations of her philosophy. Known as objectivism, Rand's philosophy extolled individualism and self-interest as the only original ideas in the world. Her protagonists are creative and rational and deserve to profit from their ideas. Unlike most conservative women, Rand rejected religion. Rand was born in St. Petersburg, Russia. She moved to the United States in 1926 and became a U.S. citizen in 1931. Her novels *We, the Living* (1936) and *Anthem* (1938) reflect her early life in Russia. Both novels express her revolt against Socialist forms of government. Rand also expressed her philosophy in such works of nonfiction as *For the New Intellectual* (1961), *The Virtue of Selfishness* (1965), and *Capitalism: The Unknown Ideal* (1966).

In the 1950s, several conservative women gravitated to William F. Buckley's *National Review*—Buckley's magazine forum for respectable conservatism. Some, like Suzanne LaFollete, were former radicals. (She was part of the committee to defend Leon Trotsky in the 1930s against the Stalinist Purge Trial allegations, in which Soviet leader Josef Stalin prosecuted thousands as part of an alleged Nazi-sponsored conspiracy against his government.) Others, like Buckley's sister Priscilla, were lifelong conservatives. It would be difficult to homogenize *National Review* into one message, but these women shared in the magazine's firm stand against the Soviets and its championing of free-market values.

Many of these women supported the anti-Communist crusade of Senator Joseph McCarthy (R-WI). LaFollete and Utley even signed petitions condemning his censure by the U.S. Senate. But not all conservative women supported the senator's efforts. Still others, like Senator Margaret Chase Smith (R-ME), attempted to mount a condemnation of his methods, while still asserting that the Democrats were soft on Communism.

Conservative women in the 1960s gravitated to the presidential campaign of Barry Goldwater. Rand, LaFollete, Utley, and others (including Hillary Rodham, the future wife of President Bill Clinton) then called themselves "Goldwater Girls."

The appearance of the 1960s counterculture and the perceived permissiveness toward law and order under Chief Justice Earl Warren's U.S. Supreme Court caused many former Democrats to become more conservative in the late 1960s and 1970s. These "neoconservatives" declared war on the excesses of the 1960s. Gertrude Himmelfarb, a Democrat and academic, helped mount a "Democrats for Nixon" campaign in 1972, while Midge Decter help found the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, an organization dedicated to moving the Democratic Party away from the New Left.

Attempted passage of the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1974, which would call for men and women to be treated equally before the law, mobilized Phyllis Schlafly into action. A lawyer by vocation, Schlafly founded Stop ERA Now in 1972 and was instrumental in keeping the amendment from being legalized. In 1975, she founded the Eagle Forum, a group that supported the traditional role of women in society.

Disillusionment with the Carter administration's foreign policy and the seemingly unstoppable advance of the Soviets in the Cold War led Jeanne Kirkpatrick to break with the Democratic Party and to accept a position as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations under President Ronald Reagan. Several prominent women served in the Reagan administration, among them speechwriter Peggy Noonan. These neoconservative women would help form the Council for the Free World Society, a foreign-policy think tank.

In the 1990s and beyond, conservative women continue to make their influence felt. In her battle with academic political correctness, Himmelfarb has helped found the National Association of Scholars, a group of academics that seeks to reclaim colleges from New Left dogmas.

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Post–Civil War Nativism Movement

The 1830s and 1840s in the United States saw the emergence of a set of attitudes and a first upsurge of organizations in which they took shape. Its adherents, believing the American republic imperiled by alien influences, discussed and proposed steps to counteract the alleged subversions and to promote their concept of Americanism as the only true and legitimate one. In order to describe this phenomenon, its critics in the 1840s coined the term *nativism*. Since that time, contemporaries and scholars have arrived at numerous definitions, evaluations of nativism and its impact on American society, as well as diverging opinions on the time span of its existence. The term has been used to refer to a set of popular ideas common in a great variety of periods and peoples, to describe a frame of mind existent solely in the United States since the late eighteenth century at least, or, only in the century beginning in the 1830s, or, even more specifically, to denote forms of organized activism that influenced American society from the 1830s to the 1920s.

For this reason, a clarification of the term's meaning has to precede any closer look at nativism in a certain period. Since the phenomenon did not emerge, exist, and decline isolated from contemporary transformations, such a look needs to take in the political, economic, demographic, and social conditions as well as related ideas of Americans at a given time. The following exposition of nativism in the decades from the end of the Civil War to the late 1920s is based on a sketch of the most important definitions of the phenomenon. It highlights continuities and changes of nativism as a set of ideas and an activist movement in three phases: from the 1860s to the 1880s; from the 1880s to World War I; and in the postwar decade.

The Meaning of Nativism

As the word suggests, nativism connotes a qualifying of and preference for those who are deemed natives and a definition of and hostility toward those thought of as foreigners. In its broadest sense, its meaning is akin to that of the term *xenophobia*, describing an opposition to foreigners and foreign-born members of internal minorities to be found in any society at any time during the history of humanity. More particularly, the word is utilized to delineate specific attitudes and acts of Americans to achieve two main goals: The first is to develop and strengthen a distinctive American "national character" or peoplehood; the second, closely connected to the first, is to restrict, exclude, or attack the foreign-born as "un-American" and therefore as a threat to the nation. Seen in this light, nativism has been an undercurrent in American society from at least the Declaration of Independence up to the present day. Four elements run through the various forms and stages of nativism as understood in this sense: (1) certain immigrant groups have been seen as cultural or racial others, different from the earlier immigrant generations from northern and western Europe; (2) it has been assumed that members of the supposedly inferior groups could never completely assimilate to the Anglo-Saxon culture defined as the mainstay of the nation; (3) economic crises have boosted the supposition that the immigrants would bring about a deterioration of economic conditions for the native-born; and (4) the immigrants have allegedly come from an inferior political culture, so that their political activities corrupt the supposedly flawless political system of the United States.

As a distinct historical phenomenon, nativism may more narrowly be defined as the "intense opposition to an internal minority on the grounds of its foreign (i.e., "un-American") connections." It emerged in the 1830s in New York, led to the Know-Nothing movement of the 1850s, acquired a new mass popularity in the 1880s and 1890s, and saw a final apogee in the decade after World War I. As John Higham, concentrating on the nativist "state of mind," points out, nativism grounds in broader cultural antipathies

and political ideologies and turns them into a zeal to destroy those deemed enemies of a distinctly American way of life. Even more narrowly interpreted, the term may be applied only to organized nativist activism "directed at aggressively creating and shaping American 'national character.' " Organizations committed to this goal began to spring up in the 1830s. Most of them declined in the late 1850s, but some revived after the Civil War. Beginning in the late 1880s, new organizations emerged in a phase of renewed nativist appeal. The demise of organized nativism in its specific form since "Know-Nothingism" came in the years of the Great Depression.

American nativism in the roughly 100 years after 1830 was both a set of attitudes and a form of organized activism. The element shared by organizations from the American Party of the 1850s to the Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s was a common vision of alien intruders in the country of true liberty said to threaten America's uniqueness. Its main themes, stressed to varying degrees by individuals and organizations throughout this time span, were: (1) a strong anti-Catholicism, with a political as well as a social and moral thrust; (2) an anti-radicalism as a legacy of the late eighteenth century, flexible enough to include groups and ideologies as diverse as the German Forty-Eighters, the Anarchists of the late nineteenth century, and the Bolsheviks of the twentieth century; and (3) a specific form of racism that started out as a praise for traditions and love of freedom supposedly innate in Anglo-Saxons. In the decades following the Civil War, it was transformed into a feeling of racial superiority and a discrimination and persecution of minorities on the basis of features attributed to race. The stereotypes of immigrants as members of an inferior culture and as an economic burden were, in some, though not all instances, linked to this racist stance.

Nativism from the 1860s to the 1880s

The Civil War ushered in a period of unprecedented agricultural, industrial, geographical, and demographic growth in the United States. The westward thrust and an accelerated industrialization attracted millions of immigrants, as a precondition to American expansion in the postwar decades. Immediately after the war, immigration rates began to rise again, though hostilities had not completely interrupted the flow of immigrants to the United States. With more than 2.8 million newcomers in the years 1871 to 1880, the statistics of the war decade had only been excelled by half a million. In marked contrast, the ten years after 1880 saw a floodtide of 5.2 million new arrivals. Most of the immigrants disembarking until late in the 1880s came from Britain, Germany, Ireland, Scandinavia, and other countries in northern or western Europe. Encouraged to come by businessmen and states and welcomed by the federal government, they settled according to patterns established by their compatriots who had arrived earlier. The newcomers' regional distribution, too, followed established patterns.

Asian immigration to the United States began in mid-century with a relatively small number of arrivals from China. By 1865, there were no more than 60,000 Chinese in America. Of the 300,000 Chinese in the late 1870s, only 105,465 remained to be included in the census of 1880. Japanese immigration took even longer to exceed minimal numbers. In 1890, little more than 2,000 Japanese resided in the United States. Whereas by 1880 federal legislation had imposed restrictions on immigration only on the grounds of loosely defined moral or social categories, no group of immigrants had been excluded specifically by national origin. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, suspending immigration from China, changed this picture.

Attitudes

In an age of continuous industrial growth, the views of native-born Americans on immigration depended largely on economic considerations. Social problems were often ignored, so that new arrivals were evaluated mainly in economic terms, that is, welcomed as the basis for national and individual prosperity. On the whole, faith in assimilation of the newcomers prevailed, although a considerable part of the new arrivals belonged to the very groups that had been targeted by the Know-Nothing movement in the prewar years, that is, the Germans and the Irish.

Stereotypes of Germans and Irish, and suspicions as to the political reliability of foreign-born generally, did not altogether disappear during the conflict, when immigrant groups answered the call to arms just as the native-born majority did. In fact, the war held opportunities for interethnic and Catholic-Protestant friction, just as well as for sympathy and appreciation of the commitment shown by the more recent Americans. Rather, old stereotypes survived into the decades following the war, some having even been exacerbated, to form the background of anti-alien dislikes and anxieties.

For several reasons, the most intense sentiments

were directed toward Irish immigrants and their children. First, the Fenian movement and its activities in the United States aroused fears of organized "un-American groups." They seemed a danger to the nation's political life, and as a supposedly well-organized movement, a direct challenge to the predominance aspired to by nativist organizations themselves. Second, as Irish Americans became more closely involved in the urban political machines, nativists predicted a loss of power for those held to be the backbone of American nationality, the white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants. Third, anti-Catholic sentiment remained a strong undercurrent, so that Irish Catholics seemed doubly resistant to attempts at "Americanization," politically loyal to their country of origin, and loyal to priests, bishops, institutions, and practices that transcended national categories. Fourth, times of economic depression such as the years 1873 to 1877 heightened sentiment against immigrant labor and even more so immigrant labor organizations such as the rather obscure Irish "Molly Maguires" in Pennsylvania. Irish labor unrest—all labor unrest of foreign-born—–was by definition organized unrest and therefore the more dangerous. And finally, the older notions of a predisposition to alcohol and leisure, supposedly typically Irish and conspicuously "un-American," prevailed in the late nineteenth century.

Similarly, immigrants and Americans of German descent achieved little in getting rid of the negative attributes ascribed to them as a group. They fared a little better than the Irish, since a considerable part of them were Protestants. As did the Irish, German immigrants stood for self-indulgence and drunkenness; to be more exact, for excessive beer-drinking, for bad manners, and for dullness, and thus for elements of a culture classified as foreign. The activities of German immigrants in labor unions were considered as detrimental to "true Americanism" as those of the Irish.

Although anti-Irish or anti-German sentiment occasionally escalated into acts of violence against individuals or groups, the antipathies against European newcomers of the 1860s to 1880s never reached the aggressiveness directed toward Asian immigrants, particularly Chinese newcomers, most of whom were brought into the country as contract laborers. The act of 1882 only marked the climax of the legal assault on the Chinese, preceded by tirades and acts of violence occurring increasingly in times of economic crises. To nativists, Chinese and Japanese immigrants represented a totally alien culture: they could never be turned into "Americans."

Organizations

Nativist stereotypes and fears outlived the war years, as did the institutional core of the prewar movement. The economic and social transformations of the two decades following the Civil War created a climate favorable to a renewal of nativist activism. As in the 1840s and 1850s, fraternities met with the greatest success. They supplied their members with a wide range of attractions, utilitarian as well as ideological. These attractions included an unambiguous statement of what was native and what was foreign, the integration into an organized network, and, highly important, benefits in the line of friendly societies, mostly along the mutual assessment principle.

The organizations that had survived from the heyday of Know-Nothingism could lay claim to the greatest popularity within the movement up to the 1880s. The American Protestant Association, popular among Protestants of Scottish or Irish descent, profited from the rise of the Orange Order in the United States. The Order of the United American Mechanics (OUAM) and its Junior Order, established in the 1840s and 1850s, respectively, could boast an increasing membership in the 1860s. The Junior Order added an antiradical stance to its anti-immigrant agenda in the 1880s. In 1874, the prewar Patriotic Order, Sons of America, was revived. Even the newly created bodies could have ties to formations and supporters of the earlier movement. One example is the Order of the American Union in New York, which owed its existence to James W. Barker, a Know-Nothing activist. In addition, the ranks of the nativist movement were swelled by organizations that were not primarily of nativist concern, professing to "patriotic" or "ethnic" goals (e.g., the Loyal Orange Order or the Improved Order of Red Men [IORM]). In the 1880s, fired by the dispute over the question of English-language instruction in schools, the IORM turned away from its German-American members and emphasized the Anglo-American heritage.

As Dale Knobel has pointed out, the fraternities of the 1870s reshaped the meaning of "foreign" and of "native" in a distinctive way. They attached the adjective "foreign" to those phenomena of political and cultural life of immigrant origin that expressed themselves through organizations, thereby constituting a greater threat to the ideal American national character. Correspondingly, membership in an organization avowing to counteract attempts at corrupting the national character was to mark the truly "native" American. It was the promise to effectively fight the

organized "foreign" danger to the American way of life that attracted many new members.

As a movement to organize Americans, nativism of the 1870s and 1880s may be called successful, since the number of local lodges, orders, and membership rose continually. The majority of members came from a middle-class background, though a few organizations catered for potential adepts in the lower and upper classes. However, judged by the goal to counteract the alleged political and social ambitions of that phenomenon deemed nativism's most dangerous foe at the time (i.e., the concept and organizational structure of Catholicism), the accomplishments of nativist fraternities are less unequivocal. Nativist activism sensitized an expanding section of the American public to questions of national character, but it did not dominate the debate with its interpretation of Americanism to which new arrivals were expected to adapt.

Nativism from the Late 1880s to World War I

In the decades around the turn of the century, immigration to the United States soared. While nearly 3.7 million newcomers arrived in the 1890s, the climax was reached a decade later with nearly 8.8 million new arrivals. Until 1920 another 5.7 million immigrants had arrived to live and work in the United States; most of them eventually stayed.

In these years, immigration did not simply change in numbers. Statistics attested to a marked change in the country or region of origin the newcomers had left behind. Whereas fewer than 200,000 arrivals before 1880 had originated in southern or eastern Europe, more than 8.4 million immigrants arriving between 1880 and 1910 had been born in that part of Europe (i.e., in Austria-Hungary, Russia, the Baltic countries, Poland, Rumania, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece, or Turkey). Within a span of twenty-five years after 1882, the ratio of "old" immigration from northern and western Europe to "new" immigration from eastern, southeastern, and southern Europe was inverted: 87 percent to 13 percent in 1882, 19 percent to 81 percent in 1907.

In marked contrast to immigrants of earlier periods, the newcomers preferred the city to the country as a new home, the industrial centers, which held the promise of a job to earn one's living. Nearly 80 percent of the immigrants settled in America's industrial heartland in the Northeast—in New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, as well as Illinois—mainly in Chicago—and Ohio. In addition, ethnic groups tended to specialize in specific occupations and often had to accept unskilled jobs. Consequently, the proportion of foreign-born in certain occupations exceeded that of the native-born.

Attitudes

Despite the economic depression of the 1890s, the overall tendency was one of expansion. In the nation at large, the years of rapid economic, technological, and social change created or heightened anxieties and made fissures in the nation's social structure a focus of public attention. The press reported extensively about actual or supposed radical or Anarchist activities such as the Haymarket Square killings in Chicago in 1886. To some, this was proof of the absorptive powers of America being exhausted, even more so when, in 1893, Frederick Jackson Turner presented the idea of a frontier that had been closed. At the same time, interest in territories outside the American hemisphere grew and brought with it more forcefully articulated imperialist ambitions and an involvement in international conflicts.

Although the prejudice against Irish and Germans did not disappear in this period, the focus shifted to those ethnic groups that New England intellectuals in the 1890s began to describe as "new immigrants." Josiah Strong's widely read treatise "Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis" (1885) belonged to a series of books that rekindled fears of Catholic infiltration of (Anglo-Saxon Protestant) American institutions and values. This danger was seemingly increasing in proportion to the inflow of Catholic immigrants from southern Europe. Compared to Italian Catholics—mainly of peasant origin—the Irish immigrants of earlier decades seemed a group that could be easily assimilated. Similarly, the antiradicalism directed toward the Germans and Irish in earlier periods now became extended and sometimes transferred to the newcomers from southern and eastern Europe, intensifying the perils supposedly inherent in—by definition—foreign union activism, socialism, and anarchism.

To the categories of political and denominational foreignness was added social stigmatization, since most of the new immigrants belonged to the lower classes. Stereotypes of social inferiority blended with those of cultural inferiority. Consequently, social evils of the age, such as the problems of overcrowding, corruption, alcoholism, prostitution, and mounting crime rates, were all attributed to the changes in immigra-

tion, most emphatically to the recent immigration from southern and eastern Europe. In the working classes of earlier immigrant generations, concerns were voiced about the tide of cheap labor from abroad. In the middle and upper classes, the image of the impoverished newcomers as an addition to the native-born proletariat did its share to feed anxieties about an imminent social upheaval. Moreover, nativists considered the cultural diversity of the new immigrants a direct threat to what they described as the nation's cultural homogeneity and, in this way, to the social leadership of "true" Americans.

In turn-of-the-century America, a new thread was interwoven with the older ideological and political, social, cultural, and religious criteria to discriminate the foreign-born, thus investing nativist thought with a new intensity: a biological, pseudoscientific racism. Race theories, Social Darwinism, and fears of racial degeneration merged to exacerbate traditional prejudices on the basis of economic or cultural considerations. In line with a biological determinism, the immigrants were considered to carry the germ of vice, crime, and political chaos because of their race. The dangers to the American national character, interpreted as rooted in a specific racial makeup as well, increased accordingly. Some contemporaries contrasted immigration statistics and the fertility of foreign-born with declining birth rates in other segments of the population to underpin the idea of an imminent "race suicide" of the true Americans. Hence, racist nativism turned away from the debate on Americanization and assimilation of newcomers and instead promoted a restriction of immigration of "physical stock" incompatible with the "native American" one.

In his book *The Passing of a Great Race* (1916), anthropologist Madison Grant warned his contemporaries of an unrestricted immigration from eastern Europe. Its people, especially those of the Jewish faith, ranking lowest among human races, would eventually deprive the Anglo-Saxon race of its vitality. Though not exclusively nativist, anti-Semitic sentiment was part and parcel of nativist thinking in this period.

Paradoxically, Jewish immigrants were attacked both as dirty, vicious degenerates in a condition akin to serfdom and as pushy, greedy, and comparatively rich materialists—thus as both impoverished Anarchists or criminals and as capitalists. Nativists could adapt a general anti-Semitic sentiment existent in American society to their specific aims.

Organizations

In the late 1880s, the nativist movement was clearly on an upward turn. The number of chapters of an order rose, as did membership. Individual societies expanded; the Patriotic Order, Sons of America, for one, in 1888 claimed to have 112 chapters in Pennsylvania and another 406 in seventeen additional states, among them New York, Illinois, and Ohio. Moreover, these were important years for the movement on the national level. Issues of Protestant-Catholic rivalry entered the national political stage and provided nativist societies with an even stronger incentive to organize and act nationwide. In the mid-1880s, Henry Baldwin from New Jersey formed the National League for the Protection of American Institutions as an umbrella for nativist or "patriotic" organizations and fraternities. However, though thriving in an age of mass immigration and social unrest, only one of the new associations could boast a mass membership—the American Protective Association (APA).

The APA, the most notable nativist organization of the period and in many respects the true heir to Know-Nothingism of the 1850s, began as a small society in Clinton, Iowa, in 1887. By 1895, it had developed into an aggressive umbrella organization that ousted the National League of Henry Baldwin. Its founder was the son of a German Lutheran immigrant, Henry Bowers, a fierce opponent of "political Romanism." In other words, he held organized Catholicism responsible for educational deficiencies in his youth in Maryland. In the early 1890s, economic depression and anxiety caused by America's involvement in international disputes fed fears of mounting Catholic influence. At the time of the first national council in 1890, the APA flourished in communities from western Iowa to eastern Michigan. Laying economic and social problems at the door of Catholic immigrants who were said to take away the jobs native-born would have accepted drew more than half a million contemporaries into the APA. The years of most rapid growth were 1893 to 1895.

The mass success of the APA was the result of more than one factor. First, the association could fall back on a whole gamut of nativist organizations, making it part of a larger movement. Second, its leaders managed to use contemporary controversies to their own ends. Third, the APA was founded at a time of increased demand for fraternal organizations. Fourth and most important of all, the APA gained a skillful organizer in William Traynor. Formerly leader of the APA in Michigan, Traynor followed Henry Bowers as

president of the national organization in 1893. He directed anti-Catholic rhetoric toward immigrants of Irish, Italian, Polish, or German descent. What is more, he wanted to achieve both of two aims: to defeat Catholics and their supporters in the elections and to have nativists elected to office in their place. Whether enacted by APA members in office or by the Republican Party, the association pushed for legislation tightening the conditions of naturalization, excluding the foreign-born from the armed forces, minimizing Catholic influence, and restricting immigration of those groups deemed undesirable.

By 1896, however, the star of the APA was already falling. Traynor was driven out of his leadership in May after having assailed presidential candidate William McKinley as a pro-Catholic. The outcome of that year's presidential election was a disappointment to the ambitions of Traynor and other leaders. It ushered in the downfall of the movement, accelerated by internal dissension, the fact that members worked for their own interests instead of the movement's, and the increasing attraction of Populism. At least on paper, the APA continued to exist; it was officially dissolved eleven years after the last national meeting of 1900.

As to its impact, the APA failed to achieve its major legislative goals: immigration restriction, introduction of a literacy test—more popular only after the report of the Dillingham Commission in 1911—taxation of Catholic Church property, and refusal of diplomatic recognition to representatives of the Holy See. Nonetheless, a few of its minor goals such as the outlawing of forms of prearranged foreign labor (Foran Act of 1884) or employment preference to native-born did take shape, if only in a reduced form, as in the laws of Pennsylvania and New York in the mid-1890s that excluded foreign-born from public works jobs. The APA was a prominent form of organized activism, which boosted the nativist movement. Its downturn ended neither the movement nor the characteristic frame of mind. Yet, some of the reasons for the downfall of this particular association effected a general decline of organized nativism, a trend only to be reversed in World War I.

At the time of the APA's decline, some of the nativist societies catering for a middle-class membership began to seek allegiance with a new organization of an elitist character that promoted similar values and ideas of the national character. This organization, formed in 1894 by three Harvard graduates and presided over by John Fiske, drew its name from its major goal: Immigration Restriction League. Only the "right sort" of immigrants, an attribute based on racist discrimination of people from southern and eastern Europe, were to be allowed into the country. From 1895 onward, the league advocated a literacy test as the best means to determine "whose presence no one desires," as the principal advocate of the idea, Republican senator Henry Cabot Lodge, phrased it. For a while nativist societies supported the idea of the literacy test, but its introduction could only be effected in 1917. Similarly, legislation restricting immigration according to racist categories could only be initiated in the postwar era.

Nativism in the 1920s

The Great War shattered the optimism of the previous decade and ushered in a new phase of anxiety and social unrest, providing fertile ground for a revival of the nativists' crusades. It roused war passions even before the United States commenced to send American soldiers to fight in Europe—something believed impossible for more than a century. Although the United States had officially been at war for only twenty-one months, adjustment to peacetime conditions could not be accomplished without difficulties. Major economic problems, rising food prices, labor discontent, and radical activity of organized labor characterized the immediate postwar years. Only after 1920 did the economy enter a phase of sustained expansion, accelerating the progress of mechanization and of changes in industrial labor. On the whole, modernization allowed for a rise in real wages, almost 25 percent in the decade.

Immigration rates remained high, as another 5.7 million immigrants arrived on American shores in the war decade, and some 4.1 million more in the 1920s. The predominance of the "new immigration" and the preference of newcomers for the urban-industrial centers persisted. Alongside, immigration of African-Americans from the South into the cities of the North, begun in the Reconstruction Era, continued.

Attitudes

With the beginning of hostilities in Europe, suspicions as to the loyalty of so-called hyphenated Americans ran wild. Whoever was made out as the enemy was quickly turned into the epitome of evil. Americans of German descent became the target of campaigns drawing on the long-standing anti-German prejudice. The war had transformed their image from that of an alleged arm of the pope into a fifth column of the enemy nation in a world war. Other groups of older

immigrant generations also aroused nativist fears, most conspicuously Americans of Irish descent. This survived into the 1920s, serving as background to a new upsurge of anti-Catholicism.

As before, Catholic prejudice was linked to anti-radicalism. After the Russian Revolution, this term included anti-Bolshevism. In the early postwar era, the fear of a Bolshevik revolution, enacted by American Communists and Socialists of foreign descent, led to the Red Scare. The project of "Americanizing" the foreign-born seemed incomplete at best, so that more and more Protestant middle-class Americans of northwestern European descent began to embrace immigration restriction as the best means to preserve the American national character. This goal was ultimately achieved with the Quota Act of 1921—renewed in 1922 and 1923—and the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924, which drastically reduced the overall number of immigrants to be admitted each year as well as the quota of newcomers from southern and eastern Europe.

The increase in prosperity was not distributed evenly in the population. Resentment mounted particularly in rural areas and small towns of the Midwest, West, and South, but even in the big cities noticeable sections of the population failed to make their version of the American dream come true. These were the ranks from which the proponents of an exclusive view of Americanism could recruit their adherents. People from these ranks endorsed the notions underlying the enactment of Prohibition in 1919, both a ban on the love for intoxicating beverages identified with the immigrants and an assault on the pleasures of city life, taken as proof of a victory of rural America.

With Protestant fundamentalists, they shared antimodern, anti-urban, and anti-evolutionist concepts and the wish to impose them on the rest of society. And they were prepared to believe in anti-Semitic tirades to be read in Henry Ford's *Dearborn Independent* as well as other magazines and books. The so-called Protocols of the Elders of Zion, a forged document about a Jewish plot to take over the world, served to underpin the idea of an international Jewry conspiring against the American nation. This was added to the older anti-Jewish stereotype of the money-grubbing capitalist or member of an alien race of "strange Slavonic-Oriental admixture" (Ford) who corrupted American institutions. As with other forms of anti-alien sentiment, the anti-Semitism of the 1920s amalgamated elements of traditional anti-Jewish prejudice and fears characteristic of the modern age.

Organizations

The heated debates on issues underlying Prohibition or Protestant fundamentalism, widely publicized in the media of the mass age, fostered a revival of nativism from the mid-1910s onward. Older fraternities could expand again, new ones were formed, and some organizations from the fringe of nativist sentiment tended to adopt traditional issues of organized nativism, such as "fear of exclusion from public effectiveness, loss of participatory citizenship, powerlessness in the face of superior 'foreign' organization."

Older organizations such as the Junior Order of American Mechanics again found a growing audience, since the social and cultural leadership of "Americanism" seemed in greater danger than ever, assailed not only by alien elements from within the political machinery of city and state, but by potentially "true Americans" themselves who no longer upheld the fundamental values. Having lost 10,000 members during the early years of the century, the Junior Order could boast a membership of 224,000 by 1914. New societies were formed, and some of those that still advocated "Americanization" (e.g., the Better America Foundation, or the American Legion with nearly 1 million members after a twelve-month existence [1920]) moved toward nativism under the conditions of the postwar era.

The most prominent—though not exclusive—bearer of organized nativist activism, and at the same time its last with a mass following, was the Ku Klux Klan. After a first phase of Klan activities to restore "order" and white supremacy in the South after the end of the Civil War, the idea of a "secret" society of this kind was revived by William J. Simmons in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1915. Simmons, having failed to make his way as a Methodist preacher, turned to fraternalism instead. From the beginning, his Klan had more in common with nativist societies of the 1890s than with the post–Civil War vigilantes. It professed to fight for "Americanism," defining the backbone of the nation in terms of race, religion, and nativity. "Foreign" influences were to be effectively repressed. Klan activities could stress either the anti-Catholic, anti-immigrant, fundamentalist, anti-urban, antimodern, anti-Semitic, or antiblack sentiment, a combination of them, or all of them in one campaign, according to the specific conditions of different locales.

Ineffective in organizing a mass movement, Simmons had attracted only a few thousand followers by 1920. At that time, he contacted two skillful publicists:

Edward Young Clarke and Elizabeth Tyler. They started the Klan's transformation into a nationwide order, carried on by Hiram Wesley Evans, who took over leadership from Simmons after a long-drawn-out struggle. Evans moved the Klan even closer to traditional nativism and paved the way for a meteoric growth with millions of members by 1924—statements on membership vary from 1.5 to 6 million—with an estimate of some 1.5 million members at a given time. Yet, the attractiveness of the Klan was due to more than its nativist ideology, since it held the additional promise of community, economic advantages to part of its supporters, and fraternal support for its members. As it drew millions of Americans into a nativist organization, the Klan was a success. Nonetheless, it failed politically, since it did not achieve the political power for the moral values of "true Americanism" that it had set out to impose on the nation. With legislation limiting future immigration in 1924, nativists had lost one of the most important arguments to rally followers.

The Klan survived immigration restriction in 1924 but began to decline soon afterward owing to several factors. For one, the Klan managed to bring its candidates into office, though when in power they failed to effect the promised changes. Many of its leaders did not live up to the ideals with which the Klan attracted a mass membership. The Klan suffered from fights between individual leaders and chapters, just as other fraternities had done before. In addition, the presidential election of 1928 took the wind out of the sails of a movement that had lived on the fears of Catholics in office. This is why, in the late 1920s, with the number of new arrivals from abroad cut down to a minimum, the nativist movement found it increasingly difficult to find an audience. It declined, even though some organizations persisted, for instance, the much shrunken Junior Order of United American Mechanics, the Improved Order of Red Men, or the Ku Klux Klan, which resurfaced after World War II. Yet organized nativist activism in its traditional form, capable of mobilizing a noteworthy following, came to an end in the years of the Great Depression.

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Immigrant Exclusion Movement
1870s–1920s

From the time that the Europeans first set foot on American soil and claimed it as their own, some portion of settlers has opposed continued immigration. Occasionally, immigration opponents have organized themselves into discernible, and sometimes quite powerful, social movements. Throughout American history, groups have opposed immigration to a specific region, immigration above certain numerical limits, or immigration of specific ethnic groups, political parties, or individuals. Groups have also ranged from highly organized and hierarchical to nothing more than a mob, and from those with wide popular appeal to those furthering the opinions of a tiny, but powerful, group. Often, several types of groups have coexisted. Nevertheless, several patterns characterize the politics of American immigrant exclusion and distinguish these social movements from others.

First, movements against immigration have not always focused on the same features of potential immigrants. Early on, opponents saw the main, salient threat as foreign colonial; later came religion, then race, then ideology, then economics. Second, the coalitions on either side of the debate have rarely mirrored left/right party distinctions. Generally in favor of immigration have been traditionally conservative big business interests and traditionally liberal missionary and human rights groups; against have been usually conservative racist and isolationist groups as well as traditionally liberal organized labor and African-American groups. Third, public opinion and organizations working in support of immigration have remained fairly stable and of a low level; what has changed has been the balance between those opposed to immigration and those undecided about it. Finally, social movements pressing for more or less immigration have had little effect on policy change at the federal level, which seems driven more by foreign policy concerns; instead, their effect has been on enforcement of existing federal law and on legislation at the state level.

The First Century

The colonies on North America's East Coast did not unite for over a century after they were established. Early opposition to immigrants should therefore be seen as antipathy toward incomers to (eventual) states established along different principles. Maryland was intended as a haven for Catholics, Pennsylvania as a refuge for Quakers, and the Carolinas as a mercantile zone. Each colony, and later each state, had its own policies governing residency. Some offered cash bonuses or land to tempt newcomers, while others charged fees to discourage them; some naturalized newcomers immediately, while others set onerous requirements for citizenship.

The colonies' collective interests arose from common circumstances, such as the French and Indian wars, and later the American Revolution and the fallout from the French Revolution. Colonial governments saw immigration as a way to keep the Europeans and Indians out and to keep distrusted local minorities (Africans, Catholics, Germans) outnumbered. The Declaration of Independence accused King George of "endeavor[ing] to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and the conditions for new appropriation of lands." Yet new governments worried about importing people dissimilar from those they already harbored. Benjamin Franklin, who saw Pennsylvania as a democratic experiment, contended that "those who come hither are generally the most stupid of their own nation. . . . Not being used to liberty, they know not how to make a modest use of it . . . even our government will become precarious." Since the colonies largely defined their enterprises in religious and moral terms, these were the

terms in which desirability was gauged. Public opinion and local government concurred that morality had to be watched. Pauperhood, degeneracy, and Catholicism had no place in any of the colonies; nor did settlements of those with different customs and language, who threatened a colony's integrity.

Independence created a new national category, "Americans," loyal to no foreign power, but the Constitution did not mention how one became an American. The Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 reacted against the French Revolution by banning both monarchists and antiroyalist revolutionaries. But after these acts lapsed, the federal government was silent. For the first century of America's independence, there was no central, federal, immigration control. Instead, the various states each allowed or disallowed whom they pleased. This created a dilemma at the national level because an incomer granted citizenship by an easy state continued to be an American citizen in "hard" states. The United States did not define citizenship until 1868, with the Fourteenth Amendment, nor did it establish a uniform rule of naturalization until 1876. Yet this period saw one of the most sustained and consequential movements against American immigration.

During the early nineteenth century, Europe went through one cataclysm after another, each resulting in emigration, which then shaped the nativist backlash. The Napoleonic wars, industrialization, famine, and revolutions kept Europe mobile for the first half of the century. Depression, war, and political unifications kept people moving through the second half. Breakthroughs in transportation and communication meant that many more of the uprooted could try for America. Social movements in the United States in the nineteenth century did not target immigrants per se but instead focused on categories of people who were "different," many of which overlapped greatly with immigrants.

Most conspicuous to Americans was the rise of the Catholic Church, associated popularly since colonial times with an antidemocratic authoritarianism that would erode American institutions and practices. In addition, state party officials would naturalize immigrants—many coming from Catholic countries—at election time, in exchange for votes. This led to a widespread perception that immigrants were corrupt and corrupting of political institutions. Moreover, immigrants settled in, and were counted in, the North, leading to dismay among Southern representatives. Such sentiments became widespread through the 1840s, leading to the establishment in 1854 of the Know-Nothing Party, which sought to allow immigration, but to separate it from naturalization (i.e., the granting of full political citizenship). Citizenship and voting rights would only be given to those in residence for at least twenty years.

The Civil War and the slavery question overwhelmed this party, as they did so much else. Regional loyalties overcame policy disputes and gave immigrants a chance to demonstrate a positive commitment to the government, usually the Union. Mobilization mixed ethnic groups to an unprecedented extent, while war suspended further immigration, leading to a great mixing of the newly arrived with the long established. Yet the Civil War highlighted the division between European immigrants, who were after all white and eligible for citizenship, and descendants of Africans. African Americans gained citizenship in 1868, following passage of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Racial Competition

After the Civil War, sentiments toward immigration were shaped by three significant ideas: scarcity, the survival of the fittest, and empire. American settlers occupied the continent all the way to the Pacific. Widespread unemployment led to the idea that immigrants could only make matters worse for Americans. In addition, eugenics, the "improvement" of offspring through selective breeding, and Social Darwinism were in vogue. Immigration, many feared, could affect the prospects of the white race. Finally, the Spanish-American War resulted in American possession not only of colonies, whose citizens were by definition second-class, but of colonies of "brown" and "yellow" people. Each phenomenon posed the question: to best survive, should America accept immigrants at all? And if so, of what sort?

As Americans debated immigration policy, attention was also paid to the welfare of the newcomers. Immigrant aid societies were established in the larger cities. Many of them were organized to take care of conationals, as, for example, the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society with Jewish immigrants. Some were run as charities by churches or by social reformers, who saw in the immigrants potentially healthy, literate, and productive citizens neglected by society at large but redeemable with effort. Churches sponsored families and volunteers tutored newcomers in English and American culture.

California was a different story. After the gold rush, white miners began to enter the land and labor markets, and were met by competition from Chinese

and Japanese immigrants who had earlier been shunted into agriculture and into ghettoized work camps. Prominent newspapermen editorialized against foreign ownership of American land and the corruption of American men, who took advantage of the gambling and prostitution set up in the legally mandated ghettoes. Asian laborers were lynched on the West Coast; California asked Congress to ban Asian immigration. In 1882, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, which prevented most Chinese immigrants from coming to the United States for ten years. It was the first national law ever passed banning a group of people based on race or nationality. It was reenacted in 1892 and again in 1902, and was made permanent in 1904. At the State Department's request, from 1908 onward, the Japanese were allowed to restrict emigration themselves, so that the embarrassment of their exclusion could be avoided. "Hindoos" were excluded as "likely to become a public change" until 1923, when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled them nonwhite, hence ineligible for naturalization along with the Chinese and Japanese. Protesting Asian exclusion was left to a handful of missionaries, who knew the people firsthand. Most Californians saw these acts as solving the problem of scarcity by eliminating a triple threat: a competitor for jobs, people they considered racially inferior, and an emissary of a competing empire.

Opposition to racial exclusion took several forms. The legally minded sued, contending that immigrants' rights had been violated. In *Nishimura Ekiu v. United States* (1891), however, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that immigrants—noncitizens—have no rights to violate. Upholding the exclusion of a twenty-five-year-old Japanese woman married to a U.S. citizen, the justices invoked "sovereignty," the broadest possible principle: "It is an accepted maxim of International Law, that every sovereign nation has the power as inherent in sovereignty, and essential to self-preservation, to forbid the entrance of foreigners within its dominions, or to admit them only in such cases and upon such conditions as it may see fit to prescribe." The government's authority was absolute and political; the executive and legislature, not the judiciary, controlled admission. Nothing Congress did in this area of law could be unconstitutional. Only the executive branch worried about the message this sent to foreign governments.

Such was the tone at the turn of the twentieth century, when the U.S. Congress established an Immigration Commission to survey law and to recommend change. It described recent immigrants as illiterate, superstitious, and racially distinct. It suggested a literacy test as a way to select the "best" among the applicants, and it delineated geographic zones, covering most of Asia, from which nonwhite immigration was barred. Most attention to issues of immigration came from the upper classes, which were divided on the question of race. Internationalists included diplomats, missionaries, and foreign businessmen who had lived abroad. Restrictionists included university presidents and professors, and the established elite, among whom ideas of eugenics had gained great popularity. William McKinley's assassination by an east European Anarchist immigrant appeared to justify their worries.

Jane Addams and other social reformers testified against restriction. "At this time when we are hoping that the United States may take a leading part in a new internationalism which will mean such a world reorganization as will guarantee respect for the rights of different nationalities, the passage of this law would be peculiarly unfortunate. How can we urge Russia, Austria, and Germany to recognize the claims of people against whom we are, at the same time, discriminating?" George Kennan, diplomat and theorist of foreign policy, concurred that immigration restrictions would aid the new Soviet regime; Louis Marshall argued that a literacy test was "absolutely arbitrary." Organizations arrayed in opposition included the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, the Methodist Church, the Presbyterian Board of Missions, the National Lutheran Council, the Young Men's Christian Association, the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and the American Jewish Conference. Heads of prominent American universities—indeed, the biology departments of Harvard and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology—argued against them on eugenic grounds.

Isolation

World War I proved a significant turning point for immigration. The prevailing image of the international environment as one of violent competition crystallized during the war. Representative John Calvin Box (D-TX) said that "Nations and races have struggled for a place in which to exist and enlarge since before the years covered by human history. We are trying to maintain a place here for us and our children to which the crowded-out, hungry, unhappy millions of the Old World are struggling to come." War imagery dominated the immigration debate. Lillian Russell Moore, an actress asked by President Warren Harding to report on immigration, claimed that "the

higher civilizations of past ages, history teaches us, succumbed to such foreign invasions as now threaten us." Race displaced (rather than fronted for) economic arguments. Ellison Smith, of South Carolina, said, "I would rather see American citizenship refined to the last degree in all that makes America what we hope it will be than to develop the resources of America at the expenses of the citizenship of our country." The country shunned alliances, rejected the League of Nations, restricted immigration, and imposed tariff walls. "America must be kept American," said President Calvin Coolidge in a message to Congress.

Nativist activism arose mainly from veterans' groups and labor unions, which saw foreigners as economic competition, and the Boston elite, who believed newcomers to be undermining the Anglo legacy their ancestors had left. Henry Cabot Lodge, for example, said that "the additions to this country until the present time have been from kindred people or from those with whom we have long been allied and who speak the same language." Californians continued to press their racial objections. V.S. McClatchy, publisher of several San Francisco–area newspapers, testified that "the Japanese do not create. They imitate, improve, appropriate." Opposition was joined by the Delegation of Patriotic Societies, the National Civic Federation, the American Legion, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the New York Chamber of Commerce.

The National Origins Quotas, enacted from 1921 to 1924, reduced to 150,000 the number of annual immigrants who would be accepted and allocated sections of this number to various countries according to the country's weight in supplying the American population. This cut back substantially on immigration from southern Europe. The act also retained the provision that no one ineligible to naturalize would be admitted; this linked immigration policy to a separate naturalization statute that banned virtually all those of Asian ancestry from naturalizing. Migration from the Western Hemisphere was left numerically unlimited. The Great Depression saw no legislation opposed to immigrants, nor agitation against them. Immigration itself had naturally slowed greatly during this time; indeed, emigration exceeded it for most of the period.

War and Ideology

Immigration became politically salient again in the middle of World War II, when those who had all along opposed the exclusion of Asians noted that the list of friends and enemies set out in the immigration act did not match the allies and enemies in war. India and Burma (Myanmar) fought for the Allies; China had been invaded by Japan; the Germans who had been moderately favored on historical and racial grounds were proving to be the bitterest enemy. In an October 11, 1943, message to Congress, President Franklin D. Roosevelt argued for repeal of the Asian exclusions: "We owe it to the Chinese . . . to wipe from the statute books those anachronisms in our law which forbid the immigration of Chinese people into this country"; the United States could also "correct a historic mistake and silence the distorted Japanese propaganda." Hearings held during the war aired the idea that the Allies' morale could only be low if they fought knowing that the United States maintained an insulting view of their genetic worthiness. Author Pearl Buck argued in 1943 that Japanese exclusion had been 'the death blow of liberalism . . . the single thing that has made Japan regard us as an enemy." Buck and other prominent public intellectuals with ties to Asia successfully helped to overturn the racial element of the bar, though not to raise the number allowed in.

Following the war, three developments challenged, and eventually undermined, American immigration policy. First, just as had World War II, the Cold War revealed a substantially different pattern of allies and enemies than that envisioned in immigration law. The Truman administration wanted to accept refugees from communism but could not because many of them were from eastern and southern Europe, regions legally considered to be racially undesirable. In an October 17, 1952, speech, President Dwight Eisenhower bemoaned the continuation of restrictions: "A contest for world leadership—in fact, for survival—exists between the communist idea and the American ideal. That contest is being waged in the minds and hearts of human beings. We say—and we sincerely believe—that we are on the side of freedom. . . . Yet to the Czech, the Pole, the Hungarian who takes his life in his hands and crosses the frontier tonight . . . this ideal that beckoned him can be a mirage."

Second, the civil rights movement had politicized racial restriction at the federal level, making it difficult for legislators to continue language of racial inferiority in the immigration statutes. Third, decolonization provided the United States and the Soviet Union the opportunity to compete for allies; the Soviet Union promptly drew attention to the racial provisions of American immigration law to demonstrate the thin American commitment to justice. In all of these cases,

American immigration policy undermined larger policy goals. Congress and the executive branch struggled from 1952, when national origins quotas were reaffirmed, until 1965, when they were finally discarded, over race in immigration. Working to keep the restrictions were mainly veterans groups, specifically the Veterans of Foreign Wars and Regular Veterans' Association. Working with the executive branch against them were religious groups such as the Quakers, ethnic groups such as the Polish-American Congress, patriotic organizations such as the Order of the Sons of Liberty, and even the major trade unions, such as the National Women's Trade Union League, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and the American Federation of Labor.

Family

As a consequence of this agitation on behalf of an internationalist outlook, in 1965 the U.S. Congress passed, and President Lyndon Johnson signed, a new comprehensive immigration act. It had four unprecedented features. First, it eliminated racial considerations from American immigration and naturalization policy. From 1965 on, "nationality" referred to place of birth rather than ascriptive ethnicity. Second, it equalized the numerical limits for countries, giving an overall cap of 270,000 and a country limit of 20,000; supposed contribution to historical American immigration was abandoned as a guideline. Third, it included Western Hemisphere countries for the first time. Previously not limited numerically, countries from the Americas were now included in the general scheme. Finally, preference rankings, which indicated how to choose among applicants from the same country, were rewritten so that second- and third-degree family members could expect acceptance at twice the rate of economic immigrants or refugees. This had the effect of maintaining the racial distribution while eliminating race as a criterion.

At this time, population politics had become a burning issue. World population appeared to many to be growing at too high a rate; contraceptive breakthroughs and the legalization of abortion gave momentum to groups advocating "zero population growth." These groups opposed immigration on two separate grounds: that immigrants were just as bad as births in adding to the population, and that immigrants tended to have children at greater rates than native-born Americans. Once again, the idea of a limited frontier motivated efforts at restriction.

Coinciding with this change in U.S. immigration policy were two events whose outcome was to radically alter the types of immigrants Americans accepted. In both Cuba and Vietnam, the United States struggled within a nationalist-Communist civil war, developed ties to one side, and withdrew without a victory. In both cases, those whom America supported would have been abandoned to confinement at best and retaliation at worst; in both cases, the United States government enacted special exceptions to the numerical limits to accept and resettle emigrés. Tens of thousands of Cubans and nearly 1 million Indochinese resettled in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s. As permanent American residents and citizens, these newcomers were eligible under the 1965 law to sponsor family members. As a result, the United States for the first time became a true, legal home to Asians and reaffirmed its commitment to its Hispanic neighbors.

Economics

American immigration policy always contained provisions relating to immigrants' potential economic impact on citizens. At all times, those "likely to become a public charge" were barred from entry; at various times, contract laborers and those bringing in skills Americans already had were also barred. Not until the 1980s did economic considerations take center stage.

American labor unions had weakened by the 1980s, when job competition with Europe and Japan became a central worry. States worried about how to pay for services for the immigrants who were already there. Texas tried to deny education to illegal immigrants; this was overturned on the grounds that the statutes establishing public education did not make that distinction. California saw the rise of literacy movements, specifically those opposing bilingual education, and petitions to deny public services to illegal, and even some legal, immigrants. Public opinion began to coalesce around the idea that preferring relatives was fine, but unless the aunts and uncles could do something useful, it was a preference that the country could not afford.

Economic arguments were also used against immigrants claiming refugee status. Prominent organizations like the Federation for American Immigration Reform lobbied against relaxation of immigration barriers. Hondurans, Nicaraguans, and Salvadorans left the wars in Central America for the United States, to be denied admission as refugees on the grounds that they were not politically oppressed but sought economic betterment. In response, churches and left-wing activists in the United States, such as those in the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salva-

dor, aided those who had entered illegally, giving church sanctuary through civil disobedience. The numbers remained small.

Federal policy toward immigrants changed in a two-step process in 1986 and 1990. The first efforts aimed to clarify the status of the 3 to 5 million illegal immigrants living in the country. Each was to be legalized through an amnesty program, or to be deported: in or out, not in between. Once this had been accomplished, immigration laws could truly separate citizens from noncitizens. The 1990 reforms added relatives and refugees to the groups facing numerical limits, leading to a 480,000 annual growth in migration. Now every type of applicant was covered by the same law. The reforms also streamlined the list of preferences and exclusions, eliminating categories like "feebleminded" and "deviant" in favor of broad concerns about security, health, and crime.

Environmental groups in the western United States also came out for the first time in opposition to immigration. The Sierra Club in particular caused a stir when it editorialized against immigration on environmental grounds. These groups had no effect on federal policy but did succeed in adding ecological effects to the inventory of concerns that Americans connected to immigration policy.

Way of Life

Each of the social movements, state laws, and federal laws has posited an American way of life, which immigration—or methods of immigration restriction—threaten. Early in American history, immigrants were wanted to populate the continent against the Europeans and Indians, who threatened the American way of life. Over time, the "way of life" has emphasized a Protestant heritage, a white outpost, a democratic bastion beset by monarchists, anarchists, and despots, a pillar of freedom, and a zone of economic opportunity. Each change in federal law responded to a perceived external threat. Social movements in favor of immigrants have always included ethnic aid societies, legal societies, and religious organizations; opposition has always included state welfare bureaus and veterans' societies. Labor unions and businesses have seesawed, as have literacy organizations and environmentalists. Immigrants' potential to change themselves and their host communities has always been great, so immigration can be expected to attract political attention forever.

Cheryl Shanks

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Anti-Catholicism Activism

On a literal level, anti-Catholicism is most simply defined as resistance to the Roman Catholic Church, its doctrines, its leaders, and/or its laity. But in addressing anti-Catholicism's formative role in American social history, it might best be understood as the belief that Catholic attitudes or individuals were incompatible with American values and, by extension, that Catholicism was fundamentally foreign and hostile to America itself. Anti-Catholic attitudes have sparked a vigorous series of battles—in the political arena, in literature and newspapers, even in riots and vigilante violence. At the root of these conflicts is the assertion that Catholics were foreign and dangerous to American institutions and values and therefore needed to be kept in check by native-born Protestants. The perceived superiority of native-born guardians of American virtue (which historians term *nativism*) over their Catholic opponents, which personified un-American and foreign influences, became the foundation on which anti-Catholic agitation was built from the colonial era through the twentieth century.

Resentment and hostility toward Roman Catholicism certainly predated the establishment of American colonies. Following the Protestant Reformation, European nations frequently waged bitter warfare, pitting Catholics against Protestants for political, economic, and ecclesiastical legitimacy and control. European settlers transplanted these conflicts to American shores. This was particularly apparent in the celebration of the European holiday Guy Fawkes Day—dedicated to the memory of the infamous arsonist Guy Fawkes's foiled "Gunpowder Plot," which attempted to blow up the British Houses of Parliament to protest the poor treatment of British Catholics in 1605. Renamed "Pope Day" and observed annually on November 5 in several colonial cities (particularly Boston), the celebration thoroughly mocked Catholics by parading burning effigies of the Pope through the streets. Even more significant, however, was colonial opposition to the passage of the Quebec Act in 1774, which permitted the practice of Catholicism in eastern Canada, which had come under British control. This proved an additional source of animosity for American revolutionaries who saw the preservation of French law, language, and, most important, French Catholicism, as unacceptable and threatening to life in the British colonies. Moreover, by extending the boundaries of Catholic Quebec into the Ohio Valley, American colonists feared the extension of foreign influences and saw the Quebec Act as one of several errors of parliamentary law.

Anti-Catholicism in Nineteenth-Century America

Although Catholics had remained demographically insignificant in most areas of the British colonies, the arrival of European immigrants, initially from Ireland and Germany and later from southern and eastern Europe, sparked conflict between "native-born" Protestants and their allegedly alien Catholic neighbors. Thus, the early nineteenth century witnessed more overt expressions of American anti-Catholicism in American cities. In 1834, a mob formed outside the Ursuline convent in Charlestown, Massachusetts, when scandalous newspaper articles and pamphlets purported that a young girl, Rebecca Reed, was held there against her will. Even more stunning, reporters accused Catholic nuns of trapping naive Protestant girls in secret convents and stealing them away from their families. Incited by these stories and reports of Catholic sexual depravity (which concluded that nuns served as prisoners, slaves, or prostitutes for depraved priests), Protestant rioters stormed the convent and later burned it to the ground. The following year, rather than condemn their actions, local jurors praised their valiant defense of Protestant women and fully acquitted them.

An even more extreme form of vigilante anti-

Catholicism occurred in 1844, when Philadelphia Catholics asked local school board officials to permit Catholic students to read from Catholic translations of the Bible rather than the Protestant King James version, which was the school's standard text. Furious that Catholics would attempt to challenge local government and anxious to preserve public schools from perceived encroachment, nativists flew into a rage. Waves of riots swept the city for several months, resulting in twenty deaths and the destruction of Catholic schools, churches, and over 100 homes. Similar riots occurred throughout the nineteenth century in East Coast cities, including Boston, Newark, and New York. In one particularly bloody riot in New York City in 1871, Protestant and Catholics clashed over a parade by the Orange Order—a Protestant group that combined anti-Catholic and anti-Irish rhetoric in its pageantry. A single day of rioting left 62 people dead and over 100 injured.

As the 1834 Charlestown riot illustrated, the promulgation of anti-Catholic literature was enormously important in shaping and stimulating anti-Catholic sentiment in the nineteenth century. Rebecca Reed's heartbreaking story *Six Months in a Convent* (1835), which reported the alleged violence and imprisonment in the Charlestown convent, and led directly to the acquittal of the arsonists, proved enormously popular. But in 1836, an even more scandalous and sensational book appeared that galvanized nativist attention against Catholic foes—*The Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk*. The story claimed to be an autobiography of a French Canadian novice in the Hotel Dieu convent of Montreal. After initiation, Maria Monk slowly learned increasingly shocking and sinister details of Catholic life within convent walls. She gave graphic details of orgiastic trysts between priests and nuns, who were forced to serve as prostitutes after final initiation into the order. Monk claimed that nuns gave birth to illegitimate children, which they promptly strangled to death, and that they buried their bodies so that Canadian officials would never learn the truth about convent life. Convents themselves, Monk concluded, were no more than prisons in which women worked as slaves and priests satisfied their illicit sexual urges.

Monk's book proved to be an immediate best seller—publishers produced several editions, and sales topped 300,000 by 1860. *The Awful Disclosures* remained in print well into the twentieth century and influenced later generations of anti-Catholic writers and editors. Scholars have speculated that the book's pseudopornographic descriptions and titillating glimpses at illicit sex generated much of its publicity. By posing as a warning against Catholic enemies, *The Awful Disclosures* provided a respectable way of reading shocking and scandalous descriptions for Protestant readers. Ultimately, however, Monk's account proved to be contrived. As Catholics themselves attempted to argue for decades, Monk was never a nun in the Hotel Dieu convent—she was actually a Montreal prostitute who, with the help of editors, collaborators, and ghost writers, fabricated most of the details she reported.

The Know-Nothings

Partly as a result of the literary and cultural credence given to anti-Catholicism in the mid-nineteenth century, nativists developed resentment toward "Romanism" and to Catholics within their midst into a political issue as well. In 1849, nativists in New York City organized a secretive meeting of a group they called "The Order of the Star Spangled Banner." Members of the clandestine order had to prove that they were born in the United States and pledged to oppose Catholics, removing them from public office and school boards whenever possible. By the 1850s, the order had grown in popularity, and its members organized into a substantial political presence. Officially called the American Party, the group was more commonly termed the "Know-Nothings," since they were instructed not to reveal the secretive workings or membership of their organization. Know-Nothing candidates proposed long waiting periods before immigrants could receive American citizenship, restricting officeholding and voting rights to the native-born, and strict limitations on immigration (an idea that would come to fruition several decades later in the immigration legislation of the 1920s). These initiatives, combined with a neutral stance that neither supported nor denounced slavery, won the American Party wide support in the 1850s. By the middle of the decade, Know-Nothings held several seats in the U.S. Congress as well as substantial support in state and local governments.

Ultimately, however, the American Party disintegrated over the slavery issue, and the movement lost ground to Democratic and Republican parties. The Civil War itself provided a brief hiatus from American anti-Catholicism, and many Catholics hoped that their wartime service would illustrate their American loyalty and patriotism. Yet, shortly after Reconstruction, America's anti-Catholic sentiment rebounded, notably with the birth of another anti-Catholic political movement, the American Protective Association (APA),

An indication of the popularity of the nativist movement of the 1850s, a Boston manufacturer used an American flag with the words "Know Nothing Soap" emblazoned upon it. *(Library of Congress)*

which followed much of the same rhetoric and tone of its Know-Nothing forerunners. The APA began in 1887 during a disputed mayoral election in the small town of Clinton, Iowa. Its founder, Henry Bowers, believed that Catholic propaganda had cost him the position of mayor, and he then began a campaign to eradicate Catholic influences from politics. His movement, like earlier instances of anti-Catholicism, proved phenomenally successful but extremely short-lived. By 1890, the APA had grown from a small group in a single town to a national movement with over 2 million members. The movement also sponsored a series of newspapers, a political platform that sponsored congressional campaigns, and an infrastructure that influenced state and local politics. Although the APA grew quickly, its decline was faster still—by 1896, the APA had lost a great deal of its membership and support, and by 1900 the group had thoroughly disintegrated.

The decline in America's anti-Catholic interest did not last long. Within a decade of the APA's collapse, another anti-Catholic episode occurred—the dramatic proliferation of anti-Catholic periodicals in the 1910s. Nearly two dozen fervently anti-Catholic periodicals circulated in the 1910s, each of which argued that Catholic residents could not be spiritually committed to the Pope and remain politically loyal to the American government. One of the most outspoken proponents of this nativist rhetoric was the early twentieth-century writer and agrarian Populist Tom Watson. Watson insisted that several Catholic groups—parish priests, the Knights of Columbus, and religious orders, particularly the Jesuits—were actually the Pope's secret warriors in America. Their goal, Watson claimed, was to wage a secret war in America, undermining political institutions to place a papal puppet in control of American society. The same themes were articulated by the incredibly successful anti-Catholic newspaper *The Menace*, which both warned of a papal coup and blamed Catholic corruption for the failure of progressive political reforms. *The Menace* was founded in 1911, and, within four years, it boasted a circulation in excess of 1.5 million weekly readers, spawning a host of imitators in rural towns throughout the next decade.

Restating the horrors of convent seduction and orgies made famous by Maria Monk, and infusing its pages with patriotic symbolism characteristic of "The Order of the Star Spangled Banner," *The Menace* and similar periodicals evoked the rhetoric of prior anti-Catholic movements. But they also adopted the prevailing journalistic tone of muckraking, pointing out societal problems with a shrill, even alarmist, tone. Capitalizing on new journalistic conventions, such as new mailing rates, new printing technology, innovative marketing and publicity schemes, and America's long-standing nativist traditions, anti-Catholic periodicals achieved tremendous, though temporary, support. Readership quickly declined in the late 1910s as the beginning of World War I brought a halt to most anti-Catholic publishing and resentment toward the Pope was shifted toward the Kaiser. However, during the 1920s, and for the next several decades, Catholics were exposed to renewed attacks, largely from the second Ku Klux Klan. Catholics were one of many groups singled out as disloyal and potentially "un-American" by the second Klan, which became an increasingly powerful political organization.

Catholics in Twentieth-Century Politics

America's uneasiness toward Catholicism sparked legislative and governmental intervention as the 1920s

wore on. By this time, "No Popery" and "Immigrants Out" had become synonymous slogans in the ongoing political battle for immigration restriction. In fact, the immigration quotas adopted in 1924 were designed explicitly to exclude large numbers of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe whose religious beliefs and ethnic stock were deemed inferior to those of Protestant Americans. In 1928, Al Smith, the Catholic governor of New York, encountered similar resentment when he ran a campaign for president. Although Smith won the Democratic nomination, he was denounced and defeated largely over assumptions that he would bring "Popery" into public schools and undermine the Protestant character of the nation. Although Smith's criticisms of prohibition and his Democratic connections also hurt his campaign, his attachment to "foreign" Catholicism contributed to his loss to Republican candidate Herbert Hoover.

In 1960, John F. Kennedy faced similar opposition in his presidential campaign against Richard Nixon. Kennedy, a Catholic senator and Democrat from Massachusetts, was greatly influenced by the anti-Catholic propaganda surrounding his candidacy. Kennedy often downplayed his connections to Rome, insisting that the U.S. Constitution, not papal dogma, would dictate his political decisions. In the Senate, Kennedy voted against using federal funds to subsidize parochial schools and opposed the appointment of an American ambassador to the Vatican. Although both moves earned him sharp reprisal in the Catholic press, Kennedy's political record also demonstrated to many Protestant voters that Catholicism was not enough to disqualify a candidate from office. Some conservative critics still felt that Kennedy's election was part of a papal plot aimed at subjecting Americans to Roman rule. But Catholics cheered Kennedy's election not simply as a political victory but as a symbol of Catholics' prosperity and success in spite of adversity and bigotry.

Kennedy's victory, however, did not signal the complete departure of anti-Catholicism from American culture. In fact, the mid-twentieth century provided fertile soil for a reemergence of anti-Catholic literature, albeit with a different emphasis than its previous counterparts. In 1949, Paul Blanshard, a noted intellectual, lawyer, and scholar whose previous publications appeared in public intellectual journals such as *The Nation*, published his classic text *American Freedom and Catholic Power*, vigorously opposing the influence of Catholicism in American politics. Throughout the twentieth century, intellectuals continued to worry about Catholicism's influence on America's culture and electorate. John Dewey, for instance, expressed similar sentiments as Blanshard, openly questioning whether Catholics of eastern European descent possessed the individualism and intellect to participate in American democracy. Publishing a series of books denouncing Catholicism throughout the Cold War, Blanshard and others signaled a new, more intellectualized approach to American anti-Catholicism—one based on social critique by scholars rather than the riots and soft-core pornography that had characterized previous episodes of anti-Catholic aggression. Blanshard's work proved immensely popular—*American Freedom and Catholic Power* sold over a quarter of a million copies and appeared on several best seller lists. His subsequent works likewise highlighted anti-Catholic themes in the United States and abroad.

Vestiges of Anti-Catholicism

Ironically, Blanshard's books appeared at a time when American Catholics were enjoying unprecedented equity with their Protestant peers. In 1955, sociologist Will Herberg published his landmark study *Protestant, Catholic, Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology*, which argued that Catholicism was one of the three foundational religions within American society. Scholars have continually debated the precise time that American Catholics integrated themselves into the nation's "mainstream," if, indeed, this has ever occurred. Although American society had moved away from the vigilantism that characterized the most blatant forms of anti-Catholicism in the nineteenth century, Blanshard's words are nevertheless informative because they illustrate both the prevalence and durability of America's anti-Catholic attitudes. Although Catholics gradually (albeit inconsistently and with a measure of trepidation) moved into the realm of middle-class and mainstream respectability, Blanshard's remarks illustrate that nativistic thinking and anti-Catholic sentiments proved remarkably long-lasting.

In May of 2002, amid the controversy over sexual misconduct and priestly coverup, Fordham University sponsored a conference on American anti-Catholicism, calling it "The Last Acceptable Prejudice" in America. The keynote speaker, renowned sociologist of American Catholicism Andrew Greeley, began his address by suggesting that anti-Catholicism is fundamentally American, and reiterating a point he first made in his 1977 study of the topic, Greeley termed anti-Catholicism America's "Ugly Little Secret." This powerful and enduring mode of American

culture continues to this day, albeit in a muted, implicit form, particularly, Greeley asserted, in academic, literary, and intellectual circles. The longevity of anti-Catholic thought is matched only by the breadth of its influence—few other cultural forces have shaped the political, literary, and intellectual contours of American development over the course of three centuries.

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Ku Klux Klan

Ever since its founding immediately following the Civil War, the Ku Klux Klan has been a tool for certain segments of white American society to use to resist the forces of social change. The Klan was a reactionary movement, attempting to return U.S. society to an era when white, Protestant males held power over people of other races, members of other religions, and women. During Reconstruction, the Klan acted essentially as the militant wing of the Democratic Party in the Southern United States. Using intimidation and violence, the Klan sought to stifle most of the freedoms held by freed slaves after the Civil War. The Klan helped overturn radical Republican rule and end Reconstruction. After largely dying out in the 1870s, the Klan reemerged a half-century later, amidst the dramatic social and cultural changes wrought by World War I. Embracing small-town, Protestant values as well as white supremacy, the second Klan acted forcefully and often violently against ascending minority groups of the 1920s—Jews, women, immigrants, and African Americans among them. The Klan rose for a third time—visibly but less effectively—during the civil rights era of the 1950s and 1960s. Like the Reconstruction Klan, the third Klan used violence in an attempt to halt the political, social, and economic progress of African Americans. Although the white hoods and burning crosses of the Klan remain virulent, potent images, the Klan today has few members and little influence.

The Klan and the Reconstruction Revolution

In June 1866, half a dozen young Confederate military veterans formed the Ku Klux Klan in Pulaski, Tennessee, merely to "have fun, make mischief, and play pranks on the public," in the words of their manual. Their main activities consisted of dressing like ghosts and making appearances at barbecues, dances, and other social gatherings. To enhance their ghostly appearance, white hoods with eye holes became standard. Shrouding their club and initiations in secret ritual, the Ku Klux Klan—derived from the Greek word *kuklos*, meaning "circle"—resembled many fraternal organizations in the United States during the late nineteenth century. The appearances and practical jokes of the Klan enlivened the sleepy town of Pulaski, and local townspeople generally enjoyed their antics.

Young men in various Tennessee counties quickly formed their own chapters, adopting Klan rituals and practices. As Klan membership grew, the activities of its members became more disruptive. Klan activity began to focus in particular on the former slaves in the area, and many whites imagined that the Klan easily intimidated these African Americans. At the same time, the Republican government of Tennessee prepared for a confrontation with the Tennessee Conservative Party, a coalition of Whigs and ex-Confederate Democrats. Angered by the implementation of black suffrage, Conservatives decided to enlist the help of the Ku Klux Klan to serve the purposes of the Conservative Party and to counter the militia formed by Tennessee's Republican governor, William G. Brownlow.

In early 1867, the Klan was reorganized into a statewide political organization. Gathering in Nashville, Tennessee, Conservative Party members swore allegiance to the Klan. The organization now had a formal hierarchy, rules governing the operation of local dens, and secret codes with which to communicate information to other members. They soon had a supreme leader as well: Grand Wizard Nathan Bedford Forrest, a popular Confederate general and former slaveholder. Pledging themselves to secrecy, Klan members returned to their home counties and embarked on a publicity campaign. This campaign helped to bring recruits to the organization, as well as

to prepare the Klan for the coming electoral battle between Conservatives and Republicans.

In August 1867, still extant only in Tennessee and perhaps northern Alabama, the Klan embarked on a campaign of parades and demonstrations on behalf of Conservative political candidates. This activity had little effect on the elections: the Republicans were easily swept into office. Instead of ceasing after the elections, however, Klan activity became more violent. The months of late 1867 and early 1868 saw Tennessee Klansmen begin their terror campaigns of night riding. Groups of anywhere between a handful and 100 Klansmen would visit their victims late at night, on the pretense of a suspected crime. Their chosen victims were almost invariably black men, who would be whipped, stabbed, beaten, shot, or sometimes hanged. The Klansmen often accused and convicted their victims of a "crime" before they administered their "punishment." Sometimes the victims were accused of theft or arson, while others were whipped and even hanged because they voted for Republican political candidates. Klan terrorism occurred most frequently and with its greatest success in areas where political and racial representation were nearly equal.

This vigilante justice built on a tradition of white violence against and fear of a black revolt that dated back to the early days of the slave system. White slaveholders had been able to discipline their slaves as they pleased; whippings were common. At the same time, the slave's existence as property prevented many slaveholders from actually killing their slaves. After emancipation, former slaveholders retained their notions of white supremacy and violence but were freed from the previous financial disincentive to cripple, maim, or kill blacks.

In the antebellum era, slaveholders lived in constant fear of a slave revolt. The legacies of Saint Domingue, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Nat Turner, and John Brown all kept slaveholders in constant fear of a looming slave revolt. While this threat was mostly an imagined one, the idea remained after emancipation. Southern whites feared that once given equal rights, blacks would undoubtedly integrate and uproot white dominance of the social order and perhaps unleash a bloody race war. Only intimidation could prevent such an upheaval. Informed and inspired by these traditions and fears, the Ku Klux Klan became a powerful force wrought by Southern white men against the revolutionary impulses of Radical Reconstruction.

The Klan expanded at a blistering pace throughout the South beginning in the spring of 1868. As the Congressional Reconstruction Acts of 1867 brought Republicans to power throughout the states of the former Confederacy, Klansmen launched countless campaigns of brutal terror across the South. Many dens emerged through the efforts of Nathan Bedford Forrest; many others grew simply through word of mouth or favorable press coverage. Klan attacks were most often aimed at the sources of black and Republican strength. Teachers of black students, known or suspected Unionists, and the notorious carpetbaggers and scalawags suffered the Klan's violence. The Klan exerted considerable violence on members of the Union League, a Republican political organization whose secretive nature only further angered and alarmed Southern whites.

Klan violence was consistent throughout the South during 1868 but flared up around the time of national and local elections. During the presidential campaign of 1868, the Klan killed, wounded, or destroyed the property of thousands of people and turned the tide in favor of the Democrats in several states and many counties. After Ulysses S. Grant assumed the presidency in 1869, however, the federal government began to move against the Klan. The Grant administration provided state and local militias with weaponry to use against the Klan. This approach differed from that of the previous administration, which had treated the Klan as a state and local problem. The U.S. Congress launched an investigation into the Klan and passed legislation to counter its activities. The Force Act of 1870 and the Ku Klux Klan Act of 1871 outlawed interfering with an individual's right to vote and allowed the use of the army to counter the Klan. The new powers also enabled Grant to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* to fight the Klan, which he did in South Carolina.

Forrest disbanded the formal Klan probably in 1869, and with federal enforcement, the Klan had faded by 1872. It had done its damage, however. Countless black and white Republicans had been terrorized and tortured, and roughly 1,000 were killed, severely disrupting Republican organizations and black communities throughout the South. Many of the freed people fled to cities to escape the wrath of the Klan. Since local and state governments had been powerless against the Klan, those who lived in fear of the Klan had to turn to the federal government for help. As Northern sentiment turned against Radical Reconstruction, the federal government's ability to prevent violence waned. White Southerners, no longer disguised as Ku Klux Klansmen, used violence to redeem state governments in Alabama and Mississippi. By 1877 Reconstruction had ended. Life in the

South during the ensuing decades would bring a return to a degree of segregation and white supremacy not seen since the age of slavery. Democratic governments, Black Codes, and Jim Crow were the manifestations of black subservience for which the Ku Klux Klan rode.

The Klan in the 1920s

During the era of the New South and then during the turn of the century, a myth grew about Reconstruction in general and the Ku Klux Klan in particular. This myth held that the Klan saved the South from the tyrannical rule of demonic carpetbaggers, scalawags, Republicans, and especially African Americans. Instrumental in creating this myth was D.W. Griffith's 1915 film *Birth of a Nation.* Griffith's film was a cinematic masterpiece, an epic feature that revolutionized the movie industry. Its techniques, subject matter, style, and length were completely new, and it proved enormously popular across the nation. Based on Thomas Dixon's 1905 novel *The Clansman*, Griffith's film recounted the history of the United States beginning with the arrival of the first slaves through the "redemption" of the former states of the Confederacy in 1877. *Birth of a Nation* portrays African Americans of the Reconstruction South as brutes whose primary amusement is raping white women; Klan members are chivalric heroes who save the South from the barbaric black menace. Few white Americans disagreed with this portrayal, for it harmonized with many contemporary political, scholarly, and folk accounts of the Klan.

The popular impact of *Birth of a Nation* gave birth to a new interest in the Klan. A new generation of white southerners was eager to revive the white terror. William J. Simmons, a failed preacher and an organizer of fraternal organizations, brought Griffith's cinematic vision to reality. Simmons, whose father had been a Klansman in Alabama, later claimed to have had a vision of white-robed horsemen in the sky, inspiring him to follow in his father's footsteps. On Thanksgiving night, 1915, atop Stone Mountain outside of Atlanta, Georgia, Simmons and fifteen followers celebrated the rebirth of the Klan by burning a cross. Several days later he paid for a newspaper advertisement announcing the rebirth of the Klan in Atlanta. Simmons's announcement conveniently ran next to an advertisement for *Birth of a Nation.* At first, this second Ku Klux Klan had little purpose. Before and during World War I, the Klan differed little from other fraternal organizations of the time. The activities of the several thousand members focused mainly on building support for the war effort, including strikebreaking and parades. Only after tensions in the social, political, and cultural fabric of the United States expanded during the 1920s did the Klan become the largest right-wing movement in the history of the country.

Simmons had envisioned a nationwide following for the Klan. To make his vision reality, he embarked on a massive marketing campaign. Thanks to the mass-marketing skills of publicists Edward Young Clarke and Elizabeth Tyler, almost 100,000 American men had sent $10 each to become members of the hooded empire by 1921, making the Klan a substantial movement and a profitable organization. Salesmen recruited members, often approaching entire Protestant congregations at once. Klan-approved robes were sold, and rules were established. With this larger following came a new purpose for the Klan. Simmons redefined the Klan as the guardian of white women and the white race in the United States. Klansmen were to defend the white race from blacks, Jews, and Asians, and Klansmen swore to uphold traditional Protestant morals by fighting Communists, Catholics, anti-Prohibitionists, labor unions, and loose women.

This new mission statement can be traced directly to upheavals in the United States and the world after World War I. The influx of immigrants, many of them Catholic, posed a challenge to Protestant ethics. During the Great Migration of the 1920s African Americans moved north in unprecedented numbers. At the same time, the socioeconomic status of Jews began to rise. Organized crime and bootlegging thrived during the Prohibition era, and women—epitomized by the flapper—found new social, economic, and sexual freedom. Feeling surrounded by these changes that threatened the white male's grip on social hierarchy, white men across the United States turned to the Klan to fight the current of social change. Such a nativist reaction was part of the worldwide Fascist movement that would also ultimately grip to a greater degree Germany under Adolf Hitler, Italy under Benito Mussolini, and Spain under Francisco Franco.

Early in the 1920s, Klans across the country embarked on campaigns of violence not unlike those of the Reconstruction Klan. Klansmen tortured, mutilated, whipped, beat, and occasionally murdered those deemed a threat to their way of life. Klan activities included boycotts of Jewish-owned businesses and whippings of white men accused of beating their wives. While Klan violence was not as deadly as it had been during Reconstruction, the second Klan spread from Texas to Oregon to New York and stood

Police escort members of the Ku Klux Klan to a KKK rally in New York City on October 23, 1999. As the nation's oldest right-wing extremist group, the Klan in its various manifestations has fomented hatred and committed murder and violence against blacks, Jews, and Catholics for more than a hundred years. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

at more than 3 million by the mid-1920s. Klan activity was no longer concentrated solely in the South; Indiana boasted the largest Klan organization in the country. As Klan violence and publicity increased in 1920 and 1921, Congress commenced an investigation as it had during the height of the Reconstruction Klan. At hearings in Washington, D.C., Simmons charmed Congress, excusing the acts of terror as the work of small, rogue Klan groups. After the hearings, Klan membership continued to grow.

Although traditional concepts of gender and chivalry constituted primary tenets of the Ku Klux Klan movement, women played a crucial role during the second era of the Klan. Critical to the success of the Klan, the Women's Ku Klux Klan movement helped bring in new members and normalize the movement. These groups, often made up of the wives of Klan members, organized community functions such as Klan baseball games, picnics, and parades. These social gatherings brought new members to the Klan and presented to the public an image of a wholesome organization. For those in and out of the movement, these activities normalized the Klan. A picnic or a fair made the Klan seem normal and benign, thus decreasing the stigma associated with a violent, vigilante movement. Klanswomen also acted against the Klan's enemies. Their tactics consisted of rumor, gossip, and public demonstrations. Klanswomen presented their beliefs as moral and symbolic issues, attempting to obscure the political and violent nature of the male Ku Klux Klan. Most Klanswomen had a history in progressive endeavors, most often the suffrage and

temperance movements. These movements grew out of a defensive effort by white women to preserve white social status and political power from newly enfranchised immigrants and African Americans. For women in these movements, joining the Klan simply meant taking the next step in a long fight to protect their social status.

In 1922, Hiram Evans, a dentist from Dallas, Texas, became the Klan's Imperial Wizard. At this time, Klan activity moved from the violent to the political. The Klan threw its massive network behind political candidates across the country. Alabama, California, Georgia, and Oregon featured governors elected with the Klan's backing. U.S. senators from Indiana and Texas openly professed their Klan membership, and just before his appointment as U.S. Supreme Court justice, Hugo Black renounced his Klan membership. At the Democratic convention of 1924, Klan members arrived in New York City hoping to play an essential role in nominating the presidential candidate. Instead, fistfights broke out between the Democratic Klansmen of the South and West and the Catholic, anti-Prohibitionist Democrats of the East. Despite the fiasco in New York City, Klan candidates fared well in the election, winning Senate seats and governorships in Colorado, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, and Oklahoma. In 1925, 40,000 Klansmen marched in full regalia down Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, D.C.

By 1928, however, Klan membership had dwindled to just several hundred thousand members. Legal battles between Evans, Clarke, and Simmons over Klan copyright ownership cost the organization credibility and prestige. More damaging was the revelation that Klan leaders had not paid taxes on any of the enormous profits they had made. Finally, prominent Klan leaders found themselves caught in scandals. D.C. Stephenson, the leader of the Klan in Indiana, went to jail convicted of second-degree murder in 1925. Press coverage no longer worked in the Klan's favor: headlines describing Klan atrocities revolted the public, damaging the organization's popularity. While the Klan lost the favor of many Americans, self-destruction only partially explains the Klan's demise. Social change had slowed by the mid-1920s. The social unrest and economic instability of the early 1920s gave way to almost a decade of uninterrupted economic growth and social stability. The turmoil that had spurred labor unrest, political radicalism, social and racial migration, and sexual freedom had begun to level off. This calming of the nation negated the need for the Klan's reactionary vision. Americans realized that the Red Scare did not result in a Communist revolution, and many rediscovered their religious roots during the revivalist movement. The Klan continued to rail against Communists during the Great Depression, but by the 1940s the Klan had died its second death. Its total victims during its second era can never be known, but rough estimates for particular states list about 1,000 assault victims in Texas and Oklahoma, more than 100 in each state of Florida, Georgia, and Alabama, and more than 20 in North Carolina.

The Klan After 1954

The U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* marked the beginning of the modern civil rights era in the United States. For the next fifteen years people across the nation fought for the civil rights of African Americans. In the process, legal segregation would die as Congress passed legislation aimed at ensuring equality. Many white southerners saw this movement as a death knell to their society and culture. Southern society had remained segregated and dominated by whites; little had changed since Democrats "redeemed" the South and ended Reconstruction. When U.S. citizens unleashed a deluge of activism aimed at integrating southern society, white southern men once again turned to the Ku Klux Klan to push back the forces of social change.

For this third incarnation of the Klan, there would be no national organization—local Klans formed and acted of their own volition. The symbols and tactics of the Klan remained: burning crosses, white hoods, and violent acts committed at night. Law enforcement often approved of Klan activities, and occasionally participated in them. Fires, stabbings, and beatings of blacks, including civil rights activists, were common across the South. Spurned by the middle class and business communities, Klan members relied solely on violence to intimidate and even kill civil rights activists. Bombing became a favorite weapon of Klansmen: between 1956 and 1963 they were responsible for over 125 bombings of churches, homes, and synagogues across the South. The most infamous bombing occurred in 1963 when a Klan bomb exploded at the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, killing four black schoolgirls. In 1964, civil rights workers James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner disappeared near Philadelphia, Mississippi. Soon after their disappearance, the Federal Bureau of Investigation discovered that Klansmen had kidnapped the men, shot them each in the head, and buried their bodies in a dam. In 1965, four Klans-

men shot and killed Viola Liuzzo, a white woman from Detroit, Michigan, who had traveled to Alabama to aid in the civil rights movement.

Although the Klan committed notorious atrocities during the civil rights era, it never came close to the power or prestige of its previous incarnations. Outraged by the Klan, President Lyndon Johnson ordered federal prosecution of Klan members for violating the civil rights of U.S. citizens. Prosecution of Klan members continued during the 1970s and 1980s, making it difficult and dangerous for anyone to attempt another Klan revival.

By the late 1970s, most Americans would not tolerate sporadic Klan violence for fear it might lead to a revival of the hooded empire. Outraged by a 1979 attack on a Southern Christian Leadership Council march in Decatur, Alabama, a lawyer named Morris Dees founded Klanwatch, an initiative of the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) in Montgomery. During the 1980s, Klanwatch monitored the activities of KKK groups (since the FBI had ceased to do so) and enacted litigation for violating the civil rights of its victims. Dees based these lawsuits on civil rights legislation passed during the Reconstruction era. Along with the Decatur incident, Klanwatch pursued Klansmen who killed five anti-Klan protesters in Greensboro, North Carolina, and Klansmen who lynched an African American named Michael Donald in Mobile, Alabama.

Various Klans retaliated against Dees by sending him death threats and burning down the SPLC headquarters. Undeterred, the SPLC proved the guilt of the Decatur Klansmen, resulting in various fines, and mandated racial sensitivity training. Klanwatch efforts in North Carolina led to the federal indictment of Klans in that state. Finally, the SPLC pursued the United Klans of America (UKA) in connection with the Donald lynching. Eventually, the UKA was ordered to pay Donald's mother $7 million in damages. Unable to do so, the UKA turned over its headquarters to her. By the late 1980s, Dees and the SPLC had left many local Klans throughout Alabama, Georgia, and North Carolina bankrupt and near collapse.

In March 2002, an Alabama jury convicted Bobby Frank Cherry, a former Klansman, of first-degree murder for the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church bombing of 1963 that killed four African-American schoolgirls. Cherry was sentenced to life in prison. Despite prosecution and widespread public disapproval, modern Ku Klux Klan groups, largely reorganized as right-wing, paramilitary groups, remain scattered across the rural United States.

Paul Rubinson

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Militia Movement

The right-wing U.S. militia movement is and has been a fairly narrow movement to arm citizens, form paramilitary groups, and train these groups to defend themselves, their families, and their communities from the threat of governmental oppression. Indeed, one working definition of militia groups suggests that militia groups are "any group of three or more persons organized for the stated purpose of defending their rights and property from tyrannical government. Such a group must also engage in paramilitary training and/or maneuvers to prepare for 'unlawful' behavior on the part of government agents. Finally, the group must also call itself 'a militia' and consider its legal right to organize and train as a militia to be specified under the Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution." However, the militia movement is typically referred to as the militant arm of a broader Patriot movement that includes groups as diverse as the John Birch Society, Radical Common Law groups, Liberty Lobby, strict Constitutionalists, and anti-tax protesters, among others. This article examines the precursor groups and ideas that gave birth to right-wing militia groups in the 1990s, the evolution of the movement, and its current status as well as future prospects. Questions to be addressed include who participates in the movement, what do they do (political behavior as well as group social activity, training, etc.), what ties do they have to mainstream political groups (i.e., land rights, hunting groups, National Rifle Association, etc.), and how has government responded to these groups, with a particular focus on law enforcement efforts.

Movement Roots and Precursor Groups

From the establishment of the American colonies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Americans have generally not trusted government. In fact, the American colonies essentially used fairly small paramilitary units to engage in a guerrilla war against a faraway government they viewed as illegitimate and unrepresentative of their interests. The governmental system these early Americans constructed also reflected distrust of government, with many of the founders believing that "government is a necessary evil" that must have its authority limited by ensuring that power is dispersed among governmental institutions and across levels of government. In this way, no one person or group should be able to take the full reins of government and abuse its power.

This basic political culture is embedded in American society and politics, and can be viewed in modern debates over everything from social welfare policy to government regulation of access to and use of firearms. And although the rise of the modern state has created a national government that has ensured the nation's common defense during world wars, the Cold War, and the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, there is still a conception among Americans that individuals have a right, if not an obligation, to arm themselves for the nation's common defense, as well as the defense of themselves, their families, and their property. Fears concerning both the inability of the national government to defend against Communism and power-grabs of the United Nations, as well as the potential threat posed by the federal government to American citizens, have led some to believe that all Americans, but especially white men, have an obligation to arm and train themselves against evil forces, foreign or domestic. The right-wing militia movement in America is rooted in a belief that the militia movement began and operates under some basic antigovernment and self-defense principles that have been widely accepted by some in this country for over 200 years.

Precursor Groups and the Foundations of Militia Movement Beliefs 1930–1990

Citizen militias are only the most recent manifestation of paramilitary right-wing extremist groups in the United States. In fact, paramilitary right-wing groups have a long history in the United States. The first such groups formed after the Civil War and generally took on some variation of a Ku Klux Klan (KKK) name. The KKK arose from the hardships created for whites by the Civil War, and citizen militias too have risen in response to threats, both real and perceived, such as the "attack" on white male privilege and the economic uncertainty created by competition in a global marketplace.

Throughout its rise in the late 1860s and its second surge in the early 1900s, the Klan typically operated as a paramilitary group, arming and training its members to harass, injure, and kill African Americans and white sympathizers throughout the South. And although the Klan did not use military uniforms at the time, the white robes and hoods clearly identified members as part of a distinct organization. But the use of paramilitary structure by factions of the KKK was most evident beginning in the 1970s as the "New Klan" adopted military garb and structure under the guidance of David Duke. Further, it was also during the 1970s that the KKK began recruiting from military bases for the first time—a practice emulated by the militia movement in the 1990s.

Citizen militia groups also share characteristics of another movement that arose during a period of economic uncertainty and social unrest. During the 1930s, some Nazi "Shirt" groups, such as William Dudley Pelley's Silver Shirts, were created based on a semimilitary structure. Fears over a Communist invasion of the United States during the height of the Cold War also led to the formation of new far-right paramilitary groups, and these groups can be said to be the true grandfathers of the 1990s militia movement—the Minutemen and the Secret Army Organization (SAO).

The SAO formed as a secretive paramilitary group in 1967. However, the group remained small and operated solely in Southern California through 1972. SAO was far more aggressive than the Minutemen, and frequently engaged in espionage of left-wing groups, raised money through criminal activity, and used physical violence against its perceived enemies more frequently. Although law enforcement had not infiltrated the group as much as they had the Minutemen, SAO's violent actions quickly meant most of its members were taken off the streets for common criminal violations.

Robert DePugh is reported to have obtained the idea for developing paramilitary units in the 1960s during a duck-hunting trip. One hunter commented

ROBERT DEPUGH (1923–)

Robert DePugh is a long-standing right-wing activist who was born and raised in Missouri. He is best known for creating the Minutemen in the 1960s. The Minutemen were a paramilitary group formed to protect citizens from a Communist invasion. DePugh and his followers believed that Communists had infiltrated the federal government so completely that they would be able to overrun the country without resistance from the U.S. military. Most scholars believe that the Minutemen served as the godfather to the 1990s militia movement. DePugh served in the military during World War II, but was discharged for persistent psychological problems. In 1953, he founded a company called Biolab Corporation and produced food supplements.

In 1960, DePugh's disgust with the United States' handling of Fidel Castro in Cuba led him to form the Minutemen. The Minutemen were designed to resist a Communist invasion by stockpiling and training with weapons, but they also developed a spy network for tracking Communist activities in the United States, especially in the halls of government. DePugh brought his Minutemen together at a California training camp in 1964. His paramilitary activities led leaders of the John Birch Society to believe he wanted to take over the organization, and the subsequent infighting led DePugh to split with the group and form a new political party called the Patriotic Party.

Although the Minutemen remained small, their secretive cells and calls for violence led federal law enforcement to take notice. Agents infiltrated the group, and their activities eventually led to firearms and robbery charges against DePugh. DePugh was imprisoned from 1969 to 1973, during which the organization he had created collapsed. DePugh spent the remainder of the 1970s starting and running several businesses in Missouri. By the 1980s, he tried to reassert himself into right-wing politics, but he was no longer held in the same reverence. In disgust, DePugh declared retirement from politics and focused on his businesses. His current whereabouts are unknown.

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that the hunting group had enough training to survive in the wild and fight a guerrilla war against invading Russian forces. DePugh reportedly loved the idea and subsequently organized the Minutemen in Missouri and began training camps in the early 1960s. Like militias, DePugh organized his Minutemen into secret cells of five to twenty-five members, armed them heavily, and trained them for war against perceived threats of invasions by Communist forces. Although DePugh maintained a national headquarters for the group, only one member of each cell would have contact with DePugh or other cells, and the national organization would simply recruit members for individual cells. This structure, which was adopted by some left-wing terrorist groups in the 1970s, was intended to make infiltration difficult, if not impossible. Also like militias, Minutemen trained on weekends and stored huge caches of food, weapons, and other supplies to ensure long-term survival when the Communist invasion occurred.

The Minutemen believed the federal government had become far too liberal in its orientations, and they even threatened members of Congress who voted to dismantle the House Un-American Activities Committee, a special committee that had been investigating Communist infiltration of the federal government. Ironically, it was testimony before that committee by a Minutemen member and Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) informant that led to government infiltration of the group and its eventual downfall. The informant, Roy Frankhauser, had been a KKK member and reportedly tipped the FBI on three occasions when Minutemen cells had attempted to attack their perceived left-wing enemies through bombings and assassinations. FBI and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) infiltration of the group and the group's violent activities eventually led to the arrest and convictions of many members and DePugh. Once DePugh was in prison on weapons charges in the early 1970s, the basis for the movement collapsed. Although DePugh had often claimed to have 25,000 members in his organization, he once admitted that membership had peaked at 600, and law enforcement estimates placed the figure at 500.

Like militias, both the Minutemen and the SAO had espoused distrust of the federal government and were adamant about their right to bear arms. Indeed, DePugh once argued that the terrorist acts of the Minutemen were designed to "provoke the government into taking harsh and repressive measures against the general population so people will be turned against the government." And Minutemen literature in 1964 stated: "The time is past when the American people might have saved themselves by traditional political processes. The hopes of millions of Americans that the Communist tide could be stopped with ballots instead of bullets have turned to dust." However, right-wing paramilitary groups that would arise in the 1970s and 1980s were far more focused on the federal government as the main enemy, beliefs that the militia movement adopted.

The first such 1970s group was the Posse Comitatus (a Latin term meaning "the power of the county"). The Posse Comitatus actually began as two different groups formed by two different leaders in 1969—Henry L. (Mike) Beach and William Potter Gale. Beach, a former member of the Silver Shirt Legion, a pre–World War II American Fascist organization, formed a Posse group in Portland, Oregon, as a branch of his Citizen Law Enforcement and Research Committee. Gale, a follower of the new Christian Identity movement, formed the U.S. Christian Posse Association at nearly the same time. The Posse was organized around the protection of Second Amendment rights, a belief that the highest form of legitimate government was the county, with the sheriff at the lead, and typically espoused racist and anti-Semitic views. Posse members demonstrated their beliefs by refusing to pay state and federal taxes; a member, they believed, asserted his "sovereign" status as an individual by formally canceling government identification, such as Social Security cards, driver's licenses, marriage licenses, and vehicle licenses. Ridding themselves of these ties to the government established their "sovereign" citizen status, and thereby they were not subject to most government laws and regulations.

This legal fiction was based on a notion that the only true U.S. sovereign citizens were white Anglo-Saxon Christians, as opposed to nonwhites and Jews, who were considered citizens only because of the unconstitutional Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Indeed, the Posse believed that the United States was not a democracy but instead a White Christian Republic. The refusal to maintain government identification and pay taxes led many Posse members into sometimes violent conflicts with law enforcement, and subsequently, to many members being jailed. Militia groups have copied the tactics of the Posse, especially in states like Michigan and Montana. Militia analyst Eckard Toy argues: "Posse members combined the survivalist's defensive posture with an aggressive effort to intimidate public officials through legal challenges and the public display of weapons. Located primarily in the geographic heart-

MARK KOERNKE (1957–)

(a.k.a. "Mark from Michigan")

Mark Koernke, who organized the secretive and well-equipped Michigan Militia-at-Large in 1994, is perhaps best known for his short-wave radio broadcasts (*Intelligence Report*), public access cable show, speeches around the country, and videotapes designed to recruit for militia groups. Born in 1957, Koernke served in the U.S. Army Reserves during the 1970s and early 1980s. After leaving the military, Koernke worked as a custodian at the University of Michigan until the mid-1990s when his militia recruiting activity provided enough income.

Koernke was one of the best-known leaders of the militia movement in the mid-1990s and deserves credit for the rapid growth in groups from 1994 to 1996. He got his start as a spokesperson for the right wing in 1991 when he served as a replacement speaker at a rally for fringe presidential candidate James "Bo" Gritz. Koernke soon began speaking at right-wing rallies in Michigan and in 1993, he released his first video, *America in Peril,* in which he outlined New World Order conspiracy theories about the federal government. The video was widely distributed at gun shows and survivalist expos, bringing Koernke national attention.

Although Koernke had been arrested on weapons and assault charges at various times, and lived underground for a period in the late 1990s, it was not until 2000 that his paranoia led him to jail. Koernke was mistaken for a bank robber, but instead of allowing the police to stop his car, Koernke started a high-speed chase that led to his arrest and conviction on charges of fleeing and eluding police, resisting arrest, and assault with a dangerous weapon. In April 2001, Koernke began serving what would be at least a three-year sentence. Although Koernke is currently in prison, his wife and son continue to send his message through public speeches, short-wave radio, and the Internet.

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land and the Pacific slope states, the Posse is a decentralized association of dozens of small groups." Stern offers multiple examples of militias using the same types of intimidation tactics and organizational structure, including ending ties with government to demonstrate sovereign status.

Modern militias are also similar to the Minutemen and the Posse in their ideologies. Toy argues: "seeking a wilderness haven . . . Minutemen and members of the Posse sought anonymity, armed themselves, and prepared for Armageddon. Varieties of religious millennialism blended easily with negative attitudes toward federal authority, which was often perceived as a subversive conspiracy of Jews and Communists." At its peak in 1975, the Posse claimed seventy-eight chapters in twenty-three states, and perhaps 30,000 members, mostly in rural midwestern and northwestern states.

The Posse's growth coincided with the emergence of a broader movement in the 1970s that came to be known as the Patriot Movement. This movement contained elements of the New Right that was emerging in American national politics, a growing survivalist Movement of disaffected white males, upset and terrified over the condition of the United States following the Vietnam War, and a resurgence of the Christian Identity Movement. The Christian Identity Movement originally began in 1946 with Wesley Swift's establishment of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian in California. Swift also adopted the paramilitary organization idea by forming a branch of his church called the Christian Defense League. After Swift's death in 1970, two of his followers created additional paramilitary units in California and Idaho. One follower, Richard G. Butler, copied many survivalists by moving his group to northern Idaho and creating the Church of Jesus Christ of the Aryan Nations. His group used both military dress and ritual, but most important, the group held a series of congresses for members of the Far Right, including neo-Nazis, KKK members, and others. The purpose of the 1983 congress was to create connections between right-wing groups in the Pacific states and the midwestern states, especially Michigan.

The ideology of the contemporary militia groups corresponds quite closely to that of the Christian Identity Movement. Both movements are staunch opponents of taxation, federal government agencies, and gun control, and both use rural areas as bases of operation. According to Brent Smith, author of *Terrorism in America: Pipe Bombs and Pipe Dreams* (1994), the Christian Identity Movement is a right-wing umbrella organization, tied to which are the Aryan Nations, Arizona Patriots, Covenant, Sword, and Arm of the Lord (CSA), the Order, Posse Comitatus, White Patriot Party, Skinhead youth, and various factions of the Ku Klux Klan.

Following the death of Posse activist Gordon Kahl in a shootout with federal agents in 1983, a few extremist members of the Christian Identity Movement

created the Order and embarked on a campaign of terrorism directed against liberals and the U.S. federal government and designed to raise money for the creation of a separate white state. The leader of the Order, Robert Mathews, had also formed a precursor right-wing paramilitary group called the Sons of Liberty in 1972 that conducted its training in the Arizona desert.

The forces driving the rise of paramilitary groups in the 1960s intertwined right-wing movements such as the Christian Identity Movement, the Patriot Movement, and the Survivalist Movement. Furthermore, the rural nature of these groups helped to expand their appeal in the 1980s as the farm crisis hit many families hard.

Government reacted to these paramilitary groups in a number of ways. All told, some seventy-five persons affiliated with a variety of these right-wing extremist groups were prosecuted for terrorist-related offenses in the 1980s. After committing a spree of illegal crimes, members of the Order were tracked down and eventually convicted for a number of crimes. Local, state, and federal law enforcement officials arrested a number of Posse, CSA, and KKK members on a variety of charges. In addition, twenty-four states passed laws outlawing paramilitary groups that train for the purpose of creating civil disturbance.

Most of these laws have three main components: (1) prevention of demonstrations on the use of deadly weapons for civil disorder, (2) prevention of assembling to train with or practice the use of weapons for civil disorder, and (3) definitions of civil disorder and the persons exempt from the statute, such as law enforcement officials. Toy suggests that these laws, combined with hate crime laws that punish crimes motivated by racial or ethnic bias, as well as federal and state law enforcement efforts, were the main reason for the demise of right-wing paramilitary groups in the late 1980s.

Citizen Militias: The Rebirth of Right-Wing Paramilitary Groups

From these earlier movements the citizen militia movement arose in an almost linear progression. As author David H. Bennett argues, "The belief that the U.S. government is a vast conspiracy, the tool of the racial enemy, and that true patriots must engage in paramilitary training for the day of reckoning to come" binds these paramilitary groups together. These views were part of a larger paramilitary culture in which white men began to believe that government would not protect them and a man would not be strong enough to take on all the enemies by himself; thus "He needed a private militia."

Although the exact seed that created militias in the 1990s may never be known for certain, most observers credit a few individuals and several key events from the early 1990s that created both the environment and the leadership for the movement. The events include (1) the farm crisis of the 1980s, (2) the recession of the late 1980s–early 1990s, (3) unhappiness with the Bush administration's inability to "finish the job" in the 1991 Gulf War and Bush's declaration of a New World Order—viewed by some as a signal for the start of a new world government in the United Nations, (4) the 1992 election of a perceived liberal Democrat in President Bill Clinton, (5) President Clinton's attacks on gun rights, including the passage of the Brady Bill and a new assault rifle ban in 1994, (6) the 1992 conflagration that erupted at Ruby Ridge, Idaho, when BATF agents attempted to arrest Randy Weaver on weapons charges, and (7) the tragic events at the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas, in 1993, starting again with a BATF raid and ending with FBI agents trying to put a stop to a two-month standoff.

These events contributed to a growing belief that the federal government would use any means necessary to maintain a perceived economic, social, and political order as well as undermine U.S. sovereignty through the implementation of a United Nations (UN)-directed dictatorship. Central to the maintenance of federal government control and eventual UN takeover was the systematic confiscation of individually owned firearms—the very weapons by which citizens might protect themselves from a tyrannical federal government or from a UN takeover. Conspiracy theorists further argued that the UN takeover of the United States would be directed by the Illuminati, a secret conspiracy group, or by some type of secret ruling Jewish elite.

Capitalizing on these events, the militia movement arose from the membership, ideology, and leaders of earlier paramilitary organizations. In many areas, however, their rhetoric was and remains less extreme, allowing militias to recruit more politically moderate members. Most militia groups are separate organizations with no overarching organization or structure to tie groups together. Issues, however, appear to be the tie that binds militia groups together and with the paramilitary groups that came before them.

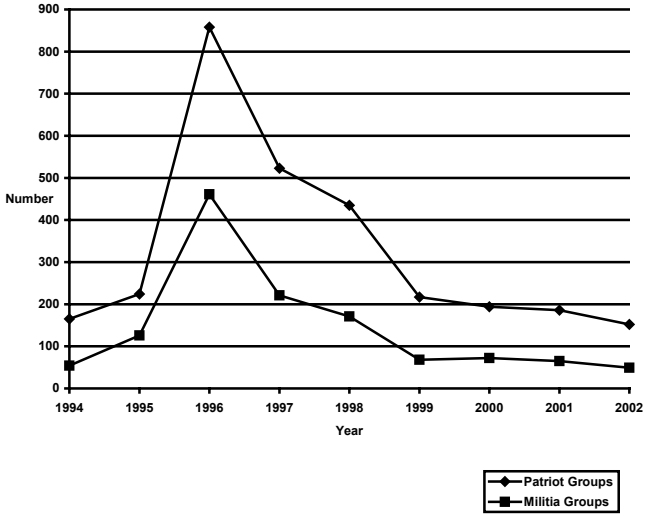
One particular figure that appears to have been key in the development of a militia movement is former Green Beret James "Bo" Gritz, who also had ties to the KKK. Gritz helped to mediate between authorities and the Weaver family at Ruby Ridge, and appears to have helped end the standoff. At the time Gritz was building a survivalist camp in central Idaho and traveled across the country conducting weapons and survivalist training. Gritz and others argued that the disaster at Ruby Ridge was proof of a federal government out of control. Some of these leaders, drawn from violent right-wing and racist groups of the 1980s, such as the KKK and Aryan Nations, held a meeting in Estes Park, Colorado, in October 1992 following Ruby Ridge to discuss a response to federal government actions. About 150 people attended. It was at this meeting that the idea for private militia groups was developed as a means of protecting citizens from events like Ruby Ridge. The key leader to suggest the militia concept at the meeting appears to have been Larry Pratt, a retired state legislator from Virginia who later became president of Gun Owners of America. In its tamest sense, right-wing leaders were calling for the formation of militias to act as an armed "neighborhood watch" group.

Following the 1992 meeting, no militia groups immediately formed, but the seed had been planted for the creation of a militia movement. During 1993 and 1994, the federal government appeared to confirm the worst fears of far-right leaders with the events at Waco and the election of President Clinton and his pursuit and successful passage of the first significant gun control laws in twenty years. Some of the first-known militia groups subsequently formed in early 1994, including the Militia of Montana and the Michigan Militia.

As more groups formed throughout 1994 and 1995, Bo Gritz began traveling the country speaking to existing groups and groups of men seeking to form new groups, calling for the execution of the "tyrants" responsible for the Branch Davidian debacle at Waco, Texas, as well as Ruby Ridge. By late 1994 and early 1995, estimates of the number of persons belonging to citizen militias ranged from 10,000 to 40,000 across thirty states. However, some private groups put the number at 100,000 persons, and the BATF estimated that by the end of 1995 militia groups were operating in forty states. At the time, leaders of the militia movement estimated their members in the millions and claimed there were groups operating in all fifty states. Although exact figures will never be known, it does seem clear that by 1995 the movement claimed tens of thousands of members and was active across much of the country in over 100 armed groups. States with the most activity were Michigan, Montana, and California. Most groups have tended to be fairly small, with fewer than fifty members. For example, the Washington State Militia, from Deming, Washington, maintained ten to fifteen members in 1995 and 1996, but often held meetings with visiting members of other militia groups that put meeting attendance at twenty-five to thirty persons. The Michigan Militia, which often claimed to have over 10,000 members in 1995, could never document more than fifty to seventy-five regular members participating in activities, such as paramilitary training.

Figure 1 tracks the growth and decline in the number of militia groups and groups involved in the broader patriot movement, which includes Common Law Courts, Christian Identity groups, and the like. The trends indicate rapid growth between 1994 and 1996, but a fairly steady decline thereafter. Interestingly, the numbers of militia groups and patriot groups grew after the April 19, 1995, bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City, even though many in the news media suggested that groups became sparse following the bombing. In fact, many militia groups did go underground after the bombing, but largely only in terms of speaking with the news me-

Figure 1. Patriot and Militia Groups, 1994 to 2002



Note: The count of Patriot Groups includes militia groups as well as right-wing survivalist groups, Radical Common Law groups, Liberty Lobby, strict Constitutionalists, and anti-tax protestors, among others.
Sources: Data compiled by the author from the Southern Poverty Law Center, *American Militias: Rebellion, Racism, and Religion* (1996), and *A Force Upon the Plain: the American Militia Movement and the Politics of Hate* (1996).

JOHN TROCHMANN (1943–)

John Trochmann was a cofounder (with his wife, brother, and nephew) of the Militia of Montana (a.k.a. MOM) and has been the most visible leader of the group. Trochmann was born in 1943, grew up in Minnesota, and served in the U.S. Navy during the height of the Cold War as a mechanic and a flight engineer. In the 1960s, he left the military and returned to Minnesota, where he established a business as a mechanic and ran a racecar track.

In 1988, Trochmann followed his brother David in a move to Montana. Although Trochmann apparently always had an interest in politics and a firm distrust of the federal government, it was not until 1990 that he began speaking publicly about threats to American liberty. During that year Trochmann attended an Aryan Nations Congress at the group's compound in Idaho and appears to have supported the group's white supremacist beliefs. Trochmann downplayed his ties to Aryan Nations, but Aryan Nations leader Richard Butler has said that that Trochmann had been to the group's compound frequently and that he had helped Butler and others to write rules of conduct for the compound.

Following the events at Ruby Ridge and Waco, Trochmann's view that individual liberty was in peril became solidified. However, he also believed that few Americans were paying much attention. He responded by moving to Alaska with the intent of avoiding the reach of the federal government. But Trochmann quickly realized that Waco had inspired some antigovernment activists to begin speaking out. He also saw the media turn more critical of the government. Trochmann decided to return to Montana and put his political beliefs into action by helping to found a new paramilitary group that could both provide information and physically defend itself from the government. MOM was subsequently formed in January 1994. Trochmann soon began traveling the country promoting the notion of citizen militias, and MOM began selling and distributing literature and videotapes on the dangerous activities of the federal government. By December 1994, MOM had also sponsored a five-stop speaking tour in Washington and Montana with Mark Koernke (from the Michigan Militia), whose videos and speeches were key for recruiting new militia members and forming new militia groups.

In 1995, local authorities arrested Trochmann for conspiring to interfere with justice—a charge that was based on Trochmann's affiliation with a member of the Montana Freemen. The charges were later dropped for lack of evidence. Despite the arrest and continuing claims about his racist ties, Trochmann continues to be the main spokesman for MOM, traveling the country and appearing in videotapes and literature addressing issues as diverse as "surviving martial law" to learning the basics of first aid in the field.

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dia. Also, the number of groups grew slightly in the eighteen months prior to the new millennium, perhaps fueled by fears of pending disaster with the Y2K bug in many computer systems.

Militia groups in the 1990s were quite diverse in their membership, tactics, and activity, ranging from relatively peaceful organizations helping with disaster relief to groups focused almost solely on paramilitary training. Leaders tended to range from former KKK members to former U.S. military personnel to unemployed shoe salesmen. Some groups, such as the Militia of Montana (aka MOM), led by John Trochmann, reportedly had ties with racist and anti-Semitic groups like the Aryan Nations. But leaders of other militia groups, such as the South Carolina militia, went out of their way to dissociate themselves from racists and in some cases, purged their membership ranks of racist sympathizers.

Although most militia groups have focused on holding meetings, recruiting members, training members, and communicating informally with other militia groups, some groups have also attempted to offer services to their communities, such as shoveling snow for the elderly. Some groups have even participated in relatively mainstream political activities. For example, militia groups had publicly supported U.S. Representative Helen Chenoweth (R-ID) and her strong stances against environmentalists, environmental regulations, federal law enforcement agents, restrictions on the use of federal land, and even her congressional hearings on the existence of so-called black helicopters that militia groups insisted were the first wave of a UN takeover. Another interesting example occurred in New Mexico. Following the governor's veto of a 1996 bill to enhance penalties for hate crimes, the Albuquerque City Council considered a similar measure. Both the state measure and the local proposal were opposed by a coalition of conservative groups, including the New Mexico Christian Coalition and several members of the New Mexico Militia, who

provided testimony against the policy proposals. However, the examples of mainstream political participation by militia groups and their members are few, and most groups have in fact encouraged their members not to engage in any mainstream interactions with government, including holding a driver's license.

Most militia groups formed by first establishing a broad-based meeting to introduce the philosophy and purpose of militia groups. For nearly all groups, this entailed outlining a narrow interpretation of the U.S. Constitution, opposition to federal taxes, a belief that the county is the highest form of legitimate government, and opposition to gun control. Additional elements of the projected philosophy often included discussions of a UN-led New World Order, environmental regulation and extremism practiced by environmental activists, adherence to a Christian belief system, and opposition to morally objectionable behavior, such as legalized abortion. Many militia leaders also emphasized distributive justice premised on the notion that people should be rewarded in accordance with the value of their labor. This view is grounded in the Protestant work ethic and is a reflection of their Christian fundamentalist beliefs. Central to this ideology, then, is opposition to such federal government programs as Affirmative Action and welfare. Consequently, the movement's desire to maintain government fiscal responsibilities at the local level has been consistent with their anti-tax, anti-federal government sentiments.

The next step usually involved the establishment of localized autonomous cells, the form of leaderless resistance practiced by the Minutemen and often the Posse Comitatus. Each cell might range from five to twenty-five persons. Each cell is then responsible for building its own cache of weapons and supplies, as well as engaging in training. However, this general pattern is based on those groups that have allowed for some amount of public visibility, and more secretive groups may have been formed or operate in different ways.

Since 1994, recruitment of members for the groups has taken many forms, including flyers posted in public, announcements through right-wing shortwave radio broadcasts, announcements in right-wing periodicals, homemade videotapes and pamphlets (often distributed at gun shows), and word of mouth. However, the movement quickly understood the power of the Internet and World Wide Web to advertise philosophy and recruit members. The Internet has also served as an inexpensive way to communicate quickly with existing members and groups across the country.

Both leaders and members of the militia movement have largely been white males, but there have been a few female, African-American, and Native American leaders and members. With few exceptions, the movement's base has been rural, with centers in small towns. Participants tend to have some experience with military or police training, but most participants' experience with firearms was obtained through sport hunting. The movement has tended to draw participants from the lower middle class, and members tend to have high school educations, but little or no college education.

Thus, the characteristics of the typical militia member do not differ significantly from right-wing groups of the 1970s and 1980s. In his study of terrorism, Smith noted that 1970s and 1980s right-wing terrorists tended to possess below-average education and income levels. Only 12 percent possessed a college degree, and 33 percent had a GED equivalent or less. Furthermore, many of those in Smith's study were unemployed or impoverished self-employed workers, which is consistent with what is known about militia members.

In the 1990s, the media and Congress also focused on a perception that militias tend to attract and recruit Vietnam vets. Writer Peter Doskoch refers to this as the "Rambo fantasy." Indeed, some commanders of militias, such as "Bo" Gritz of Idaho, are veterans of that conflict. But the general pattern appears to fit a recruitment of persons with military experience, especially veterans of the 1991 Gulf War. Furthermore, higher levels of militia activity across the states have been associated with having more liberal representation in the state legislature, higher levels of membership in the National Rifle Association, and a greater propensity for violence or terroristic behavior in a state.

Oklahoma City and the Aftermath

On April 19, 1995, at 9:02 A.M., a bomb decimated the Alfred P. Murrah Building in Oklahoma City. The investigation, trials, and convictions that followed revealed that two American citizens, Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols, were responsible for the deadliest act of political violence on American soil up to that historical point. McVeigh and Nichols, who both espoused ideologies consistent with the Patriot movement and who had attended militia group meetings, were eventually deemed responsible for the deaths of 168 men, women, and children. The date of the bomb-

In the deadliest terrorist act on American soil in the twentieth century, a car bomb destroyed the Alfred P. Murrah Building in Oklahoma City on April 19, 1995, killing 168 men, women, and children. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

ing had been selected because it was the second anniversary of the firestorm in Waco, Texas, that killed most of the Branch Davidians who had held the FBI at bay. Although McVeigh and Nichols appear to have acted alone, their ties to militia groups led to intensive media and congressional investigations of the militia movement, which in turn spawned a significant crackdown by law enforcement agencies on militia groups and their members.

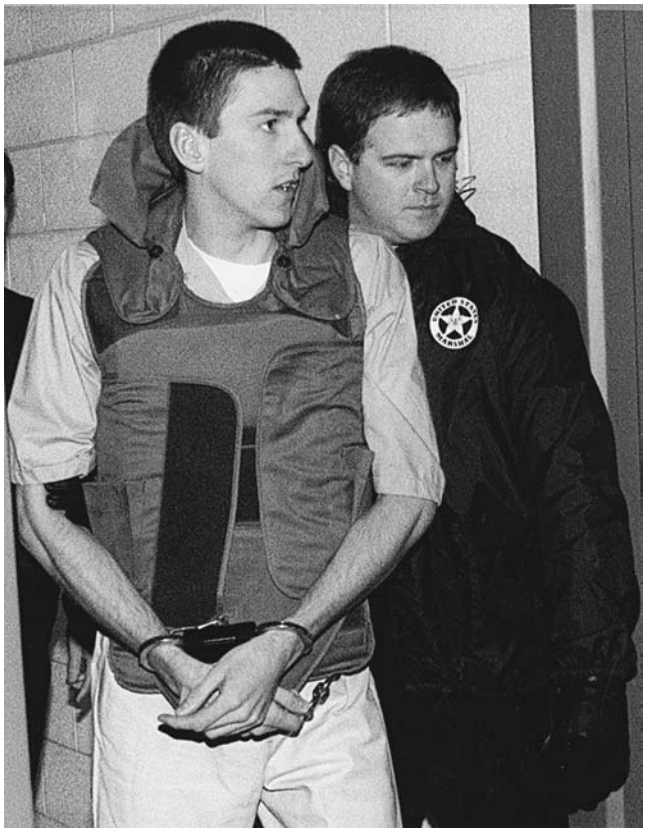
Following the bombing, some of the militias still held their meetings openly, while others went underground in light of increased surveillance, infiltration, and threats of harassment and arrest on the part of state and federal government authorities. As noted in Figure 1, the number of militia groups actually rose in the months following the bombing, but by 1997 militia activity began to decline. Much of the decline can be attributed to significant law enforcement efforts against the militia movement, with intensive investigations leading to significant arrests across the country. However, law enforcement officials in some states, such as Michigan and Wisconsin, reported no decline in militia group membership figures between 1996 and 1997. Moreover, as the number of militia groups declined, the number of hate groups, including neo-Nazi, KKK, and Christian identity groups, increased

after a sharp decline from the early to mid-1990s. This pattern suggests that hardened members of militias may have fled the groups because of law enforcement scrutiny and joined like-minded hate groups in the late 1990s. But evidence supporting this trend is anecdotal at best.

Even as the number of militia groups and members appeared to decline, in some ways their presence increased. As the Internet became more popular in the late 1990s, more and more militia groups found it to be a convenient bully pulpit. For example, the Minnesota Minuteman Militia created a sophisticated website from a small Minnesota town (less than sixty people) that stated the group's mission as follows: "to uphold and protect, from enemies foreign and domestic, the original constitutions of the state of Minnesota and the united States of America" (the group does not capitalize the 'U' in United). The Web site displays "three men in assault garb with automatic weapons, about to break through a door. They are wearing U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms jackets and United Nations Armbands." Militias seem to understand that the Web sites give them credibility, and between 1996 and 1999 the number of militia Web sites more than doubled.

Infiltration and pursuit of militias appeared to have the greatest impact, leading to paranoia and finger-pointing within militia groups. Those who stayed in the militias following Oklahoma City appeared to be more willing to take violent offensive action against the federal government, making them easier targets for law enforcement officials. Examples of law enforcement crackdowns include the 1996 arrests of seven members of the West Virginia militia for plotting to blow up an FBI facility and transport explosives over state lines, the 1996 arrests and convictions of three leaders of the Militia-at-Large for the Republic of Georgia for conspiracy to construct explosive devices for distribution among militia groups, the July 1996 arrests of twelve members of an Arizona militia group called Viper Team on weapons and explosive violations—ten pled guilty—and the July 1996 arrests of four members and the leader of the Washington State Militia on weapons and explosives charges.

The BATF's arrests of the Viper militia members represented the largest bust of a right-wing terrorist group in the United States since the Order in the 1980s. BATF agents had infiltrated the group and discovered that they were stockpiling firearms and explosive devices, and conducting surveillance and intelligence-gathering missions targeting state and federal government buildings, as well as intelligence on law enforcement threats to the group. The Viper militia had been training in Arizona since 1994, often developing and exploding devices that might be used in a future attack against the government. The group had also developed lists of political officials and liberal organizations and activists that should be targets for elimination. A partial listing of the items held by the group included almost 150 firearms, thousands of rounds of ammunition, over 1,200 pounds of explosives, grenades and launchers, body armor, gas masks, and surveillance videos of government buildings with narratives on bomb placement.



A U.S. marshal escorts accused Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh to a court hearing. McVeigh was later convicted and executed for the crime. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

At the end of 1996, four members of the Oklahoma Constitutional Militia were convicted and sentenced for construction and possession of explosives. One of the group's intended targets was a liberal antimilitia group. A Michigan militia member was arrested in March 1997 for making explosives which he planned to use on a Michigan federal building, Internal Revenue Service (IRS) building, televi-

sion station, and federal armory. In April 1997, agents in California arrested a militia member and fellow extremists with enough explosives to level three city blocks. A Texas militia group called the Republic of Texas began a standoff with state police in April 1997 after kidnapping a couple near their compound. Six members of the group were eventually arrested, and another was killed in a shootout with police. In July 1997 militia members were arrested after attempting to invade Fort Hood in Texas. The militia group had planned several army fort invasions to assassinate foreign troops that they believed were training for a U.S. takeover. In March 1998, several members of the North American Militia of Southwestern Michigan were arrested on firearms violations and were reportedly conspiring to bomb several federal buildings in the state.

In one bizarre case, four members of the 14th Regiment of the Indiana State Militia were arrested in 2000 after BATF agents discovered that members were selling drugs, planning the assassination of one of their own members, and trying to develop biological weapons and use those weapons to attack a controversial play that portrayed Jesus as homosexual. Finally, the infamous William Cooper, who had been a member of the militia group the Second Continental Army of the Republic, and who had used his publications and short-wave radio program to argue that the government had blown up the federal building in Oklahoma City and that mind-control devices were being used to establish the New World Order, was killed in a shootout with county police in November 2001. Cooper had been charged with federal tax evasion, bank fraud, and threats with a firearm. Just before sheriff's deputies tried to arrest Cooper, he sent e-mails to his friends stating that "I will . . . try to kill as many as I can before they kill me."

But there were other reasons for the decline in militia activity. Mark Potok of the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), a group that monitors extremist groups, suggests that "there are hundreds of men who got tired of dressing up in camos [camouflage outfits] and waiting for the revolution that never came, and now have gone back to watching TV with their families and drinking beer at home. . . . And the patriot groups, as a general proposition [became] more like hate groups. There's clearly a hardening of the movement. It's a leaner, meaner movement." Additional literature from the SPLC website suggests that militias have declined because (1) members of the militia movement are getting older and have been forced to devote more time to finding stable income sources, (2) hard-core members have gone underground and their activities are hidden from law enforcement and watchdog groups, and (3) some members have transferred their allegiance to more traditional "hate" groups, or new hate groups with racist ideologies.

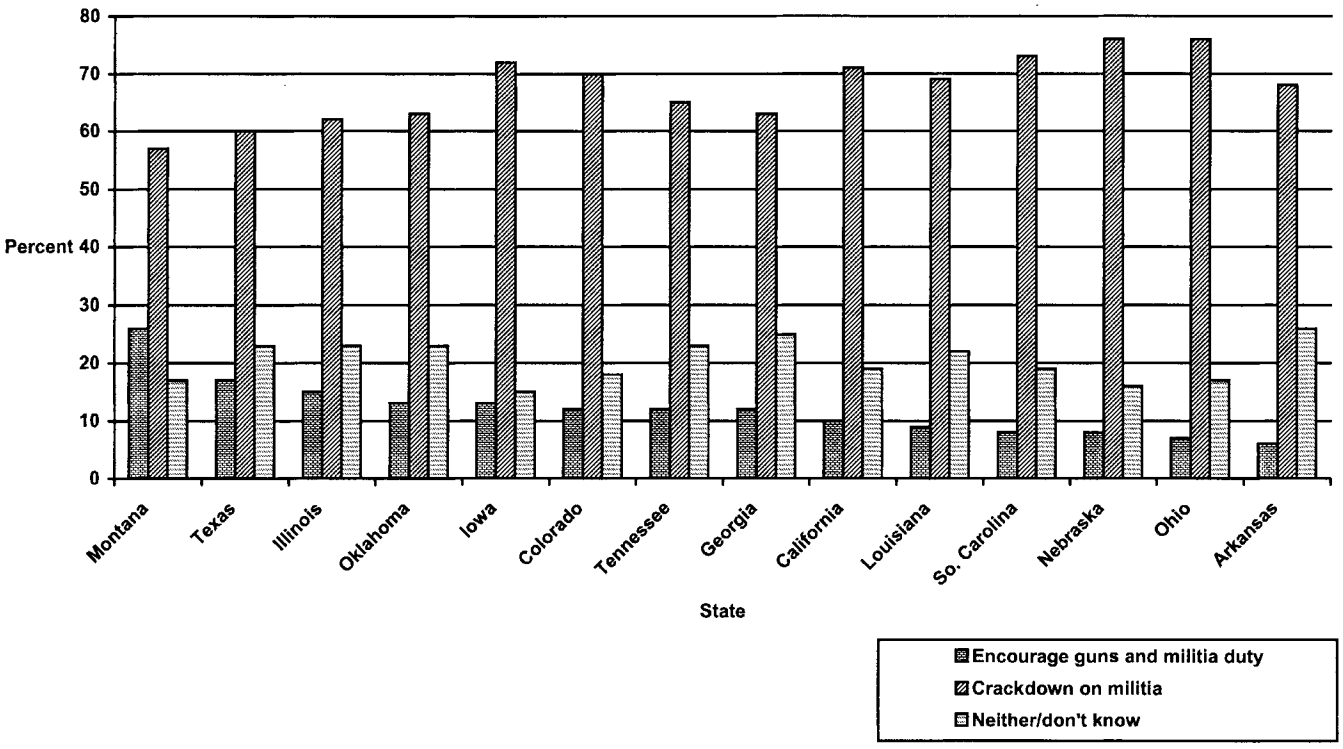
Public Opinion and Militias

Some observers believe that the decline in militias was also a result of declining public support, or at least growing opposition to armed groups of citizens training for a war with the government. Following the Oklahoma City bombing, public opinion began to more strongly support law enforcement crackdowns on militias, even though many Americans supported the principles espoused by militias. Support for crackdowns also varied by states. Between April and July 1995, an independent survey firm, Political/Media Research Inc., asked adults in several states to respond to militia-related survey questions. The variation in responses to one question was particularly interesting. The full question asked in each state was: "Which of the following statements comes closest to your view point: state government should encourage [state residents] to own guns because everyone should be equipped for "militia" duty, [or] the state should crack down on unregulated citizen militia?" Respondents could agree with either statement or indicate neither or don't know. The distribution of responses across a number of states is shown in Figure 2.

The survey results reveal several interesting patterns for the limited number of states available. First, across all states where the survey was conducted, clear majorities of adults support a law enforcement crackdown on militia groups—the lowest percentage of respondents supporting a crackdown was 57 percent in Montana. Second, even so, in each state at least 6 percent of respondents said that the statement "state government should encourage [state residents] to own guns because everyone should be equipped for 'militia' duty" was closest to their point of view. At this level of support, we should find about 20,000 militia supporters around the country. Finally, in some states, such as Montana, Texas, and Illinois, support for militias was much higher, ranging from 15 to 26 percent, suggesting these states would also have greater militia activity. Research on militia activity supports the fact that these states have relatively higher amounts of militia activity. As such, we can conclude that increased public support of militia groups translates into greater militia activity in a state, and vice versa.

National opinion polls on militia groups and mi-

Figure 2. Support for Militias or for a Government Crackdown on Militias by State, 1995



Note: Data compiled by the author from state surveys of adults conducted by Political/Media Research Inc. in May 1995. The Montana survey was conducted in April 1995 and the Oklahoma survey was conducted in July 1995. All samples are greater than 800 persons. The full question asked in each state was: "Which of the following statements comes closest to your view point: state government should encourage [state residents] to own guns because everyone should be equipped for "militia" duty, [or] the state should crackdown on unregulated citizen militia?"

litia activity also suggest some interesting trends. Responses to a number of surveys conducted by independent research firms between 1995 and 1998 are displayed in Table 1. When adults were asked whether they were sympathetic to a lot of the concerns voiced by militias in 1995, 13 percent said they were, while 82 percent said they were not. In 1996, slightly more people were sympathetic, and significantly fewer were not sympathetic. This shift tracks the growth in militias between 1995 and 1996. Furthermore, by 1998 a plurality of the public was sympathetic to the concerns raised by militias about the federal government, suggesting that militias had tapped into significant public discontent about the activities and size of the federal government, even as militia activity was declining.

About 19 percent of adults in 1998 disagreed that militias pose a threat and should be monitored, and fully 24 percent of the public believed that militias have the right to defend themselves against the federal government if the group has not broken any laws. In 1995 about 20 percent of the public did not believe that militias were racist or extremist, and they described militia members as patriots. Although clear majorities described militias as dangerous, crazy, or lacking in good intentions in 1995, a full 30 percent of the public did describe militias as well intentioned. Between 1995 and 1998, favorable opinions of militias did decline slightly, and the percentage of adults indicating that militias pose a threat increased significantly. Interestingly, and consistent with previous research, members of the National Rifle Association had a more favorable opinion of militias than the general population, and men had a more favorable opinion than women. Finally, although majorities thought the federal government should spy on these groups and/or force them to disband in 1995, over a quarter of the public disagreed with these statements, suggesting significant minority opposition to harsh government measures against militias.

In summary, although public support for militias declined in the 1990s and support for stronger government measures against militias tended to increase, the survey data also suggest that a significant minor-

TABLE 1. National Opinions Concerning Militia Groups, 1995 to 1998

Question	Agree	Disagree
Sympathetic to a lot of the militias' concerns (1995)	13%	82%
Sympathetic to a lot of the militias' concerns (1996)	16%	76%
Sympathetic to a lot of the militias' concerns about the federal government (1998)	49%	47%
Militia groups pose a threat and should be monitored (1998)	78%	19%
Militias that have not broken laws have a right to use force to defend themselves against the federal government (1998)	24%	70%
Militias have a racist or extremist agenda (1998)	74%	19%
Would describe militia members as patriots (1995)	21%	55%
Would describe militia members as dangerous (1995)	80%	11%
Would describe militia members as crazy (1995)	55%	33%
Would describe militias as well intentioned (1995)	30%	58%
Favorable opinion of militias (1995)	11%	65%
Favorable opinion of militias (NRA members only) (1995)	20%	55%
Favorable opinion of militias (1998)	9%	83%
Militias pose a threat (1995)	63%	26%
Militias pose a threat (1997)	85%	12%
Federal government should spy on these groups (1995)	68%	26%
Federal government should force groups to disband (1995)	36%	56%

Notes: Data compiled by the author based on national surveys of adults conducted by independent research firms and described in *Polling the Nation, 1986–1998* (1999). Those respondents indicating "don't know" or refusing to answer are not included in the percentages listed. Exact question wording varies slightly.

ity of the public is sympathetic to militia groups and their activities. Furthermore, even larger portions of the public appear to believe that some of the concerns raised by militias, especially those involving the federal government, are legitimate concerns. As such, militias have indeed tapped into traditional American beliefs that question a large and powerful national government. Finally, the general decline in public support for militias and their concerns coincides with the decline in militia activity in the late 1990s and suggests that militia activity is not likely to increase in the near future.

2003 AND BEYOND

Although the United States faces new threats in the form of international terrorism, the impetus and desire for American citizens to join and expand the militia movement has declined considerably. Unless new domestic threats provide a source for new mobilization, it seems unlikely that the militia movement will enjoy even the limited support it had during the mid-1990s. Some militias are still very active in training and the sale of patriot and antigovernment literature and Internet usage is increasing, but the movement is in decline and it appears that this trend will continue.

The militia movement has raised concerns about government power and abuses that tap relatively mainstream American fears about government, especially the federal government. This fact suggests that the militia movement, or some other similar movement, is likely to find enough supporters to survive. Similar to other right-wing as well as left-wing movements, the militia movement does not need broad-based support to survive; rather it only needs a significant sympathetic minority that is willing to voice support or actually join groups.

The militia movement was clearly the offshoot of previous and existing right-wing movements, and even if militias themselves disappear, it seems clear that similar right-wing movements, espousing similar antigovernment rhetoric, will arise in their place. In addition, even if militias themselves disappear, the broader patriot movement that spawned militia groups will continue to survive. Finally, one should also consider the fact that most acts of domestic terrorism in the United States have been committed by relatively small groups of individuals, acting on the margins of broader left- and right-wing political movements. So even as militias decline, the potential threat may not. For example, the FBI believes that a domestic terrorist sent the strains of deadly Anthrax through the U.S. mail in the fall of 2001. And the targets, major news outlets and Democratic leaders in Congress, suggest that the individual or group is affiliated with right-wing politics. Furthermore, as the U.S. war on international terrorism becomes more pervasive, and law enforcement is given more tools that may infringe on civil liberties, the motivation for

antigovernment extremists will likely rise as well, perhaps renewing militia fears of tyrannical federal government agents.

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16

Global Justice Movement

Introduction

The global justice movement is one of the largest and most diverse social change movements in existence today, having brought hundreds of thousands of activists into the streets worldwide since the turn of the millennium. It brings together a wide variety of individuals and groups, including nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) from both the developed and developing world, direct action coalitions, environmental advocates, antiracist activists, women's groups, organized labor, religious groups, and student and youth activists. Although global justice activists focus on many different specific issues, they are united in their demand for direct democracy and the active participation of citizens in making decisions about issues that affect their lives and livelihoods.

The movement is united in its opposition to the growth of free trade on a global basis—conventionally known as neoliberalism—and the increasing power and influence that corporations hold in the system. Proponents of global justice believe that the opening up of free markets by international financial institutions and multinational corporations must not come at the expense of the greater exploitation of workers (child labor, unsafe working conditions, abysmally low wages) and the destruction of the environment. The movement's targets include the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, the World Trade Organization (WTO), trade agreements such as the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), and international governmental bodies such as the Group of Eight (G8). Transnational corporations have also come under fire from advocates of global justice, in particular those in the oil and biotechnology industries, those associated with unfair labor practices, and those (such as fast-food franchise McDonald's) seen to represent American cultural hegemony.

Free Trade Versus Fair Trade

According to global justice activists, the IMF and World Bank have not achieved their stated goal of alleviating worldwide poverty, but rather have worsened the economic divide between the global north and the global south. Free-trade agreements, they argue, have benefited the rich at the expense of the poor. Because global economic policies impact so many different areas of life, the global justice movement has brought together activists concerned with a wide range of issues that affect the peoples of the world: from workers' rights, drug patents, and food security to developing-country debt, environmental degradation, and indigenous self-determination.

Workers' rights has been a cornerstone of the global justice movement, as exemplified by the fight against sweatshops. With the weakening of trade barriers, U.S. and European corporations have increasingly moved their production facilities to developing countries in the global south, where workers are paid much lower wages and often labor in substandard conditions. Under international trade agreements, regulations intended to protect workers have in some cases been judged to constitute restraint of trade. Groups such as Sweatshop Watch and United Students Against Sweatshops have organized to protest such abuses, targeting corporations such as the Gap and Nike.

Other targets of global justice activists are debt and the structural adjustment programs (SAPs) imposed on developing countries by international financial institutions. These policies often require countries to cut spending on social services and encourage a shift from farming for local consumption to production for export markets. Instead of *free trade*, which only augments corporate profits, activists demand *fair trade*, which would allow workers and their communities to benefit from their own labor. One example is the Fair Trade Coffee campaign, which has harnessed the buying power of consumers to promote environmentally sustainable coffee farming practices and ensure that small-scale growers earn a living wage. More generally, living wage campaigns for workers in

both the United States and the developing world have united myriad labor, human rights, religious, and community activists.

Intellectual property rules, such as the WTO's Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS), have also aroused growing opposition. Advocates for indigenous communities and proponents of human health and environmental sustainability have joined forces to oppose the patenting of plant varieties. Many activists also oppose genetically modified foods and the international trade rules that define regulations against altered products as a restraint of trade. On a related front, advocates for people with AIDS have actively campaigned against WTO intellectual property provisions that limit the developing world's access to inexpensive generic drugs.

The Evolution of a Movement

Activists have long been concerned about neoliberalism, particularly those in the global south. In Europe, the global justice movement came to the fore about a decade before it made headlines in the United States. In Berlin, for example, activists mobilized in large numbers against the World Bank and the IMF in 1988. But the current wave of global justice activism is often traced to the emergence of the Mexican Zapatistas (Ejercito Zapatista de Liberacion Nacional) in January 1994. The Zapatistas held two large global encounters in 1996 and 1997, the second of which gave rise to the Peoples' Global Action Against Free Trade (PGA) network, which has called for several worldwide days of action. The first day of action against the WTO was observed in Geneva and many developing countries, but received little notice in the United States.

The first global justice protest to gain widespread publicity in the United States was a series of actions against the WTO in Seattle in November 1999. The actions landed on the front pages as activist blockades succeeded in delaying the ministerial meetings, a small number of protesters damaged corporate storefronts, and police—later reinforced by the National Guard—unleashed clouds of tear gas. An estimated 50,000 protesters participated in the week of action, and some 500 were arrested. Thousands of activists mobilized by the Direct Action Network blocked the streets around the Seattle convention center and other meeting venues, while tens of thousands of organized labor demonstrators held a huge rally and march to the downtown area, and perhaps 100 black-bloc protesters went on a window-smashing rampage. The alliance of labor and environmental activists—the "Teamsters and Turtles" alliance—was particularly notable, given that the two groups had often maintained an adversarial relationship in the past.

While activists argued among themselves about the tactics used during the "Battle of Seattle," there is little doubt that the actions raised public awareness of the WTO and its policies to a level never before achieved. Seattle also galvanized a movement. The following two years saw major protests in many international cities, including Melbourne, Prague, Quebec City, Barcelona, Gothenburg, Genoa, Cancun, and Miami. Washington, D.C.—home of the World Bank and IMF headquarters—saw nearly annual mobilizations. The actions at the G8 meeting in Genoa in July 2001 proved a turning point for the movement, as activists faced an unprecedented level of police violence in a developed country, including the police shooting death of a young activist.

The terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, had a profound effect on the global justice movement. Many pundits—and some activists themselves—predicted the demise of global justice activism. Many larger, more established nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and organized labor, sensing a more conservative political climate, pulled back from visible participation in global justice actions, as activists faced a rising level of state repression and more stringent laws justified by national security concerns.

From late 2001 through the middle of 2003, many global justice proponents shifted their focus to antiwar activism, using existing infrastructure and global networks to rapidly build a movement in opposition to the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, the likes of which took years to coalesce during the Vietnam era. With the end of the active U.S. military engagement in Iraq in the spring of 2003, many antiwar activists once again returned to a more multi-issue focus, making explicit connections between overseas military conflict and local and global economic and social justice issues, and bringing along new allies and a growing popular awareness of "the big picture." Although critics have often characterized the movement as "anti-globalization," the global justice movement is built on international networking and solidarity—and the belief that economic progress in a few countries must not be allowed to proceed at the expense of the people and the environment elsewhere.

Causes and Conflicts

Given its size, diversity, and multiplicity of issues, the global justice movement faces several areas of conten-

tion. As with many movements for social change, moderate and radical elements often find themselves at odds over goals and tactics. Areas of conflict include the role of traditional Gandhian nonviolence tactics versus property destruction and battling the police; the role of the government and electoral politics versus decentralized grassroots activism; the prospects for a "kinder and gentler" capitalism versus socialism or communism; and the usefulness of reform versus revolutionary change. There has also been considerable debate about the relative merits of large, headline-grabbing protests outside international summits versus small-scale, community-based activism that appears less glamorous but may ultimately draw more grassroots participation and achieve more lasting social change.

The successes of the global justice movement are largely attributable to its decentralized character and its ability to accommodate a wide range of viewpoints and tactics. However, to date, the movement has largely focused on what it is against. Its primary challenge is not only to envision a more just and democratic world, but also to articulate that vision in a way that speaks to a broader range of people and to devise credible strategies for attaining it.

Liz Highleyman

Global Justice Movement: Overview

More than any political tendency in the past century, the global justice movement has brought together a wide range of activists concerned with issues ranging from workers' rights to participatory democracy to human rights to environmental preservation. One of the movement's most notable features is its decentralized, leaderless structure. Among the conflicts facing global justice activists are the issue of nonviolence, whether to focus on global or local struggles, and whether to reform or abolish corporate capitalism.

Beginning with the "Battle of Seattle" in November 1999, the turn of the century saw a series of multi-issue protests. The largest of these protests brought tens of thousands of activists into the streets—more than at any time since the Vietnam War.

Following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, many pundits predicted the death of the global justice movement, but their pronouncements have proven premature. Although U.S. activists have been forced to reconsider whether massive protests are the best strategy, large actions continue in Europe and the global south (Latin America, Africa, and Asia). The movement has clearly succeeded in putting its issues before the public eye. The challenges now facing the global justice movement are the development of creative new tactics and the articulation of a vision of a better world.

What are the Issues?

Tying the various strands of the global justice movement together are opposition to economic neoliberalism and the increasing power and influence of corporate capitalism. Primary targets include global financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization (WTO), as well as international trade agreements, governmental bodies, and major transnational corporations.

These global financial institutions provide an ideal impetus to bring together many different activists. In promoting free trade at all costs, they run roughshod over national and local laws regulating consumer safety, workers' rights, and environmental protection. In advocating for the free movement of capital and goods—but not of workers or consumers—they encourage corporations to shift production to poor countries, thus impoverishing workers in the developing world while undermining labor conditions in developed nations. With their structural adjustment programs (SAPs), they impose cutbacks in healthcare, education, and other social services. In addition, the institutions are undemocratic, with decisions made by an elite minority rather than those who are most directly affected.

Founded in 1944, the IMF and the World Bank were created to promote global development. Yet critics claim that the institutions have not lived up to their promise and have in fact worsened poverty and increased economic inequality. Global justice advocates are concerned with the crushing debt owed by poor countries, claiming that local resources should be used to improve local conditions rather than be sent out of the country to service debt. Many countries pay more in interest on debt than they do on health or education. In addition, critics charge that the IMF and World Bank encourage environmentally destructive projects such as dams and mining.

The World Trade Organization was formed in 1995 as an outgrowth of the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Through its dispute resolution process, the WTO imposes sanctions on countries that limit free trade. WTO rules forbid trade preferences that discriminate on the basis of manner of production or protective regulations. For example, the WTO governing body

Protesting the upcoming meeting of the World Trade Organization in Seattle, Washington, a demonstrator burns a pair of Gap pants on November 28, 1999. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

has ruled that the U.S. laws mandating the use of sea turtle exclusion devices in shrimp nets, a Massachusetts law banning state transactions with the dictatorial regime of Myanmar (Burma), and European countries' refusal to import hormone-treated U.S. beef are in violation of the organization's free trade provisions.

Global justice activists also oppose international trade agreements that favor corporate profits over the needs of people. A major target is the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), an impending agreement that will extend the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) to all of Central and South America. Critics contend that such agreements encourage corporations to move production to countries with few protections for workers and the environment, thus engendering a global "race to the bottom."

Opponents have been particularly critical of intellectual property rules such as the WTO's Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property (TRIPS) provisions, which allow the patenting of indigenous plants and limit the availability of generic medications for people in poor countries. Activists also oppose the General Agreement on Trade and Services (GATS), which they contend will require the privatization of public services such as healthcare and education.

Global justice activists have also targeted international governmental bodies such as the European Union (EU) and the G8, made up of the world's wealthiest industrial countries plus Russia. Private institutions such as the World Economic Forum (WEF)—a gathering of government leaders and corporate heads—have also come under fire.

Transnational corporations have also been major movement targets; among them are agricultural giants Cargill and Monsanto, oil companies Exxon and Occidental Petroleum (for its attempts to drill on the lands of the indigenous U'wa people in Colombia), Nike (for producing shoes manufactured in sweatshops), the Gap (for connections to sweatshops and logging), McDonald's (for poor labor practices and more generally as a ubiquitous representative of American cultural imperialism), Starbucks (for pushing out local merchants and selling non–fair trade coffee), and Citibank (for involvement in numerous environmentally destructive projects).

Food security is an issue that unites many global justice activists. Activists are concerned about SAPs that pressure developing countries to grow crops for export instead of for local consumption, the "biopiracy" or patenting of plants and seed varieties, and trade agreements that require countries to accept genetically modified foods. The right to water is also becoming an increasingly important issue, as exemplified by construction giant Bechtel's 1999 attempt to privatize the water system in Cochabamba, Bolivia—a move thwarted by a popular uprising after water rates increased by as much as 200 to 300 percent.

Although the movement has often been characterized as being "anti-globalization," this is a misnomer. The global justice movement is built on international networking and cooperation. What it seeks is global democracy—"globalization from below"—rather than corporate globalization.

A Brief History

The global justice movement burst into public consciousness in the United States with the November

After smashing the window with a garbage can, a protester climbs into a Starbucks Coffee shop in Seattle on November 30, 1999. The "Battle of Seattle" drew international attention to the global justice movement. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

1999 protests against the WTO in Seattle. An estimated 50,000 protesters turned out for the "Battle of Seattle," which became known for its "Teamsters and turtles" labor/environmentalist alliance and also for the massive use of tear gas by police and the property destruction carried out by a small number of Anarchists.

But the movement did not start in 1999. Protests against transnational financial institutions, trade agreements, and corporations took place in the global south and Europe for many years prior to Seattle. Although most of the protests in developing countries never received much U.S. media attention, a protest against the IMF in Berlin in 1988 rallied tens of thousands of demonstrators, offering a sign of what was to come.

The genesis of the current wave of global justice activism is often traced to the Zapatistas, a band of revolutionaries in Chiapas, Mexico, who announced their presence on January 1, 1994, the date NAFTA was implemented. The media-savvy Zapatistas successfully brought international public attention to the negative effects of neoliberal economic policies. In 1996 and 1997, the Zapatistas convened two large *encuentros*—"Encounters for Humanity and Against Neoliberalism"—that brought together activists from around the world to discuss how to resist detrimental global economic changes.

During a demonstration near the International Monetary Fund and World Bank buildings in Washington, D.C., on April 20, 2002, Indy Roberts waves a flag in protest of global trade policies. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

A network known as People's Global Action Against Free Trade and the WTO (PGA) was born in Geneva in 1998 as an outgrowth of the second *encuentro*. The group called for the first global day of action against the WTO in May 1998. While police and activists battled in the WTO's home city of Geneva and hundreds of thousands protested in developing countries, U.S. awareness and participation were minimal. But by the following year, the issue of corporate globalization had attracted increasing attention. PGA's second global day of action on June 18 (J18) coincided with a meeting of the G8. (Beginning with the June 18 protests, activists have taken to naming days of action by month and day: N30 for the November 30, 1999, Seattle WTO protests; S26 for the September 26, 2000, Prague IMF protests, and so on.) Protests took place in over 100 cities, including several in the United States. In August 1999, PGA met in Bangalore, India, to plan for the next global day of action: N30. In addition to actions against the WTO meeting in Seattle, protests were held throughout the world including India, the Philippines, and Argentina.

Following the "Battle of Seattle," other protests came fast and furious. Some of the major actions included demonstrations against the IMF and World Bank in Washington, D.C., in April 2000 (A16); protests coinciding with the Republican and Democratic conventions in Philadelphia and Los Angeles in the summer of 2000; demonstrations against the World Economic Forum (WEF) in Melbourne, Australia, in September 2000 (S11); protests against the IMF in Prague in September 2000 (S26); demonstrations

against a new EU treaty in Nice, France, in December 2000; and actions protesting the FTAA in Quebec City in April 2001. The summer of 2001 saw a series of protests in Europe that included demonstrations coinciding with an EU meeting in Gothenburg, Sweden, in June; protests against a World Bank meeting (which was canceled) in Barcelona, also in June; actions against the WEF in Salzburg, Austria, in July; and massive protests against the G8 in Genoa, Italy, in July.

The September 11 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon dealt a major blow to the burgeoning movement. The IMF canceled its meeting scheduled for Washington, D.C., in late September, and many activists in turn called off their planned protests. Nevertheless, actions have continued, with a protest against the WEF in New York City in February 2002, a large demonstration against the EU in Barcelona in March 2002, actions against the G8 in Canada in June 2002, and another round of IMF/World Bank demonstrations in Washington, D.C., in September 2002.

Who's Involved?

The global justice movement has brought together a wide range of constituencies, loosely referred to as "civil society." The diversity of the 1999 Seattle protests led Ralph Nader to claim, "There's never been an event in American history that has brought together so many disparate groups."

Civil Society

Many of the earliest groups to organize against economic neoliberalism were nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), especially those active in the global south. Some of the major participating U.S. NGOs include the Global Trade Watch division of Public Citizen, which played a major role in planning the Seattle protests; 50 Years Is Enough (the U.S. Network for Global Economic Justice); the Jubilee Network—possibly the first multinational effort in the developed world to focus on economic justice—which works for debt cancelation for poor countries; United for a Fair Economy; the antipoverty group Oxfam; CorpWatch; and Global Exchange, a nonprofit dedicated to promoting environmental, political, and social justice.

Groups associated with specific issues have also played a key role in the movement. A small sampling includes the environmental groups Rainforest Action Network and the Sierra Club; and Health Global Access Project (Health GAP) and the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP), which work to make healthcare—in particular AIDS drugs—accessible in poor countries. International groups are legion, including the Landless Workers Movement (Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra) in Brazil and ATTAC, which advocates for a Tobin tax on capital gains from currency transactions.

For many activists, global justice work is grounded in their religious or spiritual beliefs. The Jubilee debt relief movement has strong religious associations. Numerous churches and synagogues have provided a base for teach-ins, activist housing, and other support.

While the global justice movement does not have an overall leader, several people have become well known as organizers, commentators, or spokespersons, including Maude Barlow of the Council of Canadians, Walden Bello of Focus on the Global South, Medea Benjamin of Global Exchange, French farmer Jose Bové, Global Trade Watch organizer Mike Dolan, Kevin Danaher of Global Exchange, Susan George of ATTAC, Anarchist author and activist David Graeber, author Naomi Klein, Cindy Milstein of the Institute for Social Ecology, *Guardian* columnist George Monbiot, agitator Michael Moore (not to be confused with the WTO director-general of the same name), Infoshop.org webmaster Chuck Munson, consumer advocate Ralph Nader, John Sellers of the Ruckus Society, David Solnit of Art and Revolution, Indian scientist and author Dr. Vandana Shiva, anticapitalist activist Jaggi Singh, pagan organizer and author Starhawk, Alli Starr of Art and Revolution, and Lori Wallach of Global Trade Watch.

Labor

Organized labor has played an interesting role in the global justice movement. Labor was very active in the 1999 Seattle protests, mobilizing an estimated 40,000 participants. Although union leaders diverted their march away from the downtown street actions, many workers ignored their orders and joined anyway. Seattle saw the birth of the widely heralded "Teamsters and turtles" alliance, bringing together labor and environmental activists who had previously been at odds because environmental regulations were believed to cost jobs. Organized labor recognized that international trade agreements such as NAFTA and FTAA pitted North American workers against workers in poor countries as jobs were exported to nations with low wages and few protective regulations.

Labor groups that have been active in the movement include Jobs with Justice; the International Brotherhood of Teamsters; the United Steelworkers of

America; the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE); Service Employees International Union (SEIU); the United Auto Workers; the Canadian Auto Workers; and the International Workers of the World (IWW, also known as the Wobblies, an organization founded in the early twentieth century that continues to exist today).

Some critics contend that labor largely supports national protectionist measures and is not truly supportive of a broader progressive agenda. During the Clinton administration, organized labor was hesitant to be too critical of Democratic trade policies. Particularly after September 11, with the resulting upsurge in patriotism, labor has played a less active role in the movement.

Coalitions

Various coalitions have developed as umbrella groups to coordinate large protests. The Direct Action Network (DAN) was formed to organize direct action in Seattle. The Mobilization for Global Justice (MGJ) has coordinated several protests against the IMF and World Bank in their headquarters city of Washington, D.C. Another World Is Possible (AWIP) formed to plan the February 2002 protests against the WEF in New York City. At several protests beginning with Quebec City, many of the more militant factions of the movement have come together under the banner of the Anti-Capitalist Convergence (ACC).

Representation

The global justice movement has been characterized as a movement of young people, and indeed students and youth are well represented. Student anti-sweatshop organizers such as United Students Against Sweatshops have conducted successful campaigns to mandate better wages and improved conditions for workers who produce university logo clothing. Students Transforming and Resisting Corporations (STARC) is another active group. Yet despite its media portrayal, the movement is quite diverse in terms of age. Many veterans of the Vietnam War protests of the 1960s and 1970s, and the antinuclear, Central America, anti-apartheid, pro-choice, and AIDS activist movements of the ensuing years remain active. The Raging Grannies, a group of older women, have been popular participants at several actions.

Women across the world are heavily affected by economic neoliberalism, and they play a major role in the global justice movement. Women are well represented among both the movement's well-known organizers and spokespeople and among the rank and file—especially on an international level.

People of color also bear the brunt of corporate globalization. People of color from the global south make up a majority of the international movement, but the global justice movement in the United States remains largely white. This likely stems from several factors, including the fact that people of color may have more pressing local concerns, a lack of resources to travel to national actions, a justified concern that they are more likely to be the targets of police repression (especially true of immigrants), and a "culture clash" between people of color and white punk and hippie activists.

Given that lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender activists played a major role in the movements of the 1980s and 1990s—including ACT UP, Queer Nation, and the Lesbian Avengers—it is perhaps surprising that there is not a more visible queer presence in the global justice movement. Although there are many queer participants—including several key organizers and spokespeople—self-identified queer groups are underrepresented.

On the whole, the global justice movement represents a major shift away from the "identity politics" of the 1980s and 1990s. The movement has provided an opportunity for people of diverse identities to come together on the basis of shared issues and concerns.

The Militants

The black bloc has been a major focus of the mainstream media and the police. The black bloc is a tactic, not a specific group of individuals. Made up mostly of Anarchists and other antiauthoritarians, participants wear black clothing and masks and march in tight formation as an expression of anonymity and solidarity. In Seattle a group of black-clad protesters broke the windows of several banks and corporations, marked buildings with graffiti, and lit Dumpsters on fire. In Quebec City, the black bloc took the lead in tearing down the fence erected around the FTAA ministers' meeting and engaged in street fighting with the police. The actions of the black bloc have spurred considerable debate within the movement. However, at many North American protests the black bloc has carried out other forms of direct action with minimal or no property destruction.

The white overalls—also known as *tute bianche* in Italy, the White Overalls Movement Building Libertarian Effective Struggles (WOMBLES) in Britain, and Ya Basta!—are another segment of movement mili-

tants. These activists typically wear white jumpsuits, helmets, and body padding, and often carry shields. Their aim is not to fight with police, but rather to protect themselves as they attempt to push through police barricades to reach their target.

The black bloc and white overalls both originated in Europe, and these tactics are more widely adopted on the continent than in the United States. Protests against international financial institutions and government bodies in Europe during the summer of 2001 drew substantial black bloc and white overall participation. In Genoa black-clad rioters carried out considerable property destruction. Much of this activity (such as burning private cars) was uncharacteristic of the black bloc, leading many to suspect that police infiltrators and neofascists were using black bloc garb as a cover.

Anarchists have played a major role in the global justice movement. By no means are all Anarchist activists associated with the black bloc. Anarchist influence is also apparent in the decentralized, leaderless organizing that has characterized all of the large national and international protests. After September 11, several of the more mainstream NGOs opted to forego large actions, leaving the planning and logistics increasingly in the hands of Anarchist activists.

Interestingly, the cadre Socialist and Communist groups that many people most associate with left-wing activism—such as the International Socialist Organization, the Revolutionary Communist Party, and the Workers World Party/International Action Center—played a minor role in Seattle and in other early global justice protests, although they have since become more active in the movement.

Pagans, Puppets, and Pink Blocs

Global justice activists have pioneered several new and creative tactics. Among the most notable is Reclaim the Streets (RTS), which grew out of the rave scene and campaigns against road construction in England in the early 1990s. RTS aims to reclaim public space, often filling it with music and dancing to create temporary autonomous zones. RTS played a key role in organizing the 1999 J18 actions and has since been active at most large protests in North America and Europe.

Pagan and Wiccan activists have also been key participants in the movement. Utilizing magical activism, ritual, and creative tactics such as large public spiral dances, pagans have introduced an element of calm resolve to many protests. With their reverence for nature, some pagan activists have taken a special interest in opposing water privatization.

Highly visible features of many recent protests are the huge puppets representing everything from corporate criminals to Mother Earth. Groups such as Art and Revolution bring their artistic talents to large actions, often coordinating puppet-making workshops. Street theater is an important element, as exemplified by Billionaires for Bush (or Gore). At the Quebec City protest a "medieval bloc" created a large-wheeled catapult used to loft stuffed animals over the fence erected by police. Puppets, pagans, samba bands, radical cheerleaders, and others have taken to forming pink blocs at large actions, beginning with Prague in September 2000.

What Is It Like?

Creative Tactics

Beyond the street fighting and property destruction highlighted by the mainstream media, the global justice movement is perhaps best known for using blockades and lockdowns to disrupt meetings of financial institutions and government bodies. Actions are often characterized by a festive atmosphere—several have been billed as a "Carnival against Capitalism"—as activists try to create on a small scale the world they desire. As Starhawk described the Seattle protests, "The action included art, dance, celebration, song, ritual, and magic. It was more than a protest; it was an uprising of a vision of true abundance, a celebration of life and creativity and connection, that remained joyful in the face of brutality and brought alive the creative forces that can truly counter those of injustice and control." Humor, satire, and "culture jamming" are prominent features. In addition, major actions typically include a myriad of teach-ins, people's assemblies, concerts, and other gatherings.

Activists have moved away from mass arrest scenarios in which protesters sit or lie down near a strategic target and are voluntarily arrested with the goal of clogging the prisons or the courts. Most urban police forces are now able to handle large groups of arrestees, and the tactic has lost much of its effectiveness. Yet mass arrests do still occur, sometimes inadvertently. Activists have devised strategies of jail and court solidarity, using tactics such as hunger strikes or refusal to give their names in order to press demands such as access to lawyers, medical attention, or equal charges for everyone arrested.

As described by Anarchist activist David Graeber, "Where once it seemed that the only alternatives to

marching along with signs were either Gandhian nonviolent civil disobedience or outright insurrection, groups like the Direct Action Network, Reclaim the Streets, black blocs, and tute bianche have all, in their own ways, been trying to map out a completely new territory in between. They're attempting to invent what many call a 'new language' of civil disobedience, combining elements of street theatre, festival, and what can only be called non-violent warfare."

Decentralization

The global justice movement prides itself on its grassroots, decentralized structure. One of its distinguishing features is the lack of any overall leaders along the lines of a Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. The movement derives its strength from the concerted efforts of multiple autonomous individuals and affinity groups. As Starhawk described the Seattle actions, "leadership was invested in the group as a whole. People were empowered to make their own decisions, and the centralized structures were for coordination, not control. As a result, we had great flexibility and resilience, and many people were inspired to acts of courage they could never have been ordered to do."

The key element in the coordination of mass actions is the affinity group, a small collection of about five to twenty individuals who typically know and trust each other and share common politics and goals. Affinity groups, in turn, may be organized into "clusters" that work together to carry out a particular action. For example, during the Seattle protest the area surrounding the convention center where the WTO meeting was to take place was divided into thirteen "pie wedges," with different affinity group clusters taking responsibility for blockading the various sectors.

When coordinating a large protest, affinity group representatives typically meet in a spokescouncil to devise a plan of action. These representatives (called "spokes") are empowered to speak on behalf of their affinity group. The spokescouncil process allows affinity groups to remain autonomous—and often anonymous. Once an action begins, affinity groups may decide collectively whether and when to alter their strategy or end their participation.

Spokescouncils typically operate using a consensus-based process, which borrows heavily from feminist and Anarchist principles. Rather than relying on voting, the goal of consensus is to come up with a decision that is acceptable to everyone. Proposals are offered by a facilitator, and participants express their concerns, often putting forth "friendly amendments." Participants can choose to "stand aside" and let a proposal go forward even if they do not completely agree with it. However, if any participant has a major, principled objection, he or she can "block" the consensus.

Infrastructure

The global justice movement has put considerable effort into developing a supportive infrastructure. Before large actions, training sessions are typically held to teach activists about nonviolence, direct action techniques, first aid, legal issues, and jail solidarity. The Ruckus Society, formed in 1995, is devoted to training activists in skills ranging from how to scale a building for a banner-hang to how to design an effective Web site. During large actions, a "convergence center" is often set up wherein activists can gather to collect information about events and make puppets, signs, and other visuals. Groups such as Food Not Bombs and Seeds for Peace may provide food for all participants.

Beginning in Seattle, street medics—who range from people with basic first aid training to emergency medical technicians to herbalists to medical doctors—have provided medical care for activists. Usually marked with red crosses, the medics have developed techniques for treating exposure to tear gas and pepper spray, and often set up clinics near protest sites to deal with more serious injuries.

Large actions typically also have a legal collective, such as the Just Cause Law Collective, to provide support and advice for arrested and jailed activists. Volunteer lawyers and law students may provide pre-action training and representation in court. Volunteer legal observers—often under the auspices of the National Lawyers Guild—watch for police abuse of protesters.

Communications and Independent Media

Far from being "anti-globalization," the movement's strength lies in its global networking and mastery of the means of communication. Such networking has been greatly facilitated by the use of modern tools such as cell phones and the Internet. Despite their lack of military might, the pioneering Zapatistas were able to capture worldwide attention through their use of the Internet. In addition to using e-mail and the web to plan and coordinate every aspect of large actions, "hacktivists" sympathetic to the cause also use the Internet to conduct cyber-actions such as e-mail "zaps" and "cyber-sit-ins" of corporate Web sites.

The movement has learned to "play to the media" with eye-catching visuals, sound bites, and well-

staged photo opportunities—techniques pioneered by media-savvy activists such as ACT UP. This phenomenon is not without controversy. Some oppose the focus on the "spectacle," complaining that despite activists' best efforts the mainstream media will always simplify the issues and focus on the most dramatic aspects of a protest such as street fighting, tear gas, and property destruction.

In response, global justice activists have created their own media. The Independent Media Center (IndyMedia) was born out of the Seattle protests, and local chapters have since cropped up throughout the United States and the world. Taking advantage of increasingly available and affordable technologies such as video and digital photography, media activists rapidly convey the protesters' message from the teach-ins and the streets to the Internet, print, radio, and public access television.

What Are the Conflicts?

The global justice movement faces several conflicts. After Seattle, some observers were concerned about right-wing activists who appeared to embrace their cause. Former presidential candidate Pat Buchanan, for example, has spoken against international trade agreements and the usurpation of national power by global financial institutions. Most global justice activists are aware that the Right does not share their values of inclusiveness and global democracy, and remain wary of alliances with conservatives. Other points of contention involve the role of NGO funding and its influence on the movement's agenda and the benefits and drawbacks of electoral politics—an issue that came to the fore when Nader ran for president as the Green Party candidate, which many believe contributed to the election of George W. Bush.

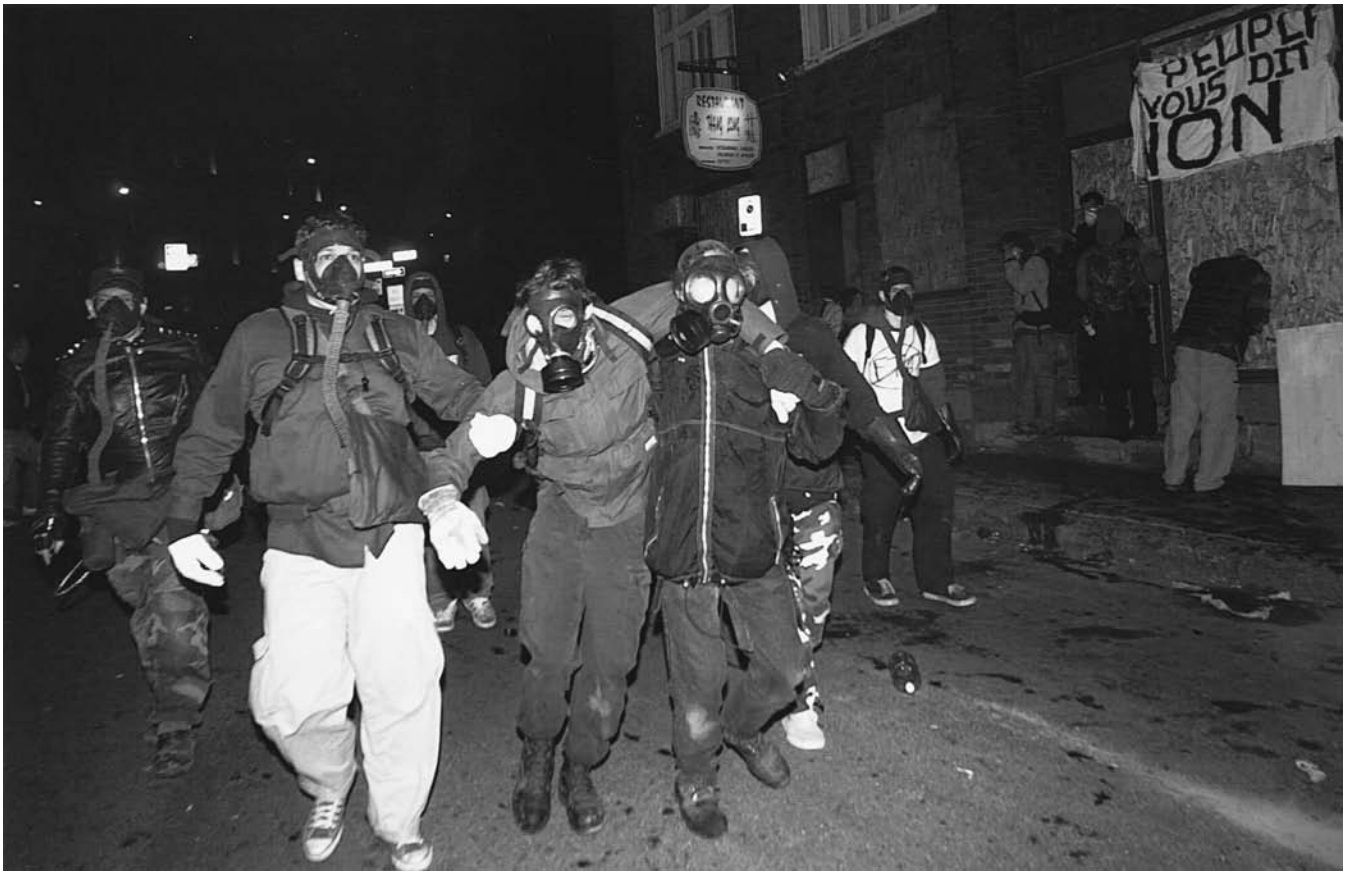
Nonviolence

The most contentious issue facing global justice activists is often couched in terms of violence versus nonviolence, but this is not really an accurate characterization. No one in the movement advocates harming people. The real crux of the debate concerns property destruction, and to a lesser extent fighting with the police.

During the "Battle of Seattle" window-smashing by a small group of activists became a major focus of mainstream media coverage, unleashing a flood of criticism from both within and outside the movement. Before the actions, activists working with DAN had agreed to a code of conduct that included no violence, physical or verbal, toward any person and no property destruction. Movement critics of the vandalism claimed that the decision was made democratically, and those who engaged in property destruction were therefore violating the common consensus. But not all participants had agreed to the guidelines, and some claimed that their efforts to critique the guidelines prior to the action had been rebuffed. On the streets some nonviolence advocates protected corporate storefronts and tried to physically restrain the window-breakers or have them arrested. Several, including Medea Benjamin of Global Exchange, strongly denounced the vandalism in the press in the months to follow.

Some nonviolence advocates come out of a long tradition of nonviolent civil disobedience in the Gandhian model, with strong religious or spiritual roots. They believe that engaging in violence of any sort causes activists to lose their moral integrity by resorting to the tactics of the authorities. Others look at nonviolence more from a strategic viewpoint. They claim that property destruction and battles with the police divert media attention from the issues at hand and that the mayhem costs the movement popular support and discourages new people from taking part. According to Benjamin after Seattle, "It was the nonviolent protest that stopped the WTO meeting in its tracks, and that was the big news . . . until the window-smashing diverted the media's attention."

Proponents of property destruction hold that only harm to people, not property, should be considered "violence." Some believe that property destruction is necessary to "break the spell" of reverence for property over people: "When we smash a window, we aim to destroy the thin veneer of legitimacy that surrounds private property rights." Most oppose vandalism against small shops, homes, and so on, instead directing their wrath at banks, oil companies, chain stores, fast-food outlets, and other "corporate criminals." They contend that property destruction pales in comparison to the violence committed by corporations and governments every day. They further claim the right to defend themselves when attacked by the police. Here, too, others take a strategic perspective. They claim that militant action inspires people to join the movement, and they point out that no matter how many tens of thousands of people attend a peaceful demonstration, the mainstream media pays little attention in the absence of property destruction and police battles. In the words of Anarchist activist Warcry, "I don't think Seattle would be on the map if it weren't for the catalyzing level of rage that was made visible through property destruction."



During confrontations with police in Quebec City, Canada, on April 20, 2001, demonstrators carry a wounded companion to safety after tearing down a security fence. Demonstrators protested against the Free Trade Area of the Americas, a pact under consideration by thirty-four heads of state gathered at the Summit of the Americas. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

After Seattle, proponents of nonviolence and advocates of property destruction seemed to be hopelessly at odds, but in the ensuing years many activists have sought a "middle ground." Both sides agree that the worst violence comes from the police, not the protesters. Many activists who generally support nonviolence feel that destruction of barriers used to control protesters and prevent them from communicating their message is justified. In Quebec City, the high fence erected around a large part of the city where FTAA ministers were meeting became the focus of outrage, and protesters of all stripes helped or supported those who tried to tear it down. "I thought people would only come to a mass action if it had clear nonviolence guidelines, but people came to Quebec City anyway," writes Starhawk. "I thought high levels of confrontation would lose us popular support, but we had the strongest support ever from the local people. I thought people new to direct action would be terrified by the level of conflict we experienced. But by the second day, more people were ready to go to the wall. By the third day, they were demanding better gas masks."

The Quebec City actions were the first at which the principle of "diversity of tactics" was embraced—the understanding that all protesters can carry out the type of actions they feel are most appropriate, as long as they do not impinge on other activists. Quebec City also saw the introduction of the idea of protest "zones": red for front-line actions likely to result in police confrontation and arrest; yellow for traditional civil disobedience; green for peaceful, permitted actions away from the front lines.

In Europe in the summer of 2001, a dramatically escalated level of police violence led many to reevaluate movement tactics. At the EU summit in Gothenburg, a protester was nonfatally shot by police, allegedly for throwing a rock. At the G8 actions in Genoa on July 20, a twenty-three-year-old protester named Carlo Guiliani was shot and killed by an even

younger policeman in a jeep, allegedly for attempting to throw a fire extinguisher at the police vehicle. The next night nearly 100 sleeping activists were brutally beaten by Italian police at a school used for housing by the Genoa Social Forum, leaving the walls covered in blood and the floor littered with teeth. Police claimed the assaulted activists were associated with the black bloc, which had carried out vandalism during the day. Clearly, the stakes had risen for all protesters, whether or not they personally engaged in property destruction. Genoa also made clear the risk of infiltration, especially of the black bloc, by agents provocateurs.

Although diversity of tactics has been adopted at several protests since Quebec City, many activists—including black bloc'ers—pulled back from confrontational actions after September 11. Some NGOs have even declined to participate in protests unless complete nonviolence can be assured.

Reform versus Revolution

Some activists aim to reform corporations and global financial institutions such as the IMF and WTO, making them more open and more responsive to concerns such as workers' rights and the environment. For example, reform-minded activists may call for the World Bank to cancel poor countries' debt or demand voluntary codes of conduct for overseas manufacturers to ameliorate sweatshop conditions. A prominent slogan of the Seattle protests was "Fix it or nix it," implying that changing the WTO was possible and desirable. Labor and large NGOs tend to embrace the pro-reform viewpoint.

Other activists believe that corporations and global financial institutions cannot be reformed and must instead be abolished. Anarchists, Socialists, and other political radicals tend to favor abolition. In fact, segments of the global justice movement have taken to calling it the anticapitalist movement (although by no means does everyone involved in the movement wish to abolish capitalism). According to the radical viewpoint, certain elements of corporate capitalism—such as the never-ending quest for growth and profit—cannot be changed without putting an end to the system as a whole.

A related issue concerns the role of national governments. Some on both the left and the right have criticized global financial institutions for undermining national sovereignty, for example, by overruling democratically established national regulations concerning workers' rights, purchasing preferences, or measures that protect national industries. Activists with a more Anarchist bent, however, are not concerned with erosion of state power, believing that government control is as pernicious as the rule of unbridled corporate capitalism.

The two sides of the "reform versus revolution" debate tend to favor different strategies. According to the radicals, transnational corporations and financial institutions will never put themselves out of business. Disillusioned by "protest as usual" that achieves results slowly and painstakingly, if at all, they argue for disruptive direct action that may include corporate property destruction and confrontation with the forces of law and order that defend state and corporate interests.

What Next?

The 2001 Genoa protests marked both a high and a low point for the growing movement. Never before had so many people—by some accounts, over 200,000—come together in a developed country to demand global justice. But likewise, never before had the modern movement in the West faced such harsh repression. The death of Carlo Guiliani and the police beatings that followed provided a rude wake-up call. Although violent repression of political dissidents is common in the global south—in fact, three student IMF protesters had been killed by police in Papua New Guinea the preceding month—it had not previously been experienced to such an extent by most activists in Europe or North America.

The terrorist events of September 11, 2001, marked yet another turning point, especially for U.S. activists. Commentators both within and outside the movement predicted the end of mass demonstrations, but despite increased pro-government sentiment an estimated 20,000 demonstrators turned out for the WEF meeting in New York City five months later, proving that protest is still possible. And in March 2002 an estimated 250,000 activists confronted the EU summit in Barcelona in the largest global justice protest in the West to date, surpassing even Genoa.

Changes in Tactics

Some global justice activists feel that mass protests have outlived their usefulness. They argue for a shift to local activism—focusing on issues such as environmental racism, the prison industrial complex, local strikes, and poverty at home—to replace "summit hopping," the culture of serial protesting that Naomi Klein has likened to "a movement of meeting-stalkers following the trade bureaucrats as if they were the Grateful Dead."

The "Battle of Seattle" succeeded based on its element of surprise, an advantage activists no longer possess. As Alexander Cockburn has noted, "Once in a generation you can catch the ruling class off guard. Then you spend twenty years paying for it." Since the April 2000 protests in Washington, D.C., police have barricaded the IMF headquarters to keep protesters away and ferried delegates in police-escorted buses. In Quebec City and Genoa, authorities erected a fence around a portion of the city. The November 2001 WTO meeting was held in Doha, Qatar—a country inaccessible to most activists and one that does not tolerate political dissent—and the June 2002 G8 summit took place in Kananaskis, a remote ski resort in the Canadian wilderness. It has become all but impossible to effectively shut down or even disrupt or delay a major summit as was done in Seattle.

Increased Repression

In addition to the decreased accessibility of financial and government meetings, activists are facing increased repression. Government officials have declared "no-protest zones," and police have carried out preemptive arrests before major actions. Protesters face the threat of tear gas, pepper spray, water cannons, batons, and dogs—although the repercussions of the "Battle of Seattle" led many police forces to rely on more targeted and less widespread control measures. During the 2000 Republican Convention, a few perceived organizers were arrested and held on bails of up to $1 million. And known activists increasingly face travel restrictions when they attempt to cross international borders. The USA PATRIOT Act of 2001, hastily passed in the wake of September 11, allows for greater surveillance and threatens to define activists as terrorists, leading many to predict the impending resurgence of COINTELPRO-type operations.

Notable Successes

Although the global justice movement faces many challenges, its successes cannot be denied. Obscure financial institutions unknown to most Americans a few short years ago have become a focus of media attention and public debate. Large actions have alerted the developing world to widespread economic inequity and the detrimental effects of unbridled free trade. Financial institutions and government bodies have been forced to acknowledge the protesters' grievances, although it remains to be seen whether their actions will follow their rhetoric. In his 2002 book *Globalization and Its Discontents*, Nobel laureate and former World Bank chief economist Joseph Stiglitz concedes that IMF/World Bank austerity policies have caused more suffering than they have alleviated, and he acknowledges that it was global justice protesters who made the developing world aware of the need for reform.

Since the 1999 Seattle actions, several major corporate scandals have erupted, contributing to a major stock market decline and implicating a number of government officials and their campaign contributors. In December 2001, massive protests erupted following the near-collapse of the economy of Argentina, once heralded as a model of successful IMF policy implementation. The middle class and working class alike revolted, leading to the police shootings of at least two protesters and the ouster of four presidents in a span of less than a month.

Writing in the wake of the September 2000 IMF actions in Washington, D.C., *New York Times* columnist Alan Murray said of the protesters, "[T]o a degree many of them still don't recognize, they have won the argument. Capitalism now has the black eye they tried so hard to give it."

A Vision for the Future

The events of September 11 led to a shift in focus for many global justice activists, who have increasingly devoted their efforts to opposition to U.S. wars in Afghanistan and Iraq and to solidarity with the people of Palestine. Yet interest in global justice issues—and their local manifestations—remains strong.

The tasks now facing activists include expanding the movement to include a greater diversity of participants and better definition of what the movement is for—not just what it's against. Global justice activists have often been criticized for lacking a coherent ideology and failing to articulate achievable alternatives to corporate capitalism. Most activists rightly argue that a unified ideology such as the Marxism of the last century is not a requirement for a postmodern movement. But the development of a vision of a more just, equitable, and democratic world—and a credible path to attain it—remains the global justice movement's most crucial challenge.

Liz Highleyman

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Living Wage Movement

Living wage campaigns have captured the imagination of organizations that represent low-wage workers. They have succeeded in establishing more than eighty governmental ordinances, and the movement has spread to universities, involving a growing cohort of students in local labor solidarity struggles for the first time in decades. The campaigns illuminate the possibility and importance of coalitions among labor movement, community, and religious organizations. This is no small feat given the immense animosity that has characterized these relationships in the past decades. Furthermore, coalition building is always difficult and coalitions are fragile, even when the partners are similar as in the case of labor unions and especially if they are dissimilar as in the case of the variety of groups involved in the World Trade Organization (WTO) protests.

That there are so many thriving campaigns and that most involve real coalitions among labor, community, and religious partners confirms the existence of a social movement, involving numerous individuals and groups throughout the country in sustained collective actions aimed at winning living wage legislation and monitoring its enforcement after enactment. The existence of so many ordinances indicates the success of this movement in achieving its immediate goals and raises important issues about both the possibilities and limits of this strategy for raising the standard of living for working people in the United States.

Background

Since the mid-1990s, cities and counties have passed living wage ordinances that require private sector firms that have financial relationships to government, as service contractors, recipients of subsidies or tax breaks, concessionaires, or tenants on publicly owned property, to provide a "living wage," a wage above the federally mandated minimum wage. Living wage legislation is generally initiated by either community-based organizations—such as the Industrial Area Foundation (IAF), the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN), and a wide range of local churches and neighborhood associations—or by labor unions, either particular unions or central labor councils (CLCs).

Successful campaigns seem to require the involvement of both types of organizations from the very beginning. It is hard to bring a missing partner aboard once the action has begun. Without the proper base in both the unions and the community, the campaign is less likely to be successful and the changes are less likely to be sustained. These campaigns are also more likely to succeed if they are bottom-up. This ensures continued demands for enforcement of legislation from those affected as well as contributing to the long-term construction of social networks and common interests that can be mobilized for future actions. If the campaign succeeds due to their joint efforts, they will develop greater commitment to and monitoring of ongoing policy and confidence in their capacity to make future change.

Labor Organizations

Labor has joined living wage coalitions for several reasons. The labor movement, reeling from declining membership, is eager to attract new members. As part of its recruitment strategy, the "new leadership" of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), elected in 1996, developed a Union Cities program to revitalize the role of unions in political and economic development. Labor's support for the living wage allows it to target previously ignored employment sectors such as low-wage service sectors where women and people of color predominate as well as employee groups whose employers have been particularly resistant to union organizing.

At a Santa Fe City Council meeting on February 26, 2003, eight-year-old Kyle Johnstone shows his support for a living wage ordinance. The living wage movement emerged in the 1990s to raise incomes of the nation's poorest workers. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

Labor's recent organizing involvement among low-income communities brings it into direct contact with traditional community organizers in these same communities. Because of labor's recent efforts to involve members of low-income communities, organizers increasingly draw upon younger people who practiced organizing in social movements at the neighborhood level. The alliances between labor and community have developed livable wage standards as an actionable agenda item. The new coalitions have also been critical for overcoming long-standing antagonisms between community and labor activists. The racism and sexism of many unions, their conflicting goals when it comes to urban renewal and other large construction projects that displace the poor without employing them, and their past indifference to service sector workers have proved an obstacle to organizing the very workers that the AFL-CIO now recognizes as providing the potential for the highest membership growth.

Living wage ordinances also help unions by setting norms about prevailing local wage levels. If employers are to compete for workers, they must offer employees higher pay. The living wage ordinance also empowers unionized city and county workers. In an era of privatization, where unionized public workforces see their numbers dwindling owing to outsourcing of their work, forcing contractors to pay living wages to their private employees levels the cost competition between public and private provision of services. Living wage laws make it less tempting for cities to privatize service provision, thus increasing union bargaining power.

From the labor movement's point of view, the living wage campaigns are most likely to be successful and sustained when linked with organizing drives,

which means that even failures in passing legislation can represent labor movement gains. Targeting living wage proposals to cover employees in firms where employers have blocked workers' attempts to organize attracts labor to the campaigns. In Houston, the ordinance lost citywide but won in low-wage neighborhoods. Moreover, the joint campaign with Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 100 helped the union succeed in its efforts to organize Head Start workers. In New Orleans, the community-labor coalition targeted hotel workers, which then became the focus of an organizing drive by Hotel and Restaurant Employees (HERE). The New Orleans campaign began in reaction to efforts by hotels, restaurants, and other hospitality industries to block unionization activities led by SEIU. In Santa Monica, California, the living wage covers employees of major beachfront employers who previously resisted unionization. In Oakland, California, where the ordinance passed in 1998, the effect was to frighten the Port Authority, which was not covered owing to provisions of the City Charter. Four years later, in 2002, the living wage coalition remobilized to pass Measure I, extending living wage coverage to Port employees.

Religious Organizations

Religious organizations are active in most, but not all, living wage campaigns. Besides providing occasions for demonstrating visible concern for the welfare needs of the poor and communities of color, living wage campaigns satisfy church organizational maintenance and enhancement needs. They provide opportunities for recruiting and retaining members within the inner-city neighborhoods by making the church relevant to their needs. The campaigns also afford churches opportunities to form alliances with community groups whose membership is partly shared, thus demonstrating solidarity on social and political issues. In addition, the campaigns offer direct community engagement in neighborhoods where their congregations historically have been located but where large shares of their membership no longer reside.

Congregations and parishes at the neighborhood level are represented both city- and countywide by councils of churches or diocesan associations that have been particularly active as coalition members. They act as advocacy groups promoting the living wage. They find allies who share their membership, they provide an outlet for direct action for their activist members, and they develop social networks that prove beneficial in their ongoing social service delivery activities.

Besides lending legitimacy and authority to living wage campaigns, church involvement provides significant contributions to organization building for campaigns. Church involvement allows preexisting congregational resources to be deployed in organizing efforts and expanded through social network linkages. Churches provide meeting places for campaign organizers and participants, and they recruit campaign activists from congregational rolls. They also provide venues for leadership training, offer financial and technical resources, and assist in developing social networks spanning neighborhood to citywide levels.

Community Organizations

National community-based organizations, such as IAF and ACORN, have resources and commitments to devise new and workable strategies for building a social movement of poor people. In addition to the potential for living wage laws to advance their social goals, they greatly benefit from highly visible participation in successful public campaigns such as living wage efforts. Their legitimacy and funding derive exclusively from efforts to mobilize community members for desired changes. Unlike churches, they have no other rationale for existence, and unlike successful unions, they cannot make legal claims to represent workers in formal negotiations over wages and other work issues. Community organizations lack structured opportunities for the maintenance of member participation (such as job sites for unions). Nor do they receive support as a by-product of deeply institutionalized behavior such as church attendance or union dues. Thus, community organizations must be highly responsive to community members' needs as they compete for participation and support.

Perhaps even more so than other coalition members, national community organizations with local chapters must be entrepreneurs, capable of quickly adopting campaign strategies that have proven successful elsewhere. With generally fewer ties to formal hierarchies and dependent on street-level participation, community organizations have much to gain from living wage campaigns, particularly those that generate substantial publicity on their positive contribution.

Several secular developments have also fueled community organization involvement in living wage campaigns. Among these developments are the steep reductions in government funding for welfare pro-

grams and poverty programs. As a result, low-income groups have been forced to articulate their own agendas from the bottom up and to search for allies from labor and religious organizations in pursuing new agendas. Community organizations' focus on the availability of jobs, the access their members have to the workforce, and the quality of employment (including living wage standards) have brought them in more direct contact with unions. The early history of living wage campaigns initiated by ACORN or IAF did not necessarily involve unions, however. This has largely changed. Some of the campaigns in which ACORN has been involved were initiated by the national AFL-CIO (e.g., Detroit), others by the CLC (e.g., San Jose, California), and still others by union locals and ACORN together (e.g., Cook County, Illinois), but all ultimately required a joint partnership and commitment of resources.

Coalitions

Coalitions appear to be critical to living wage victories and to long-term success as well. A vast majority of successful campaigns involved a mix of community, labor, and religious organizations. Once adopted, rarely are living wage ordinances implemented without a struggle led by a supportive coalition. Portland, Oregon, for example, effectively ignored the living wage ordinance. Without organized monitoring groups, the legislation was not enforced.

Despite numerous successes, tensions are inherent in coalition building. The concerns coalition partners have about each other depend in part on whether they are small local groups or larger-scale organizations and in part on whether they represent workers or residents or allies of those who will benefit rather than the primary beneficiaries. The tensions are also a result of the different and conflicting agendas of the allied organizations as well the history of relations among them. Many unions do not see enough for them in the living wage campaigns to justify serious or long-term involvement unless the campaigns are directly tied to organizing drives. Nor are the community groups always convinced of the benefits to them.

For example, in Los Angeles, the CLC initiated living wage campaigns around two large-scale projects that were receiving public subsidies: the extension of Los Angeles International Airport (LAX) and the development of the entertainment company Dreamworks. The aim of the labor movement was to ensure living wages not only for the construction workers but also for those involved in the janitorial services, concessions, and other occupations that would result from the projects, and they wanted to ensure job retention for those who joined the unions. Forming a coalition with community groups and churches, the CLC took the campaign to City Hall where they succeeded in winning a living wage ordinance and worker retention. However, they still have to ensure that contractors and vendors meet the terms.

The community groups involved were often in disagreement among themselves and with the unions about what protections their members would receive in regard to jobs and housing from these large-scale projects. The unions, especially those in the building trades, won protections under project labor agreements, special collective bargaining agreements unique to the building trades which established basic terms and conditions for all contractors on a specific construction project. The poor people affected by the projects received no such binding contractual coverage. Nor were the members of the community organizations confident that labor had formed an alliance with them for the long haul. Anthony Thigpenn of AGENDA, a community organization based in south Los Angeles, argues that the labor movement has to demonstrate the strategic and not just tactical advantages of coalitions. Such a demonstration requires a comprehensive and long-term regional development plan that serves the interests of both unions and communities.

Unions also have their share of concerns about the community organizations and their share of internal conflicts. When the IAF or ACORN is involved from the outset, unions have assurances that there will be allies able to plan and mobilize as full partners. When no such groups exist, the unions become more wary. Moreover, there are real differences of opinion among labor activists about the value of coalition politics. The internationals and the locals are not always in agreement about strategy. Sometimes the impetus comes from one and sometimes from the other; only occasionally are both in agreement. The AFL-CIO national, regional, and metropolitan offices add yet more layers in negotiating strategy. Even among some of the staff of CLCs committed to Union Cities with its emphasis on regional development and organizing, there is disagreement about the value of living wage campaigns. Unions have limited resources and must consider trade-offs. Should energy and resources be put into mobilizing for living wage campaigns or put straight into workplace organizing? When a first contract is under negotiation, should low-wage workers hold out

On June 7, 2002, living wage advocate Patrick Blum addressed the state Democratic convention in Madison, Wisconsin. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

for the higher living wage or settle for salaries lower than those mandated by a living wage ordinance but still representative of a victory for that local?

What Has Been Achieved?

By June 2002, there were over eighty ordinances on the books, counting precursors in Des Moines and Gary, Indiana. Sixty-five ordinances have passed since Baltimore in 1994, which is generally considered the first victory in the modern living wage movement.

Wages range from $6.15 (New Orleans) to $12.92/hour, assuming the employer pays health benefits, otherwise $11.42/hour (Santa Monica). Many are indexed to inflation or to the federally determined poverty level. Job categories covered are generally limited to janitorial, food service, security, parking lot attendants, hotel, restaurant, and clerical workers. However, a few ordinances include more; Chicago includes home healthcare workers, and Denver on-site childcare workers.

Thirty-five ordinances principally cover city or county service contractors. Nine cover only some form of economic development subsidy. Twenty-four cover both service contracts and economic development subsidies. Seven ordinances additionally cover some firms leasing land from the city, and one ordinance, Berkeley, California, extends coverage to all businesses within the Berkeley Marina Zone. Several also cover direct city or county employees in addition to contracts and/or subsidies recipients.

One ordinance, Santa Monica, requires employers who have no direct financial relationship with the city to pay a living wage (employers operating within the city's Coastal Zone tourist district with revenues of more than $5 million a year). Another ordinance, adopted in New Orleans by referendum, extends more broadly in covering all public and private sector workers, and thus resembles the more familiar minimum wage. Twenty ordinances cover some nonprofits.

Eleven ordinances include some "jobs" language—for example, job creation goals and targeted commu-

nity hiring. Two require covered firms to work with community hiring halls to fill jobs created with contract/subsidy.

Fifty-two ordinances require (or encourage) some form of health benefits. This sometimes implies only that the health benefit requirement is simply stated as such but can also require a wage at a higher percentage of the poverty calculation for firms that do not provide health benefits. Eight include vacation benefits.

Many ordinances include specific labor language having to do with prevailing wage, participation in union apprenticeship programs, prohibitions on use of public money for anti-union activities, worker retention, sick pay, vacation pay, and healthcare.

In addition to these governmental ordinances, ten universities have at least partly changed their wage or employment practices in response to living wage campaigns. Over twenty campus campaigns are either in early (five) or advanced (sixteen) stages of organizing. Students have led these efforts, but faculty, alumni, community members, and—in nine out of ten victories—local unions have played important roles. Among those with the strongest gains, such as Cornell, Wesleyan, Harvard, and Stanford, the new policies greatly reflect governmental ordinances in terms of the definitions of a living wage and the level of benefits. At many of the others, the gains have been much more modest.

Campaigns targeting governmental bodies and those targeting universities exhibit recurrent differences, but it is important to recognize the rising tide of campaigns against institutions of higher education.

Where and How?

During the 1960s, campaigns for government ordinances expanded in major urban areas throughout the United States. Key municipalities include Baltimore, Milwaukee, Chicago, Los Angeles, Boston, San Jose, Miami, Oakland, and New Orleans.

Baltimore

The living wage campaign in Baltimore was initiated by the preexisting Baltimoreans United in Leadership Development (BUILD) organization of forty-six churches, affiliated with the Industrial Areas Foundation. BUILD advanced the idea as part of an ongoing effort to rebuild the center city and provide economic justice to marginalized populations. The specific catalyst to a coalition around community development and workplace organizing was the Inner Harbor Development. This large-scale urban project required public subsidy, which in turn depended on support—or, at least, the absence of protest and resistance—from the city's predominantly black population. BUILD created a campaign with highly visible and original public actions (subsidy tours, etc.). An alliance was formed between BUILD and the international American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), the largest union representing government employees. AFSCME viewed the living wage as a way to stem privatization.

The first step was to encourage the mayor to pass a "right to organize" ordinance, which he helped to do in the summer of 1994. The legislation protects the worker by voiding the contract of a contractor who fires someone for organizing and by hiring the fired person onto the city payroll. The immediate result of this law and the alliance was an intensive joint organizing campaign, especially among building service workers such as janitors, which created an organization of low-wage workers, Solidarity, which is self-described as "a little bit of church, a little bit of union, a little bit of social service, a whole lot of politics!"

The next step was a campaign for a living wage pegged to the inflation rate and applicable to city contractors. The campaign exploited existing political divisions and upcoming elections to garner support and fight the business opposition. In December 1994, the living wage ordinance passed with strong city council support.

Milwaukee

The living wage campaign in Milwaukee was led by the Campaign for a Sustainable Milwaukee (CSM), created in 1993 by the Milwaukee County Labor Council (MCLC). The CSM represented a broadly based coalition composed of housing activists, environmentalists, community organizers, religious leaders, and third-party activists, but clearly with the MCLC taking the leading role. The broad-based coalition contrasted to prior labor strategies where MCLC picked its battles selectively and only then sought out allies.

The CSM launched its campaign for a living wage in March 1995, using Baltimore's 1994 ordinance as its model. CSM targeted firms doing business with the city, the county, and the school board to pay a minimum $7.70 an hour. The campaign itself relied on grassroots organizing strategies that led to a string of partial successes in which all three units of government adopted a living wage ordinance. First, the city set its minimum pay for service contract employees at

$6.05 (1995), followed by the school district (1996) setting its baseline wages at $7.70 and the county (1997) at $6.25, all indexed for increases.

Following these successes, the CSM kept the coalition intact, establishing a Workers Rights Board (WRB) to protect workers rights, whether union or not. The WRB monitors and holds hearings on injustices workers face on the job and in their communities, and it monitors the three separate living wage ordinances.

Chicago

ACORN initiated the Chicago campaign by creating a steering committee composed of a wide variety of key organizations, including many unions. The coalition targeted city contracts and financial assistance. A systematic strategy to contact all fifty members of the city council in the fall of 1995 succeeded in bringing thirteen city council members on board in a short time, and by spring of 1996 twenty-six councilors had become cosponsors of the bill. The coalition organized rallies and used substantial political leverage to dissuade Mayor Richard Daley from opposing the law, which he did all the same. The coalition nonetheless continued its high-profile efforts promoting the living wage law. For example, it extended its range, supporting the attempts of a local company that paid living wages to stay in Chicago.

In the summer of 1997, activists finally pushed for a vote; Daley's opposition held sway and the vote failed. The campaign did not die, however. In the summer of 1998 living wage advocates linked the living wage issue with proposed increases in city council and mayoral salaries, and the mayor struck a deal allowing a living wage law covering city contracts to pass the city council.

Los Angeles

The LA campaign was initiated by local labor working in conjunction with community and religious groups on worker and economic issues. One aspect spurring the effort was the potential loss of hundreds of union jobs at the airport. The Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy (LAANE)—created by a local of Hotel and Restaurant Employees (HERE) to promote a positive climate for low-wage organizing in the LA tourist sector—led the campaign.

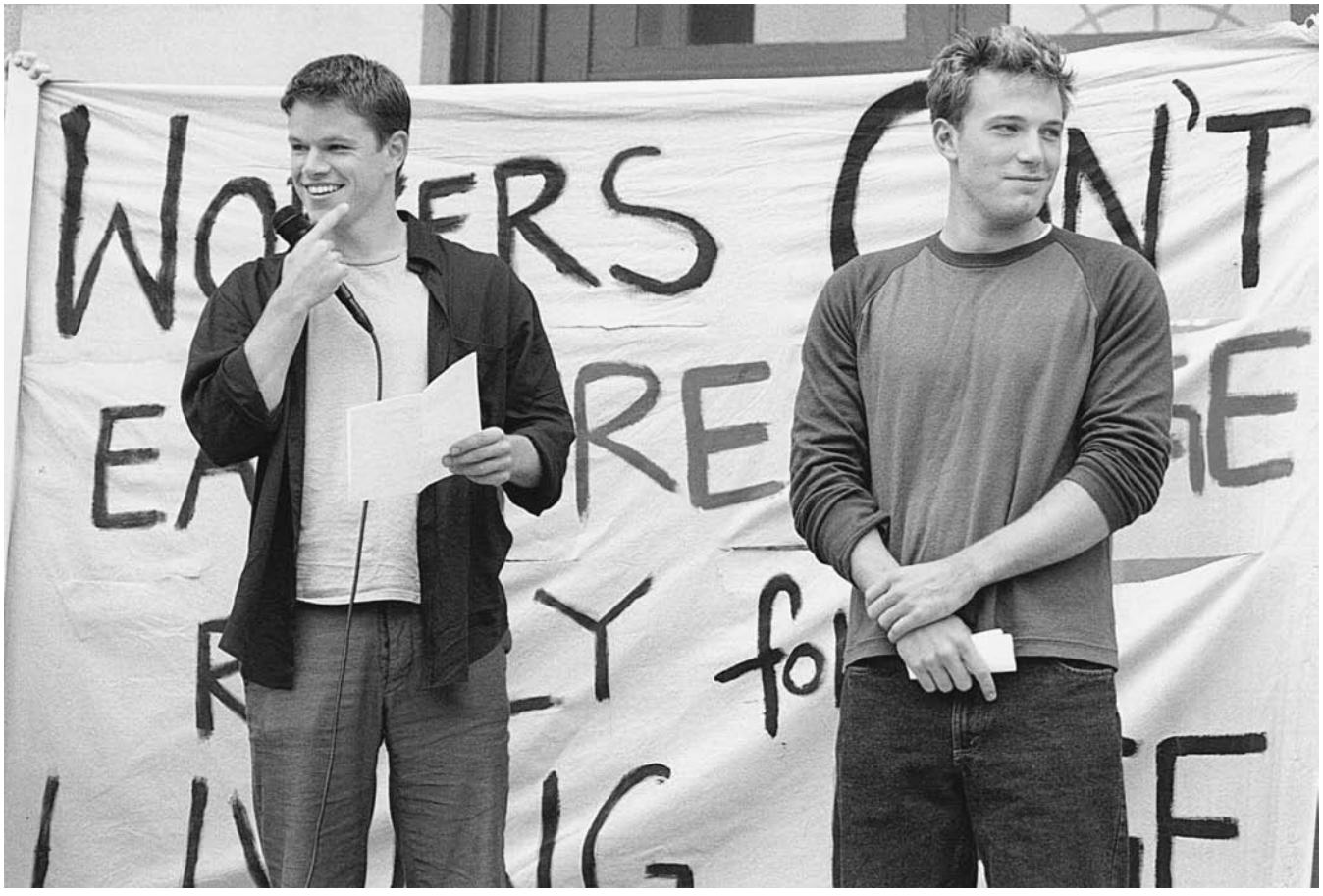
LAANE helped found an organization of progressive religious leaders with a focus on economic issues, recruited neighborhood, community, and union leaders, and organized and involved workers who would be affected by the ordinance. The effort faced concerted business opposition and a hostile mayor. The two-year multilevel campaign spent $300,000 and required policy development, coalition building, and worker education and mobilization. It created a presence in the streets and at city council meetings. It relied on well-prepared research, patient media strategy, and inside leadership of a progressive city council member. In the spring of 1997, the city council passed the measure unanimously and overrode the mayor's subsequent veto.

Boston

The Boston living wage campaign grew out of ACORN's efforts to create a labor-community coalition. Politicians warmly received early efforts, but this support evaporated when the mayor came out tentatively against the living wage idea. This stimulated more active organizing by the campaign. Escalating public action created strong support from the council and overrode a potential veto. By waiting until it had sufficient support for passage before releasing the actual provisions of the proposal, the campaign was able to outmaneuver the chamber of commerce and other opponents and pass legislation in 1997. The next year, the chamber counterattacked after the vote on legal grounds; the coalition yielded some elements in order to maintain the legislation.

San Jose

Working Partnerships USA (WPUSA), an organization created by the local South Bay Labor Council to "close the low road" while developing a high road and long-term strategy for restructuring low-wage industries to support families, led the living wage campaign. WPUSA's living wage campaign integrated research, policy development, grassroots education, and leadership. Together with San Jose State University, it created a local Labor Community Leadership Institute to educate leaders about the politics of local economic development. The campaign also recruited leaders from the WPUSA's preexisting Community Economic Blueprint Project. Participants in the resulting coalition included the Green Party, ACORN, a toxics coalition, an immigrant rights organization, Hispanic and Vietnamese Chambers of Commerce, and others. Against a business coalition and strong editorializing by the *San Jose Mercury News*, the campaign won support from key city council members and the mayor and passed the ordinance in 1998.



On May 6, 2000, actors Matt Damon (left) and Ben Affleck address a rally of the Harvard Living Wage Campaign with the aim of raising service workers' wages to $10.25 an hour. Damon had attended Harvard University and Affleck's father and stepmother had worked at Harvard as custodians. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

Miami/Dade County

The Miami case is relatively unique in that no vocal business opposition emerged. No one even spoke against it at the County Commissioner meeting at which the formal vote was held. But advocates anticipated such opposition and attempted a grassroots campaign. The Community Coalition for a Living Wage was initiated by the South Florida AFL-CIO and the Human Services Coalition, an organization of service providers to the poor. Following background research, the coalition held a series of low-key events: breakfasts, open meetings, opinion pieces, and the like. The coalition conducted a campaign that seems amateurish in comparison with other locales. There were no paid staff and little strategic discussion, and regular meetings drew limited attendance. The campaign suffered from sporadic leadership, no budget or treasury, uneven and halting outreach, and very little union involvement until near the end. Mass phone calling, one large public rally, and turnout for the vote constituted the main efforts. In May 1999, with hundreds of supporters watching, the county council voted unanimously in favor of the ordinance.

Oakland

Local unions and community organizations in Oakland created a new social movement organization after their joint efforts won the passage of a living wage ordinance. ACORN initiated the project, involving unions, other community organizations, and churches, but it also acted independently to highlight the plight of low-wage workers. In response to public actions, city officials began to promote the living wage idea. In fact, political support moved too fast for local organizers, who hadn't solidified coalition or policy, and they asked politicians to slow down the process. The

local campaign used models and resources from other cities' struggles (Denver and Los Angeles). In the course of the campaign, tension arose between labor and community leaders over leadership and specific policy issues, including first rights to jobs (between ACORN and unions). ACORN used the campaign as a recruitment strategy, while unions saw new points of leverage over firms in the legislation. However, members realized they needed each other, and the coalition held.

After the law was passed by the city council, coalition members moved to formalize their partnership. Subsequently, the HERE local contributed resources for creating the East Bay Alliance for Sustainable Economy (EBASE), an organization similar to Los Angeles–based LAANE. One of its functions is to monitor living wage enforcement. But the efforts did not end here. EBASE began organizing an extension of the living wage policy to the Port of Oakland. It created the Coalition for an Accountable Port, with an agenda driven by unions, ACORN, and local community groups in close proximity. In their report on this case, Zabin and Martin claim that the relationships developed in the first campaign supported the later alliance, and it was particularly crucial in that racial difference between the mostly white unions and the mostly black community neighboring the port could have led to a breakdown.

The EBASE coalition led the campaign for passage of Measure I in 2002, which would apply the living wage to the Port of Oakland, that city's primary employer. Labor unions, community organizations, and churches developed a corps of volunteers, who staffed phone banks, walked the precincts, and "postered" the city streets. This effort led to a victory in March 2002 when Oakland voters overwhelmingly, by 78 to 22 percent, approved the living wage initiative, which provides an inflation indexed wage rate of $10.50 without benefits and $9.37 with benefits to the 1,500 low-wage workers at the port proper. It also requires businesses designated as "port-assisted" to pay these same wage rates, and it guarantees, when a contract at the port changes hands, that existing workers will be retained for ninety days and can be fired only for just cause.

New Orleans

The New Orleans Campaign for a living wage (NOCLW) is a coalition of labor, community, and religious groups that began organizing its campaign with an alternative target. Instead of targeting firms holding contracts with the city, NOCLW drafted a living wage proposal that would cover all workers, except those specifically excluded, and mandate a citywide minimum wage of $6.15 an hour, indexed to federal inflation figures. Thus, the New Orleans wage rate is the lowest among adopting cities, but its coverage is much broader than the others. Nearly one-third of employees in New Orleans (about 75,000 people) would receive increases of roughly $500 to $2,000 per year. NOCLW also chose not to place the wage proposal before a reluctant city council and mayor. Instead, with ACORN in the lead, it circulated petitions gathering 25,000 signatures calling for a public referendum.

NOCLW made specific appeals to small business owners for support, arguing that the increased purchasing power of low-wage workers who lived in neighborhoods where small businesses are concentrated would enhance their business activities. More generally, the campaign relied upon a bottom-up, grassroots strategy. Opposition to the minimum wage centered on the organization Small Business Coalition to Save Jobs (SBCST), which was composed of the chamber of commerce, the Marriott, Hyatt, and Hilton hotel chains, and the Restaurant Association. Opponents first turned to the Louisiana State legislature, which in 1997 passed a law barring local jurisdictions from setting their own wage floors. Litigation against the living wage referendum was dismissed as moot by an appeals court because the referendum had not yet occurred. In February 2002, voters in New Orleans approved the living wage referendum by 63 to 37 percent. The nation's first minimum wage rate within a city had been enacted. Litigation over its constitutionality is expected in the future.

The Effects of Living Wage Campaigns and Ordinances

Most studies on living wage laws have addressed the economic effects of the proposed or enacted legislation, and a few consider the nature of the local coalitions and campaigns. We review these in turn and generate a beginning consideration of the factors associated with the success of living wage campaigns. We end with summary comments reflecting on the available data.

Robert Pollin and Stephanie Luce suggest that the small size of municipal polities inhibits money-dominated politics and facilitates the impact of advocacy coalitions. They also argue that urban poverty and limited low-wage employment, especially in the face of extensive public subsidies for development,

create opportunity. Other scholars use urban political theory to identify the types of cities in which public subsidies are linked to redistributive measures. Fiscal and economic variables, as well as "residential need," are key factors in this perspective.

Isaac Martin doubts that the key factors explaining the adoption of living wage laws are endogenous to cities. Discounting poverty levels and similar economic factors, he argues that political resources available to local labor and community organizations matter, in interaction with national networks that provide policy models and expertise from other cities. Using a logistical regression analysis of the factors affecting whether the cities with populations of 100,000 or more have enacted living wage laws, Martin finds that economic factors are not significant and that the interaction between the existence of an ACORN chapter and union density has a positive and significant effect. His analysis suffers from at least two evident weaknesses. First, the presence of an ACORN chapter is highly correlated with city size, which is also a positive and significant factor. Thus, the effect of the ACORN variable may be spurious. Second, Martin suggests that the operative dynamic in living wage law adoption reflects the isomorphic processes described by sociological new institutionalist theory, in which actors look to other actors for policy models in times of uncertainty and without knowing the full effects of policy options. This interpretation, although plausible, is not supported by any empirical evidence.

There are yet more problems with the ACORN chapter hypothesis. According to ACORN's Web site, although there are chapters in "more than 30 cities," ACORN-led coalitions have won living wage ordinances only in "St. Louis, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Boston, Oakland, Denver, Chicago, Cook County, IL and Detroit." These nine successes affiliated with ACORN chapters do not constitute compelling support for casting them as the key medium of diffusion and success for what is now over eighty living wage successes.

Other scholars focusing on social movements and presenting analyses of individual cases note several patterns with regard to successful campaigns. Nearly all living wage successes involve coalitions that include a broad range of members drawing from labor, community, and religious groups. David Reynolds suggests that the 1997 Chicago coalition is typical of many coalitions. It had seventy-eight members, including neighborhood organizations, state congressional representatives, a variety of unions, a New Party chapter, a homeless advocacy group, policy centers, the League of Women Voters, religious groups, ACORN, the Democratic Socialists of America, and others.

In many cases, central labor councils have been the key labor player. The community groups that have been critical in initiating many campaigns are often local chapters of the ACORN and Industrial Area Foundations. In a number of cities, organizations of religious leaders concerned about local economic issues either initiated the living wage campaign or were formed in the early stages of campaign building.

The passage of living wage laws may reflect a diffusion process whereby a local or regional success legitimates the concept for nearby actors, unions, community organizations, and public officials alike. The geographic cluster of living wage ordinances suggests a process of inspiration or imitation vis-à-vis nearby cities. For example, California (fifteen), Michigan (nine), Wisconsin (six), and New York (six) account for thirty-six successes—almost half of the total. While California may be at greater "risk" for the passage of living wage laws due to the number of California cities and municipalities, the other three states combined with Wisconsin (four) account for one-third of the total, not including three cases in New Jersey. It may be possible to model the diffusion of living wage laws from regional origins, particularly major metropolitan cities. Many of the living wage cities or counties are not large urban areas, and within a framework of imitative diffusion, are likely to take leads from these regional hubs.

Conclusion

The living wage movement has had multiple impacts which as yet are not fully understood. However, it is clearly a movement as judged by the number of coalitions that exist, and it has achieved some notable success. The movement has modified a range of wage-setting practices, and it is potentially reshaping a number of related labor processes. In addition to the direct effects on workers and their families, the living wage campaigns have also raised important questions about economic and political practices. Attempts to understand the economic consequences of these laws have stimulated creative rethinking of theoretical and applied issues heatedly disputed regarding minimum wage policies. In the political sphere, new coalitions, issue framings, and public policies may combine to unsettle existing relationships and offer opportunities for creative policy entrepreneurs to exploit.

Another important effect may be increased cooperation and collaboration between unions and various types of community organizations. Generated in con-

crete local struggles, the widely shared experiences of positive union-community relationships and most important, of victories, may diffuse through these respective networks and facilitate future coalitions beyond the original contexts. By building trust, raising beliefs in joint efficacy, and suggesting new cooperative possibilities, living wage campaigns may lower future costs and heighten the gains from innovative coalitions and partnerships. The living wage campaigns demonstrate that coalitions of diverse actors and organizations, though always difficult to build and fragile over time, are possible. The campaigns also illuminate the importance of such coalitions for both winning passage of ordinances and ensuring their implementation. The major significance of the living wage movement may in fact lie in the construction of coalitions committed to reducing poverty and new strategies for improving the lives of low-wage workers.

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Protests Against the World Trade Organization in Seattle

On November 30, 1999, the "Battle of Seattle" began. Protesters delayed and seriously disrupted the ministerial meetings of the World Trade Organization (WTO). Police and law enforcement officers, wearing riot gear and carrying billy clubs, pepper spray, and tear gas canisters, responded by chasing the crowds around the city streets, using the gas and clubs they carried, and arresting more than 500 people, including some engaged in nonviolent civil disobedience and some simply caught in the action. The mayoral proclamation of a "no-protest zone" in the downtown core and the abrogation of the civil rights of the detainees provoked further demonstrations. The "Battle of Seattle" may have officially ended on December 3, but it became the precursor for major demonstrations for global justice that followed in Mexico City, Prague, Melbourne, Washington, D.C., Genoa, New York, and other cities throughout the world where representatives of world financial institutions were meeting.

The WTO was virtually invisible to most of the United States population before the protests, but by the end of this well-publicized week, the WTO and its opposition were major subjects of controversy and debate. The trade ministers had come to Seattle to define the rules of international trade. More than 40,000 demonstrators wanted a more radical reconsideration of the economics and politics of international trade and financial organizations. The protesters came from a myriad of social movements, and they pushed a diverse agenda, including but not limited to environmental, human rights, fair trade, Third World development, biotechnology, debt relief, labor, and agriculture issues. Some were interested only in nonconfrontational and legal demonstrations, others were committed to nonviolent civil disobedience, and a small minority brandished vandalism as a tactic. Coalitions among the protest organizations formed, dissolved, and re-formed during the months of planning preceding the ministerial meetings and during the week of action.

The protesters were united in their opposition to corporate globalization that serves big multinationals and rich nations to the detriment of workers, peasants, poor countries, and the environment. Months of popular mobilization and years of campaign work by movement organizations paid off in the streets of Seattle. A new mass movement for global justice was born.

The World Trade Organization

The World Trade Organization is the international organization charged with providing an institutional framework for the conduct of trade negotiations among its membership of over 140 nations. Founded in 1995 as an extension of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the WTO has greatly expanded influence over multilateral trade. Whereas GATT had no enforcement powers, the WTO has the authority to enforce trade agreements among its members, even when WTO policies conflict with domestic laws.

The primary goals of the WTO are to help trade flow freely by providing a set of rules to which all member nations must abide, to provide a forum for trade negotiation, and to settle trade disputes among its members. All member nations must adhere to a series of agreements covering trade spheres such as agriculture, intellectual property, and services. All trade relationships must be nondiscriminatory—that is, all trading partners must be treated equally, with no partner receiving special treatment. The policy further requires the increasing elimination of protectionism by a country of its products.

When one country challenges another's trade policy, a panel of three trade representatives hears the disputes. A country that refuses to abide by the panel's decision may face WTO-approved trade sanctions. Trade ministers represent their countries to the

On November 30, 1999, protesters mount a city bus that police had parked end-to-end around the Seattle Convention Center to keep them out. *(Liz A. Highleyman)*

WTO and meet periodically to work out details of trade agreements. Negotiations are named for the location in which they meet. During the "Seattle Round," ministers planned to address agriculture, services, and government procurement (left over from the previous "Uruguay Round"). On the table in Seattle were the Forest Products Agreement, the Multilateral Agreement on Investments (banking and finance), biotechnology, intellectual property rights, and electronic commerce. Labor rights, human rights, and the social and environmental consequences of trade policy were most definitely not on the table.

Objections to the WTO

Detractors accuse the WTO of being undemocratic, serving the interests of corporations over people and the environment, trampling human rights, increasing global inequality, and undermining national sovereignty. They view the WTO as serving the interests of corporations and rich nations to the detriment of the interests of less-developed nations, who are forced into trade agreements that are not necessarily beneficial to them. A primary complaint is that the WTO lacks transparency; negotiations often take place in closed sessions, and there is no public record of the proceedings.

To illustrate some of these claims, activists publicized the Hormone Beef and the Shrimp-Turtle cases. In both cases, the WTO's dispute resolution board ruled against countries that had adopted regulations to protect the environment or public health.

In the Hormone Beef case, the United States challenged a European Union (EU) ban on the sale of beef from cattle that had been fed certain artificial growth hormones because this disqualified some American beef from sale. The law was intended to protect consumers from the unknown effects of hormones, but the WTO ruled that this public health measure was an illegal barrier to trade under the WTO and gave the EU a limited period to open its markets to hormone-treated beef.

In the same year, several Asian nations brought the United States before the WTO. The U.S. Endangered Species Act forbade the sale of shrimp that had been caught in nets that did not use inexpensive "turtle excluder devices" to eliminate the trapping and killing of endangered sea turtles in the nets. The WTO ruled against the United States, which then sought ways to rewrite its laws to bring them into compliance with the WTO while still protecting turtles.

Organized labor has battled long and hard to protect the rights of workers, and a victory on a global scale occurred in 1998 when the International Labour Organization (ILO) adopted the Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work. Through this action, the ILO confirmed the core labor standards it had sought to uphold since its founding in 1919. These include the right of association, the right to organize and bargain collectively, prohibition against the use of any form of forced or compulsory labor, a minimum age for the employment of children, and acceptable work conditions with respect to minimum wages, hours of work, and occupational safety and health. The ILO has nearly 350 country members and considerable research capacity, but no enforcement powers. Thus, labor organizations are searching elsewhere for an international body capable of effective implementation.

ILO DECLARATION ON FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES AND RIGHTS AT WORK 1998

The International Labour Organization (ILO), founded in 1919 under the Treaty of Versailles, is the United Nations agency that seeks to promote social justice and internationally recognized human and labor rights. In 1998, the Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work addressed the declining labor standards worldwide and the need to provide basic rights in the workplace.

International Labour Conference 86th Session, Geneva, June 1998

Whereas the ILO was founded in the conviction that social justice is essential to universal and lasting peace;

Whereas economic growth is essential but not sufficient to ensure equity, social progress and the eradication of poverty. . . .

Whereas the ILO should . . . draw upon all its standard-setting, technical cooperation and research resources in all its areas of competence, in particular employment, vocational training and working conditions, to ensure that, in the context of a global strategy for economic and social development, economic and social policies are mutually reinforcing components in order to create broad-based sustainable development;

Whereas the ILO should give special attention to the problems of persons with special social needs, particularly the unemployed and migrant workers, and mobilize and encourage international, regional and national efforts aimed at resolving their problems, and promote effective policies aimed at job creation;

Whereas, in seeking to maintain the link between social progress and economic growth, the guarantee of fundamental principles and rights at work is of particular significance in that it enables the persons concerned to claim freely and on the basis of equality of opportunity their fair share of the wealth which they have helped to generate, and to achieve fully their human potential;

Whereas the ILO is the constitutionally mandated international organization and the competent body to set and deal with international labour standards. . . .

Whereas it is urgent, in a situation of growing economic interdependence, to reaffirm the immutable nature of the fundamental principles and rights embodied in the Constitution of the Organization and to promote their universal application;

The International Labour Conference

1. Recalls:

(a) that in freely joining the ILO, all Members have endorsed the principles and rights set out in its Constitution and in the Declaration of Philadelphia, and have undertaken to work towards attaining the overall objectives of the Organization to the best of their resources. . . .

(b) that these principles and rights have been expressed and developed in the form of specific rights and obligations in Conventions recognized as fundamental both inside and outside the Organization.

2. Declares that all Members, even if they have not ratified the Conventions in question, have an obligation arising from the very fact of membership in the Organization, to respect, to promote and to realize . . . the principles concerning the fundamental rights, . . . namely:

(a) freedom of association and the effective recognition of the right to collective bargaining;

(b) the elimination of all forms of forced or compulsory labour;

(c) the effective abolition of child labour; and

(d) the elimination of discrimination in respect of employment and occupation.

3. Recognizes the obligation on the Organization to assist its Members, . . . in order to attain these objectives by making full use of its constitutional, operational and budgetary resources, including by the mobilization of external resources and support, as well as by encouraging other international organizations . . . to support these efforts:

(a) by offering technical cooperation and advisory services to promote the ratification and implementation of the fundamental Conventions;

(b) by assisting those Members not yet in a position to ratify some or all of these Conventions in their efforts to respect, to promote and to realize the principles concerning fundamental rights . . . and

(c) by helping the Members in their efforts to create a climate for economic and social development.

4. Decides that, to give full effect to this Declaration, a promotional follow-up, . . . shall be implemented in accordance with the measures specified in the annex hereto. . . .

5. Stresses that labour standards should not be used for protectionist trade purposes, and that nothing in this Declaration and its follow-up shall be invoked or otherwise used for such purposes; in addition, the comparative advantage of any country should in no way be called into question by this Declaration and its follow-up.

Source: "ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work." Available at www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/decl/declaration/text/.

Police fire tear gas to disperse protesters in Seattle during the conference of the World Trade Organization on November 30, 1999. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

The AFL-CIO advocates that the WTO officially adopt the core labor standards and establish enforcement mechanisms to penalize trade of products derived from substandard production practices. The WTO is uniquely situated to impose labor standards because it has enforcement powers to which member countries have agreed to abide. Nor is there any question that many corporations derive greater profits and that wealthier nations obtain cheaper goods off the backs of those who work in sweatshops for paltry wages, often in unsafe working conditions and without the benefit of union protection. For global justice activists, this is unfair trade and should be deemed so by the adjudicating trade body, the WTO.

Although all WTO members in 1996 vowed to observe core labor standards, the WTO has no official procedures to uphold them. Moreover, some of the poorer countries, for whom low-wage workers are a prime asset, resist linkage of trade sanctions and labor rights. Poor countries are also increasingly in debt to other multilateral institutions like the International Monetary Fund, paying significant portions of their GNP to debt service instead of providing for their citizens. When the majority of a country's workers receive sweatshop wages, the country has no possibility of escaping the yoke of debt. Even so, interests both within and outside of their countries benefit and resist regulation.

Activists accuse the WTO of being undemocratic. First, power within the WTO is extremely unequal, advantaging the rich countries (especially the "Quad"—United States, Canada, Japan, and the European Union) and disadvantaging the poor. The process for reaching important agreements is often through side deals, not one country, one vote. In late 1999, for example, eleven developing countries sent a letter to the chairman of the WTO complaining that they had been excluded from small "green room" meetings in which trade ministers planned the agenda for Seattle. These countries continue to agitate, thus confirming the global justice activists' perception about undemocratic processes within the WTO.

Second, the WTO arbitration panel can overrule domestic laws and in other ways undermine national

sovereignty and even the political will of populaces who have democratically determined to protect themselves against hormone additives or to shelter turtles from shrimp nets. There is no mechanism for making the WTO accountable; it is not an elected body, nor is it subject to checks and balances outside itself. This is, of course, a general problem with international trade and financial institutions, but some are more open to mechanisms of external accountability than others.

Major Actors in the Protests

People for Fair Trade/Network Opposed to the WTO (PFT/NOWTO) was a spinoff from the consumer rights organization Public Citizen, formed to coordinate the mobilization of activists to join the protest in Seattle. PFT set itself up as a resource for Seattle activists, running a speakers' bureau, holding large public meetings, doing outreach to student groups and local activists, and providing coordination for diverse groups with diverse issues. Mike Dolan, a veteran of many national campaigns and the deputy director of the Global Trade Watch program of Public Citizen, headed PFT. PFT used the Alinsky model (named after Saul Alinsky, a community organizer in the 1950s and 1960s) of educating to organize, not organizing to educate. The focus of much of the PFT effort was turnout for the November 30 march and rally, initiated by the AFL-CIO.

Although PFT played an important role in coordinating the mobilization that preceded the protests against the WTO, the organization itself demonstrates the difficulties in coordinating a coalition of diverse interests. PFT began its life as a coalition of about eighty people and organizations who attended a public meeting called by Dolan soon after the WTO announced Seattle would be the location of its ministerial meeting. Some meeting attendees, including representatives of labor, environment, trade, faith-based, and other organizations, had worked together on previous campaigns such as the anti-Multilateral Agreement on Investments (MAI) campaign, the Stop Fast Track Trade Negotiating Authority campaign, and the anti-North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) campaign, while others found out about the meeting through alternative networks. They formed a steering committee and ad hoc working groups to plan and coordinate the protest logistics. For the next several months, however, their activities apparently centered on a debate over the name their organization would adopt. "People for Fair Trade" appealed to some, typically the more mainstream activists who advocated reforming the WTO, while more radical activists who wanted to abolish the WTO preferred "Network Opposed to the WTO." The group never reached consensus and decided to string both names together. Later, when the coalition collapsed and PFT became a staff-run venture headed by Dolan, groups that wanted to continue an affiliation would adopt whichever name they preferred, resulting in PFT neighborhood groups and NOWTO student groups at local colleges and universities. The early failure to agree on a name essentially doomed the coalition, which withered away.

During the summer, Mike Dolan set up an office in downtown Seattle and hired a small professional staff, adopting the PFT/NOWTO name. There was some tension between PFT and several local activists who would have preferred a volunteer-based nonhierarchical steering committee to the staff-driven hierarchical organization the PFT became. Whereas PFT was focused on coordinating a single event, the labor march on November 30, many local groups wanted to use the event for movement building.

The AFL-CIO turned out the largest block of people in Seattle for the march on November 30. Taking advantage of its federated structure and dispersing responsibility for mobilization among West Coast locals, the AFL-CIO turned out between 20,000 and 40,000 people.

The King County Labor Council (KCLC) and its executive secretary, Ron Judd, began to deal with logistics and coordination the very day the WTO announced Seattle as the location of its upcoming ministerial meeting. The AFL's participation in the protests was not a given—its relationship to trade is complex. Torn between supporting favored pro–free trade Democratic politicians and watching high-paying union jobs shift to the less expensive Third World, the AFL-CIO decided that Seattle was a place to take a stand. It adopted an "inside-outside" strategy of protest—advocating "fair" trade and adoption of the ILO's core labor standards within the WTO, as well as organizing a massive march through downtown Seattle on November 30.

In the autumn, the AFL employed about thirty organizers to conduct informational briefings within the locals and to encourage their participation. The AFL rented trains and busses for union members and their families to travel to Seattle and made attendance an institutional priority.

The AFL was careful during the mobilization phase to downplay the direct action and mass civil disobedience being planned by other groups in order to secure the greatest cooperation of its members who

might have been turned off by direct action. The march was advertised as a family event, and union members were encouraged to bring their families, which many appear to have done. Less mobile union sympathizers were able to attend parallel events to the march.

The focus of the AFL campaign involved educating its members and getting them to the march. There was little public knowledge about the WTO in mid-1999 and much less about its implications for labor, but some unions such as the Steelworkers, Union of Needletrades, Industrial, and Textile Employees (UNITE), Teamsters, and United Auto Workers who had been seriously affected by trade policies were already very well informed and consequently more prepared to take a radical stance against the WTO. Early in the mobilization, there had been some talk of a general strike, and Judd was credited with calling for one, but a general strike was never an AFL goal.

Some within labor's ranks felt that the AFL-CIO had not gone nearly far enough in its opposition to the WTO. Some unions, for example, the IWW, the Steelworkers, and some Teamster locals, were determined to be more militant in their opposition, and they planned to join the civil disobedience in the downtown core as the march passed through. Confusion downtown led to conflicts over the route of the march. Given the decision to maintain a legal and peaceful march, labor marshals tried to steer the march on an alternate route away from the ongoing street battles. Thousands broke through—some by choice and some by chance—and added their number to the face-off against the police. As the afternoon grew more heated, most unionists departed and rejoined the march back to Memorial Stadium.

As the week wore on, and the official response to the protests was to deny the populace their civil liberties, organized labor and especially the King County Labor Council (KCLC), led by Ron Judd, Verlene Wilder, and others, played a major role as liaison with city officials, urging temperance in the city's response. Although organized labor had actively tried to distance itself from groups that promoted nonviolent civil disobedience during the preparation and early mobilization phase, the Labor Temple became a sanctuary for activists being pursued by riot police later in the week and Ron Judd became a very vocal defender of civil liberties. When about 600 nonviolent protesters were sent to jail on December 1, the day after the massive protests, Judd was instrumental in securing their release, cashing in some of his political chits with the city. He also provided the resources of the KCLC to coordinate a second major march on Friday, December 2. Local unions supplied food to those holding a vigil at the downtown jail awaiting the release of arrested activists. By the end of the week, organized labor and other protesters had drawn closer together.

The primary role of the Direct Action Network (DAN) in the protests was training activists in a variety of nonviolent civil disobedience tactics such as jail solidarity, street theater, drumming, chanting, signmaking, first aid, as well as the philosophy of nonviolence itself. Activists were recruited to Seattle through vast informal networks; as a result, many who came to Seattle were veterans of protest movements.

DAN adopted a decision-making structure designed to contradict the structure of the WTO. Where the WTO was dominated by a few wealthy nations and developing nations were deprived of influence, DAN adopted a horizontal structure in which decisions were made through a formal consensus process. Activists were arranged into clusters of affinity groups that together planned their protest activities. They ensured their representation in organizational decision making by sending the spokespersons of affiliated groups to weekly "spokescouncil" meetings.

The roots of DAN lie in the efforts of Art and Revolution, a San Francisco–based group that works to develop creative protests with other social change organizations. In mid-1999 Art and Revolution sought partners in planning street theater and mass direct action in Seattle. By June, a number of West Coast activist groups were meeting in regular conference calls to plan the protests. Their plan was to form an organization modeled after organizations like Reclaim the Streets and Peoples' Global Action, which would initiate a single mass direct action in Seattle as a focal point for mobilization. Later, the plan changed to training and supporting activists in smaller independent actions.

The organizing group, which included Anarchists, environmentalists, activists from West Coast colleges and members of Jobs with Justice, received financial support from Global Exchange, Rainforest Action Network, and the Ruckus Society. The nascent network then formulated basic direct action guidelines before putting out a larger call to action. The agreement among these groups committed DAN to support activists with training and legal support and for all activists to agree to certain guidelines. Individuals who wanted to affiliate themselves with DAN must agree to four basic principles: to use no violence, either physical or verbal, toward any person, to not carry

weapons, neither to bring nor to use any alcohol or illegal drugs to the protest, and to not destroy property.

The organizing group planned to offer the organizational and strategic model it was building as a model for future mass actions, and DAN groups were eventually formed throughout the United States. In Seattle, DAN secured a large warehouse space close to downtown where activists could gather for meetings, where they could create props (puppets, banners, picket signs, costumes), and where they could eat and attend training and workshop sessions on a variety of topics ranging from "radical jeerleading" and drumming to emergency first aid. For several weeks the "convergence center" was a major hub of protest planning activity in Seattle.

As November 30 grew closer and DAN membership grew larger, relationships between DAN and the more mainstream organizers remained chilly. Even after a missed phone call resulted in the AFL-CIO-initiated march and the direct action being scheduled on the same day, DAN and the AFL had almost no contact. PFT was not overtly supportive of DAN either, removing links to DAN's website from its web page and not including DAN-sponsored events on the public calendar of events it published weekly in print and electronic form. Both the AFL and PFT took steps to isolate their supporters from DAN, putting the labor march and the direct action in competition with each other. Other groups, such as Jobs with Justice and the IWW, more marginal groups in the labor movement, were very supportive of and more tightly linked to DAN.

Hundreds of other organizations also participated in the protests. They represented an extremely diverse set of issues and concerns, ranging from political autonomy for Tibet to banning genetically engineered food, from protecting the environment to protecting workers. Some formed unlikely (and possibly short-term) coalitions, such as the Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment (ASJE), which developed among the U.S. Steelworkers and various environmental groups. And several signs boasted, "Teamsters and Turtles! Together at Last." All found a way to link their causes to the neoliberal trade regime represented by the WTO.

With a strong foundation in the religious community, Jubilee 2000 played a major role in organizing activities during the WTO ministerial meeting for "mainstream" activists. Jubilee 2000 focuses its activities on debt relief for Third World nations.

In the environmental community, the Sierra Club, EarthJustice, and American Lands Alliance were prominent. They worked with other organizations, especially AFL-CIO affiliates and the PFT, to organize scores of public events both before and during ministerial week. With Jubilee 2000, they helped legitimate the protests with the broader public.

Although they often had fewer resources to contribute and were often less visible as a result, local Seattle-based organizations were also both active and significant. Among many others, the Northwest Labor Employment Law Office (LELO) and the People's Assembly mobilized racial and ethnic minorities in Seattle, and student groups at area universities and community colleges were active on campuses.

An organization founded in anticipation of the Seattle protests was the Independent Media Center (Indy Media or IMC), a collective of independent (mostly amateur) journalists. IMC activists, unlike mainstream reporters, placed themselves in the center of the action throughout the week. They documented the protests on video and in print articles that were posted on the IMC website and beamed by satellite to public access television stations throughout the United States.

Legal observers trained by the National Lawyers Guild were highly visible during the protests and offered protesters a measure of protection as they stood in the middle of the action and recorded their observations.

Protest Narrative

The week of protests began on the cold and rainy night of November 29, 1999. Jubilee 2000 sponsored a symbolic circling of the Convention Center where the WTO was to meet the next day. The peaceful nighttime rally drew more than 3,000 participants from the environmental movement, churches, and labor unions.

Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) had planned a week-long conference to parallel the WTO's meeting. Each day was designated to focus on a specific set of issues, such as Women and Health, Food and Agriculture, and Democracy, and issue-specific forums and lectures were held at the First United Methodist Church. In addition, other groups planned teach-ins, debates, workshops, and smaller protests and rallies. All of these activities were overshadowed in the media by the mass demonstrations downtown, but these educational events were ongoing throughout and were important in contributing to the construction of a broad-based movement for global justice.

On Tuesday, November 30, the diversity of opposition to the WTO revealed itself in the banners, slogans, and chants of the marchers who converged downtown. They came from all over the city: Seattle Central Community College, the University of Washington, Victor Steinbreuck Park near Pike Place Market, the Filipino Community Center, the Denny Playfield. They united in the central business district where police in riot gear awaited them. Some wore the famous turtle costumes, some carried large puppets, some dressed in the hippy garb of the 1960s protests, and others were simply in everyday clothes. The atmosphere initially resembled that of a festival or a celebration. Documenting their progress were independent journalists who carried badges from Indy Media and legal observers trained and organized by the National Lawyers' Guild.

While most protesters milled around downtown streets, some activists locked themselves to one another or to concrete blocks, tying up key intersections downtown. Others heckled WTO ministers and their staffs as they tried to make their way to the Paramount Theater for the WTO's opening ceremonies, linking arms and refusing the delegates passage. By mid-morning the streets were flooded with protesters, who effectively forced the WTO to cancel opening ceremonies.

The police, wildly outnumbered by the demonstrators, concentrated on the periphery of these activities. A small group of masked, black-clad Anarchists took advantage of the geography of the police and dashed through downtown breaking windows and spray-painting anarchy symbols and slogans against the WTO. Some protesters attempted to protect glass storefronts. It was on these images of broken windows that the mainstream media focused, presenting a skewed view of the protests to the public at-large.

Throughout the day, police attempted to clear the streets, firing tear gas and concussion grenades into the crowds. Activists resisted, some seating themselves in the street and locking their arms. Most had no more than wet bandanas to protect them from the tear gas and pepper spray police aimed directly at their faces. This standoff repeated itself again and again in the downtown core. By late afternoon, despite their lack of progress in removing protesters, police had run out of tear gas and pepper spray, prompting a police captain to fly to Wyoming to gather additional supplies. The city council's WTO Accountability Review Committee later reported that during the day "police were violently barraged with ball bearings ("pachinko" balls), rocks and bottles, squirted with urine, etc."

While the civilly disobedient activists gathered downtown, more than 30,000 (some say 40,000 or more) additional demonstrators gathered at Memorial Stadium at Seattle Center for the rally and march organized by the AFL-CIO, the PFT/NOWTO, and other groups. The AFL-CIO march left Seattle Center at midday, and approximately 25,000 people headed toward downtown. Although the march route was redrawn to avoid the clashes downtown, thousands of marchers nonetheless joined the protests, at least for a time.

At 4:30 in the afternoon, Seattle Mayor Paul Schell declared a state of emergency in Seattle and established a 7 P.M. to 7:30 A.M. curfew downtown. Conflicts between police and crowd continued deep into the night and well outside the downtown core. Some of those caught in the gas or even arrested were not protesters but bystanders or people simply caught by accident as they tried to go to or from their homes.

The next morning, Wednesday, the central business district (CBD) became a "no protest zone," enforced by the police. There is still debate about what the mayor said or required, but there is no question that downtown protesters were under attack from the police who attempted to keep them out of the CBD. The anger protesters felt at the abridgment of their civil liberties was further fueled by President Bill Clinton's speech to WTO ministers in which he recognized the legitimacy of the demands for global justice and the reasons for the intensity of protest. He called on the WTO representatives to listen to the concerns being expressed on the street and to respond to them with policies designed to increase prosperity for all.

The remainder of the week centered as much on freedom of speech and freedom from police violence—local justice—as much as on global justice. Outside the Convention Center, demonstrators were again on the streets, protesting both the WTO and the "no protest" zone. Steelworkers, returning from a rally against cheap imported steel, converged with protesters fleeing police who had doused the crowd with tear gas while chasing and arresting hundreds of the nonviolent protesters. Some sought refuge in the Labor Temple, interrupting a strategy meeting of labor leaders. Nearly 600 were arrested that day, December 1.

On Thursday, December 2, labor and community leaders met to plan a march for Friday. They had learned that detainees were being denied fair treatment in jail and that some had been physically assaulted. They called on students, religious leaders,

environmentalists, Seattle citizens, and DAN activists to turn out. Ron Judd confronted city officials who opposed the march route through downtown. The marchers intended to transform the "No Protest Zone" back into a "Free Protest Zone."

Meanwhile, those who had been arrested called on their training in jail solidarity; they coordinated and refused to give their names until some of their common demands were met. Most important, they demanded application of the same misdemeanor charges to all activists and the right to consult a lawyer. Outside the King County Jail, supporters held an around-the-clock vigil demanding their release. Labor leaders and others negotiated with city officials to prevent disruption of the vigil, and an additional rally at the jail was planned for Friday following the march to take back the city.

On Friday, December 2, about 2,000 activists and radicalized citizens joined the march organized primarily by labor movement leaders. As a result of Ron Judd's negotiations with the city, the marchers were unmolested. Calls for fair treatment for jailed protesters continued, and many were released. The religious community held an interfaith prayer gathering.

The week came to a close. By Saturday, the WTO had left town. The activists felt triumphant in their opposition to the WTO and their support for global justice. They felt they had also succeeded in winning some local justice by taking the city back and reclaiming their civil rights. In the months following, nearly all the cases against arrestees were dismissed, the police chief resigned, the police were lambasted for improper procedures, and the mayor failed to gain reelection or even renomination. Thousands of observers and participants declared themselves radicalized. The Battle of Seattle symbolized the inauguration of the mass movement for global justice.

What Was Accomplished?

The protests in Seattle and all the protests that followed have led to changes in the public rhetoric of many of the international financial institutions, most particularly the World Bank. Perhaps the leaders of these organizations have developed greater sensitivity to issues of global justice. Yet, the major effect on the WTO seems to have been on the scheduling of its next meeting. It took place in Doha, Qatar, a location to which protesters were unlikely to have access.

Seattle cleaned its streets, reopened its downtown businesses, and returned to life pretty much as normal. The Seattle General Strike of 1919 remains an important part of the city's history, and so will the 1999 Battle of Seattle. However, the dot-com bust and the departure of Boeing's international headquarters are likely to have as many long-lasting effects on city business and politics as these significant social movements.

The events of the week of November 30–December 3, 1999, did much to expose the seamy side of globalization to public scrutiny. The protests, the teach-ins, the rallies, and their preparation helped build a solid foundation for a movement for global justice. New organizations, especially the Direct Action Network and the Independent Media Center, provided institutional models that diffused around the globe. DAN enabled activists to learn why and how to advocate global justice; the IMC made it possible for web-fluent citizens to see alternatives to mainstream media portraits of events. Movement organizations worked closely with old and new partners to mobilize their constituencies and reach out to new ones. "Teamsters and Turtles" may be somewhat mythic, but real and possibly enduring coalitions did form. The protests against the WTO in Seattle provided a template for similar protests worldwide and established a broad base of grassroots support for global justice campaigns.

Margaret Levi and Gillian Hughes Murphy

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Anti-Sweatshop Movement

The sweatshop has been with us since the dawn of industrialization. From its spread in the late nineteenth century until the present, the sweatshop as an institution and place of production has become synonymous with the garment industry and the production of clothing. Reformers, government investigators (local, state, and federal), trade unionists, and consumers have fought against this scourge since the 1890s when it was "discovered"—that is, given widespread attention and publicity—with mixed success. Yet, for all these efforts, in the early 1990s the sweatshop resurfaced.

The movement against sweatshops is an outgrowth of the economics of sweatshops that dehumanizes workers and their families. In 1896, a United States Department of Labor report defined it as follows: "a condition under which a maximum amount of work in a given time is performed for a minimum wage, and in which ordinary rules of health and comfort are disregarded." Today we recognize sweating labor as conditions of work in which any aspect of labor, building, or health codes is violated.

Sweatshops developed in the garment industry for a number of reasons. Economists perceive sweatshops as primitive production—a phase that some industries go through on their way to more mature manufacturing. Economist Michael Piore suggests that the lack of capital investment needed for garment production supports sweating labor. In most industries, capital investment is large. Therefore, management has an incentive to produce as efficiently as possible and to control production. Cost-effectiveness is achieved through scales of efficient production. But garments today as always are produced with very little technology, and workers are paid per piece. If a manufacturing company needs more goods, it merely hires more workers. If workers produce less, they get paid less. All the costs are borne by the workers. Therefore, since the barrier to enter the industry is small, developing nations see garment production as their first entry into industrial production. In addition, the nature of garment production and the nature of fashion play a role. Garment production is tied to consumer demand and the whims of fashion. Retailers need goods quickly as well as cheaply. They rely on contractors to deliver the goods. These contractors often subcontract, creating layers between workers and retailers. There are now as many as six sessions of production, and retailers order fewer and fewer items because time is important. No one wants bathing suits on a shelf in September. Only in goods such as jeans, where the demand is strong regardless of season, is production continuous and conducted in large-scale factory settings where efficiency is important. To meet these demands, sweating is often used. The chaotic nature of the industry, the flexibility needed to service the whims of fashion, the ready supply of cheap immigrant labor willing to accept subpar working standards, the use of homework, and the ever-present contracting/subcontracting system all led to making the sweatshop central to garment production in the United States and beyond.

The sweatshop reform effort of the early twentieth century was part of the larger reform efforts of the Progressive Era. Reformers were interested in bettering the lives of ordinary workingmen and women. Efforts to improve living conditions, public health, and sanitation, as well as working conditions, were at the center of these efforts. The sweatshop naturally attracted the attention of reformers because it was in essence at the center of all these reform efforts: sweatshops were typically homework shops in tenements (public health and living conditions) and provided an example of the ugliness of industrialization (working conditions).

From its discovery in the late 1890s, the crusades against the sweatshop had three principal partners: workers and unions, middle-class reformers and con-

sumers, and government regulators. Embedded in these efforts has been the issue of morality, which is equated with other abolitionist movements in the United States. Sweatshops were seen as a moral failure, and to remove them was an act of civilizing the nation. In addition, since most sweatshop workers are women, the anti-sweatshop movement has traditionally perceived them as hapless victims needing paternalistic aid.

Progressive Era: Discovery

Middle-class reformers rallied against sweatshops as part of larger public health efforts. It was believed that sweatshop workers—seen as sickly or potentially sickly—could unknowingly pass disease onto unwitting middle-class consumers through their contact with the garments. Photos of sick children lying on finished garments in tenement shops frightened middle-class mothers across the country. Stories of consumers getting diseases from blankets and clothing added to this fear. To protect middle-class families—and avoid the moral decay of society—middle-class women, without the right to vote but united as consumers, began to demand that the clothing that they bought be "unsweated." In 1891, the Consumers' League of New York was formed, and it created a list of shops that met a certain moral and physical standard and urged women to patronize only these shops. In 1899, the National Consumers League (NCL) was established. The leading figure in the NCL was Florence Kelley, who saw the moral power of consumers unwilling to purchase sweated goods as central to any effort to end sweating. With consumer pressure coupled with labor organization and government regulations, Kelley argued that sweatshops could be relegated to the dustbin of history. She drew on the label campaigns of the cigar workers and other unions to create the "white label"—white, representing, in a radicalized world, purity. The label was given to manufacturers who met the NCL standards. Middle-class women were expected to purchase goods with the white label. Here, Kelley came up with the cornerstone of the modern consumer movement: consumers could do the morally good thing simply by consuming intelligently. At the core of the NCL's rules were the requirements that manufacturers obey state codes, not employ children under sixteen, not engage in homework, and prohibit overtime among others. Historian Eileen Boris has written that, by 1904, only sixty manufacturers earned the label. To highlight the issue, Historian Kathryn Kish Sklar has discovered that the NCL entered into a partnership with John Wanamaker's department store. Wanamaker developed an industrial exhibit on sweatshops in his display windows. Using photos from Lewis Hine, he compared sweatshops to model shops and tried to portray his product lines as reflecting morality and those of his competitors as being morally suspect. Eileen Boris reminds us that these label campaigns "stressed the perils of the consumer rather than the rights of workers." Yet, workers did organize to change the conditions under which they labored.

The garment workers union, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU), clearly saw sweatshops as a threat to the health and safety not just of the workers who toiled in them, but of all garment workers as the sweatshop became the competitive norm in the industry, driving all wages and conditions down. In 1909, over 20,000 shirtwaist makers—most of them women—went on strike in New York City over the horrible conditions in the industry. At the heart of their grievances were the horrendous conditions of labor and the contracting system. Immediately, the women reformers within the NCL and those in the Women's Trade Union League aided the strikers and brought much-needed resources and public attention. When the strike ended a few weeks later, the ILGWU had made some real gains as hundreds of shops signed on. But they failed to get an industrywide agreement, and so several of the larger shops remained nonunion. In 1910, a larger strike by the mainly male cloakmakers ended in a revolutionary agreement, the Protocol of Peace. Leading reformers led by noted lawyer and future U.S. Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis created a collective bargaining agreement that covered the whole industry in New York City. One of the aims of the agreement, besides the natural bread-and-butter union matters, was a concerted effort to rid the industry of sweatshops through the institution of the union. The Protocol favored larger manufacturers. The union promised increased efficiencies of production in exchange for better wages and conditions and preferential employment of union members. In addition, the union promised to organize the entire industry. Large manufacturers could handle the increased labor costs through efficiencies of production and scale. But small shops could not. Hence, the Protocol was aimed at driving the small shops under. (Actually, it mainly drove them out of New York City to cheaper centers of garment production.) In addition, the Protocol institutionalized a Joint Board of Sanitary

Control that issued certificates and labels for shops that met industry standards.

Another major effort in the anti-sweatshop movement came from the legislative front. These anti-sweatshop activists, however, moved ahead of and beyond the workers they themselves were trying to help. Rather than become true partners with workers and their unions, groups like the NCL sought legislation as a more effective means of stopping sweatshops than unions. As Frances Perkins, an NCL activist and future U.S. secretary of labor, said, "I would rather pass a law than organize a union."

The NCL shifted its focus to legislation shortly after the success of the garment workers' strikes. In 1908, Louis Brandeis wrote a brief for the NCL in the *Muller v. Oregon* case, which upheld maximum hours of work for women. Between 1908 and 1923, when the Court struck down a Washington, D.C., law, seventeen states and U.S. Territories had such laws. By the eve of World War I, the NCL had well over 30,000 members, and there were chapters in many states and in Western Europe.

World War I proved to be a high point of government action. Kelley, leader of the NCL, served on the Board of Control of Labor Standards for Army Clothing. By the start of the United States' involvement in the war, the board issued standards of production that set hours, wages, and health standards. The secretary of war, Newton Baker, himself active in the NCL, along with Kelley and her protégé Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America president Sidney Hillman, attacked the way the army purchased supplies. The government banned sweatshops for army clothing and government contractors. In the end, the government contracts for clothing and the Wilson administration's lukewarm support for labor and "industrial democracy" proved a boon to the garment workers unions and those like Kelley who sought government regulations. To many, the days of the sweatshop were over.

New Deal: Eradication

The Great Depression and the ensuing economic conditions reversed the gains made in the previous years. The NCL continued to demand state involvement but was increasingly looking to the federal government and to a return of an older strategy, labels. These groups pushed the New Deal's efforts to eradicate sweatshops in two arenas: national labor codes and support for the growth of labor unions. The first effort was the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933, which promoted a larger version of the garment workers' Protocol: tripartite industrial boards. The National Recovery Act (NRA)'s industry boards were to create industry codes. Unlike the private Protocol, these codes had the power of the federal government behind them. In a bow to the NCL's label program, the NRA created the "Blue Eagle" label, which was to be displayed on all products created under NRA codes. Consumers would aid in enforcement of this program by purchasing only goods with the NRA label.

After the Supreme Court declared the NRA unconstitutional in 1935, New Deal reformers pushed through the 1935 National Labor Relations Act (or Wagner Act), which supported the rights of workers to join unions, and the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA). The FSLA was the culmination of Kelley's and the NCL's decades-long efforts to eradicate the sweatshop. Although weak and excluding hundreds of thousands of workers, the national labor standards marked a major advance in the fight against sweatshops.

Many Americans believed that the New Deal legislation and strengthened labor unions put an end to the sweatshop. Reformers and unionists alike declared victory, and World War II and the Cold War shifted the nation's focus elsewhere. The "rediscovery" of the sweatshop in the 1990s was a shock to most Americans who saw it as a relic of the past and representative of Third World nations. Scholar Andrew Ross argues that the sweatshop symbolized an older, undemocratic, and morally suspect industrial age in America. The United States advanced and became more civilized and, therefore, as the influential early-twentieth-century labor economist John Commons believed, thought it had outgrown sweatshops. Their "return," or at least their rediscovery, called into question our very own civilization. What caused the return of the sweatshop? Most experts seem to have bought the argument advanced by the NCL. Historian Landon Storrs, in her recent book *Civilizing Capitalism: The National Consumers' League, Women's Activism, and Labor Standards in the New Deal Era* (2000), has argued that

> reforms initiated in the turn-of-the-century period known as the Progressive Era and consolidated during the New Deal of the 1930s curbed the most egregious abuses of employees in American manufacturing for many decades. In the 1980s and 1990s, however, the weakening of the labor movement, budget cuts for regulatory agencies, and free trade policies blind to labor practices combined to permit a resur-

By the late twentieth century, many *maquilas*, or sweatshops, had sprung up in Central America, such as this one in Guatemala City, Guatemala. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

gence of the sweatshop and to spread its features to other kinds of workplaces.

Yet, it is hard to believe that sweatshops disappeared totally; what seems more likely is that they disappeared from view. Starting in the 1920s, garment shops escaped high labor costs in New York and other unionized cities and relocated in the South, Midwest, and rural Pennsylvania. By the 1950s, with the cheapening cost and increased speed of transportation, manufacturing rushed offshore. By 1997, over 60 percent of all garments in the United States were imported from overseas. Trade agreements such as the Caribbean Basin Initiative, the North American Free Trade Agreement, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade dropped the barriers for importing.

In an effort to protect their members' jobs, the ILGWU launched a label campaign in 1959 that sought to uphold "the American way of life" and encouraged Americans "to buy American." By the 1990s, the ILGWU had joined manufacturers in the "Made in America" movement. In 1995, with a steep decline in both major garment unions, the ILGWU and the American Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) merged to form the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE). Soon, UNITE created the Stop Sweatshops Campaign with the NCL.

The 1990s: Rediscovery

In 1995, a raid on a compound in El Monte, California, exposed seventy-two undocumented Thai workers chained to sewing machines and forced to labor for a sweatshop outfit making clothes for Sears and other leading retailers. This only highlighted the growing problem. El Monte sparked a renewed interest in anti-sweatshop activities in the United States.

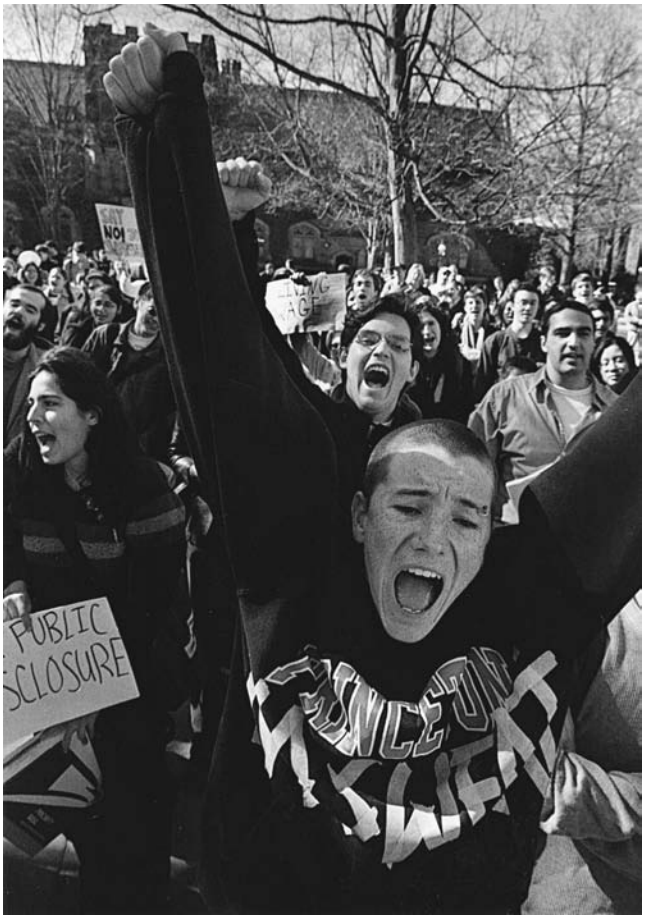
By the 1990s, the anti-sweatshop campaign moved beyond the "Made in America" label—which tells us little about where and under what conditions

On March 16, 1998, masked workers protest against television personality Kathie Lee Gifford, whose line of clothing was being manufactured by sweatshop labor. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

the garments were actually manufactured—toward one of publicity campaigns. The National Labor Committee's (NLC) 1992 report, *Paying to Lose Our Jobs*, showed the support the federal government was offering to U.S. companies to move production to key locations overseas. The NLC turned to brand names such as the Gap. Companies such as the Gap rely on their name to sell. The NLC aimed the media spotlight on them and other companies, such as Liz Claiborne, Eddie Bauer, and J. Crew, exposing the horrible conditions under which their clothing was made. To protect its name, the Gap signed a code of conduct in 1995.

In 1996, Charlie Kernaghan of the NLC testified before Congress and exposed Kathie Lee Gifford's Celebrity Wal-Mart line as being made by child labor in Honduras and in sweatshops in New York. Gifford's upstanding public image made her the perfect foil for the anti-sweatshop movement. Within a few weeks, Gifford was won over and in an effort to remove the tarnish from her name joined the secretary of labor's fashion industry summit in the summer of 1996. Within a short time, the NLC was joined by several other groups: Sweatshop Watch and Students Against Sweatshops among others. With the U.S. Department of Labor (DOL), student groups, consumer groups, and labor unions, retailers sought to form their own group, if only to protect themselves. By 1997, a Presidential Taskforce was created (Apparel Industry Partnership, or AIP) and agreed on codes of conduct.

The DOL issued a "No Sweat" label of its own. The NLC joined with the AIP, which many saw as



At a rally at Princeton University on February 16, 1999, freshman John Kimble—with the words "No Sweat" taped onto his sweatshirt—and fellow students protest the use of sweatshop labor to make university garments. *(AP Wide World Photos)*

being too weak and too pro-company. This compromise angered trade unions and religious and human rights activists who denounced the NLC. UNITE dropped out of AIP in 1998 because of its failure to support workers' rights. In an effort to save itself, AIP offered a seat on its fourteen-member board to a representative of colleges and universities. Colleges and universities licensed the manufacturing of clothing and apparel with the institutional logo.

In March 1998, Students Against Sweatshops forced Duke University to sign the first code of conduct that openly and explicitly supported the rights of workers to join unions. By the summer of 1998, United Students Against Sweatshops had chapters on dozens of campuses across the nation. Students conducted a number of "sleep-ins" across the nation to force their administrations to join their own monitoring group, the Workers' Rights Consortium. These efforts and those of unionists forced cities across the nation to sign codes of conduct of their own as well as anti-sweating ordinances.

The current anti-sweatshop movement has moved beyond the reform model first adopted by the NCL during the Progressive Era and has embraced workers' rights and solidarity. The challenge for activists now is that as clothing and much else Americans consume have moved overseas and increasingly to undemocratic nations, how do they help these workers to improve their lives? The anti-sweatshop movement now sees itself as an ally of workers, providing them with the means to help themselves. The movement has united with human rights groups, religious groups, environmentalists, trade unions, fair trade groups, and others to form a new political force that plays a role in world politics. The future success of this movement will depend on these newly forged linkages between these organizations.

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Fair Trade Coffee Campaign

Nonprofit Fair Trade–certifying organizations have altered coffee's path from farmer to consumer by making it possible for farmers to form cooperatives to process and market their own beans. Their aims are to ensure that farmers are paid a living wage for their produce, to provide access to affordable credit, and to promote practices that are sustainable for workers and the environment. The movement has linked consumer activists, farmers, environmentalists, development agencies, and industry leaders—many of whom see coffee as one of the world's most powerful tools for social change.

As an export commodity, coffee is second only to petroleum. Two species within the Genus *Coffea* account for virtually all coffee traded. *Coffea arabica* is the original coffee, native to the highlands of Ethiopia. It now provides about three quarters of the world coffee supply. *Coffea canephora* (known familiarly as robusta) originated in the lowland forests of West Africa. It did not enter the commercial market until after World War II, as a low-grade filler used in blends.

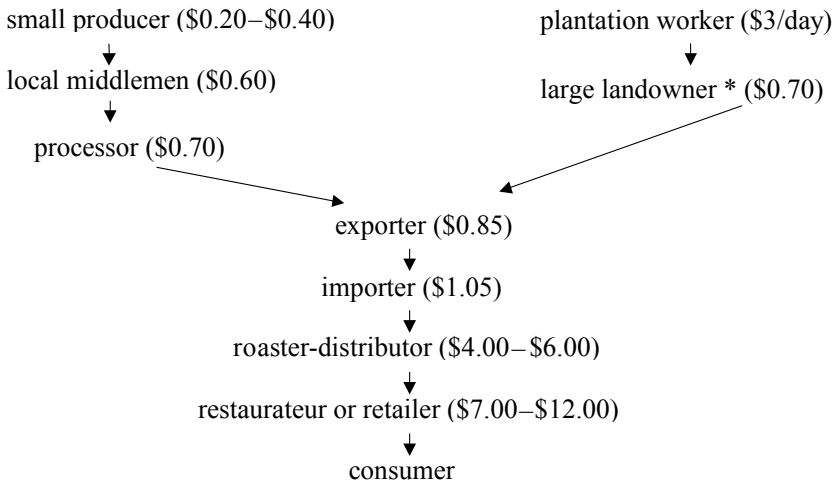
C. arabica, the tastier species, typically grows at higher altitudes than robusta and is more susceptible to poor soils and diseases. It thus commands a higher price but is equally vulnerable to price competition since much of it ends up as a flavor component in canned coffee blends. Among arabicas, cup quality reflects growing and harvesting conditions (e.g., altitude, soil quality, weather) as well as the way the coffee cherries are processed to yield green (unroasted) coffee beans for market. The highest-quality arabica beans go to high-end "specialty" roasters. These companies compete on the bases of quality and product differentiation (e.g., a coffee's origin and the style in which it is roasted) much more than price. In the United States, the largest coffee-consuming nation in the world, specialty coffee accounts for about 40 percent of by-the-cup sales and 17 percent of overall coffee sales. Mostly as a result of Fair Traders' and other activists' efforts, the specialty industry has moved to differentiate itself on the basis of "total quality" coffee. This definition incorporates social responsibility and environmental sustainability as well as excellence in the cup.

The Coffee Crisis

Figure 1 illustrates a typical route via which coffee beans travel from the grower to the consumer. Almost all coffee is exported in green bean (unroasted) form. The export price of arabica coffee is fixed, relative to its cup quality, as a differential in relation to the New York Coffee Exchange. The coffee futures contract traded on the New York exchange is the "C" contract for Central American arabica coffees. Until the 1980s, the major participants in coffee futures trading were importers and roasters, who used it mainly for protecting themselves against sudden price changes. More recently, speculation by large mutual funds has contributed to wild fluctuations in coffee prices. Figure 2 shows fluctuation in the "C" since 1960. In the 1990s, the spot price for arabica coffee was as low as $0.48/pound and as high as $2.71/pound. In autumn 2001, it plunged to $0.45/pound.

The price paid to coffee farmers and exporters is typically pegged to this volatile spot price, a situation that many call the "tyranny of the 'C'." Oversupply of coffee on world markets is at the root of the price decline. Since 1990, coffee production worldwide has increased by 15 percent, whereas consumption has increased only about 7 percent. The increase in production has resulted directly from a decline of regulation of the industry. The demise of the International Coffee Organization (ICO) in 1989 brought an increase in competition and in production. This led to overplanting new trees, as well as new entrants in the market—notably Vietnam. Although the new coffee is of low quality and does not interest specialty buyers, the

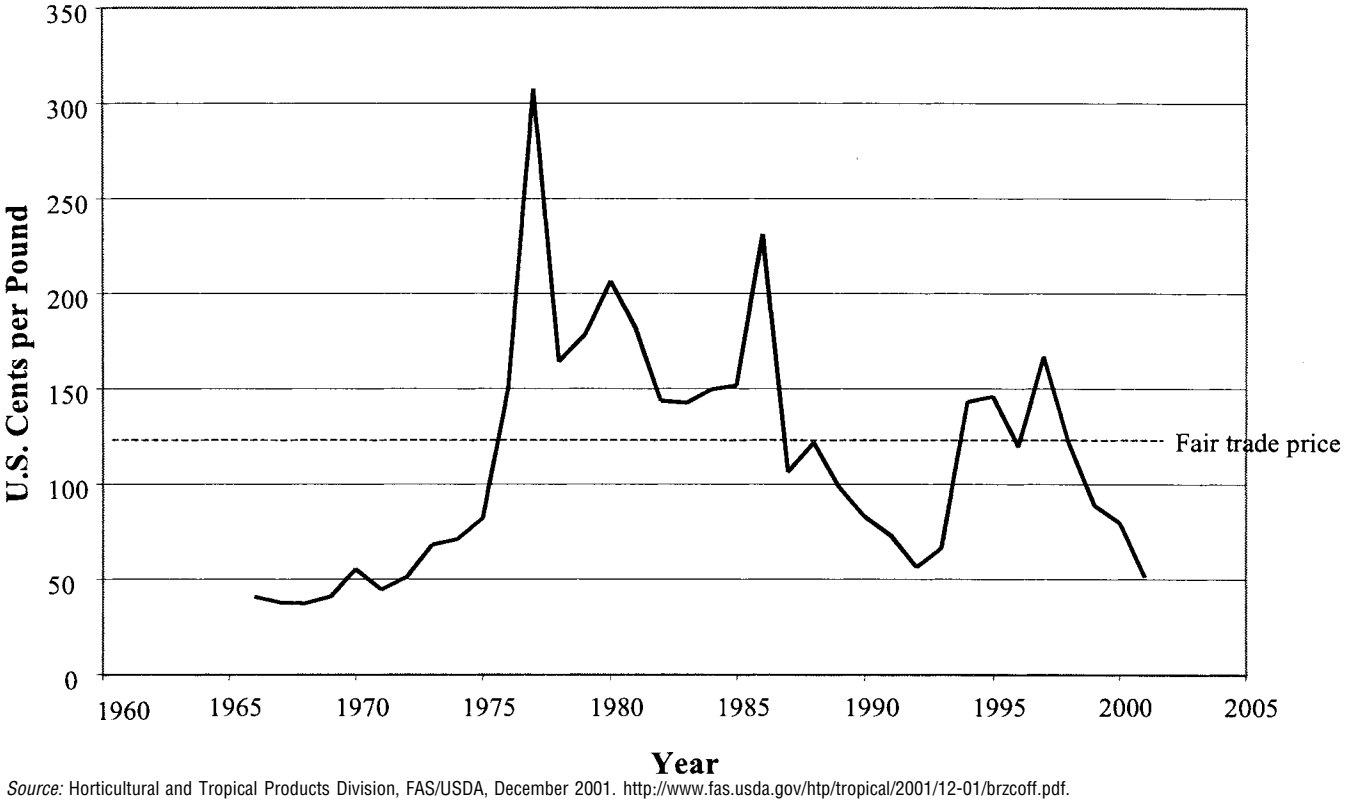
Figure 1. The Conventional Coffee Path, from Tree to Cup



Note: Prices are per pound.
**Large landowners usually have their own processing plants.*

Sources: Paul Rice and Jennifer McLean. "Sustainable Coffee at the Crossroads." White paper prepared for The Consumer's Choice Council, 1999. http://www.transfairusa.org. Laure Waridel. *Coffee with Pleasure: Just Java and World Trade* (Montreal and New York: Black Rose Books, 2002).

Figure 2. "C" Spot Price for Arabica Coffee, Annual Average



Source: Horticultural and Tropical Products Division, FAS/USDA, December 2001. http://www.fas.usda.gov/htp/tropical/2001/12-01/brzcoff.pdf.

entire market is affected by the glut. Unless the worldwide coffee industry as a whole drastically changes the way it does business, analysts expect the oversupply to last for at least five years.

The situation of the peasant farming families who produce over half the world's coffee supply is characterized by extremely limited access to land, financial resources, and political power. Small farmers now earn less than $600 per year—not enough to purchase much food or send their children to school, let alone invest in machinery to process their coffee or transport it to market. They are forced to sell to local intermediaries, at prices well below the "C." Others process the coffee, which then goes to exporters, whose success is determined by their ability to match suitable products with specific brokers and importers. The farmers often receive less than the cost of production, and their only financial credit is their future harvests.

Lots of coffee is also grown on large plantations worked by landless day laborers, many of whose plight is worse than that described above. The primary focus of the Fair Trade coffee movement, however, is on small farmers who cannot continue to produce at a loss. Unless they are already integrated into the high end of the specialty niche as "preferred providers" for roasters that pay top dollar for top quality (such as Allegro and Starbucks), these farmers have few, if any, incentives to grow high-quality coffee and cannot compete with other producers of low-quality coffee. Activist groups are making this situation visible to the coffee-consuming public and are trying to change it.

Ethical Consumption and Fair Trade

The Fair Trade Coffee campaign is part of a phenomenon best labeled "ethical consumption," in which the purchasing power of consumers is used to promote a goal that serves the interests of others. Since the pressure is largely applied by individual consumers, coffee roasters and retailers are responding to aggregated economic demand as well as, if not more than, political demand. The ethical consumption movement started with the emergence of Alternative Trade Organizations (ATOs) such as Ten Thousand Villages (1946), Fair Trade Organisatie (1967), and Global Exchange (1988). ATOs originally aimed to create a parallel system that would open markets to disadvantaged Southern producers rather than to reform conventional trading practices. The U.S. ATO Equal Exchange began in 1986 by importing coffee from Nicaragua to express solidarity with the Nicaraguan people after the Reagan administration imposed a commercial embargo. Equal Exchange has since built a small niche for Fair Trade coffee in the United States.

The first Fair Trade certification initiative was Max Havelaar, launched in the Netherlands in 1988. This was an important departure from the ATO model of selling products in small Fair Trade shops or via mail order. The Max Havelaar Fair Trade seal was offered to mainstream coffee companies if they agreed to buy some—even a small fraction—of their coffee on Fair Trade terms. By paying a certification fee, roasters could purchase the right to apply the seal to an amount of their roasted coffee equivalent to the amount of Fair Trade coffee they purchased.

Max Havelaar's strategy of targeting larger, profit-driven roasters and getting Fair Trade coffee into supermarkets gave many more consumers exposure and access to it. In a relatively short time, Fair Trade labeling became established as a viable market concept. Labeling organizations under the name Max Havelaar spread to Belgium in 1990, Switzerland in 1992, Denmark in 1994, France in 1992, and Norway in 1998. Other groups adopted the concept under different names. These include Rattivsemarkt of Sweden, Reilon Kaupan Edistamisthdistys of Finland, the Fairtrade Foundation of London, Fairtrade Mark of Ireland, and TransFair of Germany, Luxemburg, Italy, Japan, and, more recently (in 1996), the United States. All of these organizations monitor the coffee production and administrative practices of farming cooperatives that seek to sell on Fair Trade terms. Importers and roasters pay the cost of monitoring and certification. Certifiers are essentially middlemen too, but are operating under a set of incentives very different from that of brokers in the usual market.

Since 1997, Fair Trade certification initiatives have been united under the umbrella of the Fairtrade Labelling Organizations (FLO) International, an umbrella group working to standardize the certification process for a wide range of products. FLO maintains a Fair Trade Register of producer groups approved to sell to the Fair Trade market. In May 2001, it listed 363 groups from twenty-two countries. The majority is in the Western Hemisphere, but cooperatives in Cameroon, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Papua-New Guinea, Tanzania, Uganda, Ethiopia, Indonesia, and Thailand are also on the list.

The internationally accepted criteria for Fair Trade coffee are:

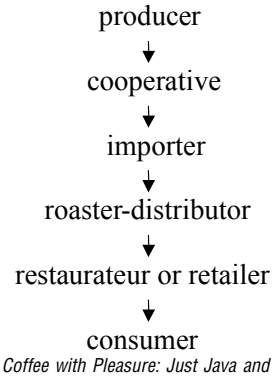
1. Purchase directly from small farmers organized into democratically managed cooperatives.

2. Guarantee a floor price when market prices are low.
3. Offer farmers credit (an obligation of the importer).
4. Develop long-term relationships between importers and farmer cooperatives.

Figure 3 illustrates the shorter, Fair Trade route to market. By focusing on cooperatives, the Fair Trade movement creates an incentive for small farmers to organize their own processing and marketing operations. At present, the Fair Trade floor price for washed arabica coffee is $1.26/pound ($1.41/pound if the coffee is also certified organic). When the market price is above the floor price, the Fair Trade price is $0.05/pound higher. Floor prices were established in 1988, after considerable field research and several rounds of negotiations among representatives of the Fair Trade movement, farmers, and the coffee industry. They have been raised once since then.

Advocates for Fair Trade certification are convinced that theirs is a model for the future, reflecting consumers' and stockholders' desire for businesses to be socially responsible as well as profitable. Certification has already improved the lives of more than half a million coffee farmers, and Fair Trade organizations' efforts have raised customer demand for Fair Trade coffee to an all-time high. Still, Fair Trade certified beans account for less than 2 percent of the world coffee market. Existing cooperatives are able to sell less than half of their crops at the established Fair Trade price. The campaign has necessarily shifted its focus from organizing farmers to expanding the market for their product by increasing consumer demand. Will the strategies that have built the current Fair Trade market foster its continued expansion? The next sections review these strategies, and raise challenges and opportunities facing Fair Traders now.

Figure 3. The Fair Trade Route from Tree to Cup



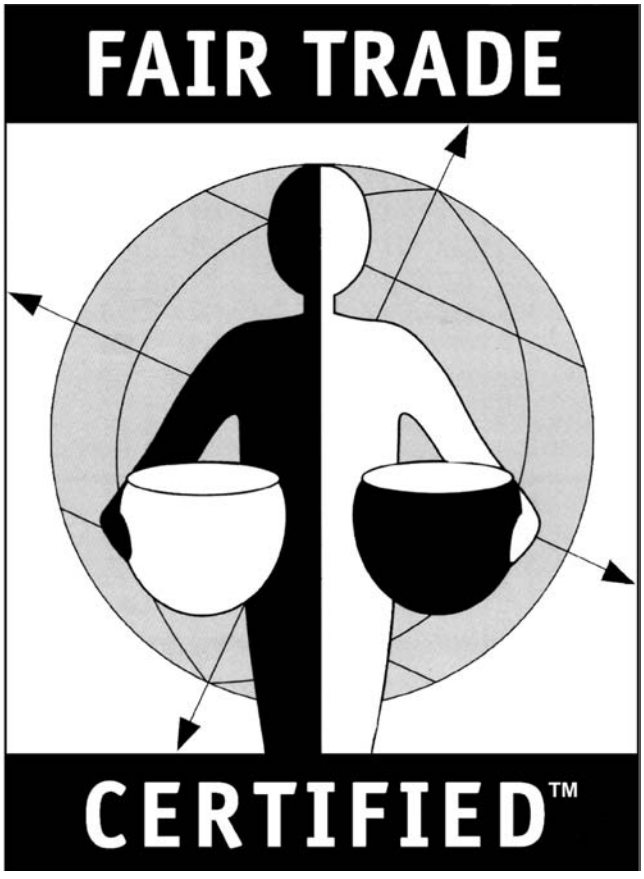
Source: Laure Waridel. *Coffee with Pleasure: Just Java and World Trade* (Montreal and New York: Black Rose Books, 2002).

Making a Fair Trade Market

The Fair Trade coffee movement seeks to make a lasting impact on society's social values rather than to make a profit. Its goals and interests contradict those of the other players in the industry and can produce contention with them. Hillary Abell, development director of TransFair USA, said in a 2001 interview that "norm change" was its number one goal and would be achieved by making "the Fair Trade model as normal, unintentional, and universal as nondiscrimination and basic environmental responsibility are today." Although Fair Traders do offer a tangible market product, what they are essentially trying to sell is the norm that people in prosperous countries should factor global social justice into their buying decisions. Certifying organizations and other groups attempt to do this by raising public awareness of Fair Trade issues; inciting consumer demand; and encouraging roasters, retailers, and restaurants to offer a Fair Trade product.

College campuses, churches, and companies that already have a commitment to corporate social responsibility were logical targets for the first efforts to reach a sympathetic, social action–oriented audience. An example is Global Exchange's successful campaign to get Starbucks to introduce a Fair Trade blend. In October 2001, Starbucks promised to buy a million pounds of Fair Trade coffee in the next twelve to eighteen months. Global Exchange sees this outcome as "an important win for the corporate accountability movement" as well as a way to bring the Fair Trade message to millions of consumers. Starbucks now has a Department of Corporate Social Responsibility, which issues an annual report and attempts to be responsive to consumers and the more general public. The company seems committed to maintaining Fair Trade certified coffee in its lineup, and has begun working with at least one Fair Trade coffee cooperative, the Promoter of Cooperative Development in the Segovias (PRODECOOP) in Nicaragua, to help them produce more coffee that the company will buy. Starbucks has recently signed a Memorandum of Understanding with FLO International. This will enable the company to enter into licensing agreements with national Fair Trade organizations to sell Fair Trade Certified coffee in the countries where Starbucks does business.

Seattle-based chains Tully's and Seattle's Best Coffee (SBC) and San Francisco–based Peet's Coffee be-



The Fair Trade Certified label signifies that farmers and workers were paid a fair price for their products. *(www.transfairusa.org)*

gan to offer Fair Trade coffee shortly after Starbucks did. In fact, Tully's was planning to introduce its triple-certified (Fair Trade, organic, and shade-grown) "Compadre Blend" before Global Exchange launched the Starbucks campaign. Both SBC and Tully's have produced pamphlets and special packaging to educate consumers about Fair Trade and other sustainability issues. These and other specialty coffee companies have recognized that offering sustainable coffee is essential to remaining competitive.

Quality is implied (or assumed) in the Fair Trade message, but it has not been an explicit part of the campaign. Yet, while doing the right thing may be the primary motivation for some coffee purchasers, quality usually trumps all else. Seattle representatives of the natural foods grocery chains Puget Consumers Cooperative (PCC) and Whole Foods report that, while their customers are among the most likely to ask for and purchase Fair Trade products, buyers' decisions to stock Fair Trade coffees and customers' decisions to buy them are based as much on good taste in the cup as on a desire to help coffee farmers. A recent survey of coffee consumers conducted by TransFair USA also showed that taste is the most important factor in coffee-purchasing behavior. *Assuming high quality*, half the respondents said they would buy Fair Trade certified coffee and pay $1.00 to $2.00 per pound more for it.

Further interviews with coffee roasters and retailers show that customer demand is nearly as important as quality when it comes to a business's coffee-buying decisions. Verbal pressure for Fair Trade coffee is the first step, but it must be reinforced by economic demand, that is, actual purchases. Where a business and a public have not been the targets of campaigns, Fair Trade coffee is usually not available, and no one is asking for it. This suggests that Fair Traders working to expand the U.S. market should continue to focus on getting consumers' attention and educating them about the issues and getting roasters, retailers, and restaurants that already buy Fair Trade coffee to advertise their purchase. In addition, the movement should do more to target institutional consumers such as airlines, hospitals, corporations, and government agencies. An emphasis on quality must be integral to these approaches.

Competition Within the Sustainability Movement

Fair Traders have piqued the specialty coffee industry's attention, but so have other "issue" coffees. Sustainable coffee has become the umbrella term that includes organic and shade-grown (and therefore protective of bird life) coffee production as well as Fair Trade. Groups organized around various coffee-related issues do network with each other and are generally supportive of each other's principal cause. Nonetheless, the existence of multiple products all targeting virtually the same ethical consumers is confusing and could potentially undercut the market for each.

Advocates for the various organizations agree that the nature of the technology used by small farmers is such that most of the coffee they grow is, in fact, organic and shade-grown. The farmers cannot afford the chemical fertilizers and machines that endanger the earth or birds. By and large, they use traditional methods that, as a by-product, protect the environment. No certifying agency claims to represent a mutually exclusive situation where only coffees with a particular seal are protecting the environment, ensuring the existence of a bird habitat, or guaranteeing the

sustenance of small farmers. Certification campaigns attract media attention and help people see the connection between their daily beverage and the producing country. Many suppliers have sought multiple certifications. Sustainable Harvest in Emeryville, California, was the first importer to be accredited to sell coffees that are certified organic, shade-grown, and Fair Trade. Thanksgiving Coffee Company, based in Fort Bragg, California, developed a point system that incorporates criteria from all three. Perhaps the market will eventually decide which seal consumers believe to be the most important and useful.

Other industry players are serious about sustainability but are convinced that certification campaigns are the wrong way to pursue it. According to Kevin Knox, the green coffee buyer for Allegro Coffee Company, the company has "attempted to chart a course dictated not by would-be issue mongers, but by an understanding of the needs of Allegro's customers and suppliers." Paying farmers a fair price is essential to ensuring sustainability. Knox also notes that the best beans are already produced in an environmentally sound way and already fetch premium prices. He maintains that no coffee is sustainably produced if it is not, first and foremost, a great-tasting coffee; otherwise, it will have an insufficient market.

The Future of Fair Trade

The long-term challenge to Fair Trade is to reach the nonspecialty or regular coffee producers and drinkers. As long as coffee is overproduced and many consumers do not care about the quality of the coffee they drink, most of the world's coffee farmers and workers will not be able to make a living wage. Changing taste preferences and educating consumers to be willing to pay more for a better product is feasible but not easy. There is a long way to go before canned coffee brands, produced and picked by poverty-level laborers, will become unprofitable for the transnational corporations that own them. Slow and steady progress has been made, largely generated by the creation of specialty coffee. The next step is harder. Fair Trade has to move beyond the public that is easiest to persuade to become ethical consumers. Even most of them, as we have seen, still purchase based on quality first but prefer the combination of quality and ethics. To reach a broader public requires a strategy that will ensure that ethics comes at a price they are willing to pay.

Consumer preferences are generally sticky and unlikely to change without some external intervention. Just as Fair Traders have been wise to target institutions as well as individuals, the specialty industry's voluntary self-regulation needs to be supported and expanded by governments. Sustainable coffee will gain the world market advantage only when all coffee producers and roasters are required to meet environmental and social standards.

April Linton

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